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A HISTORY

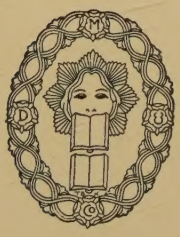
OF

ANCIENT SCULPTURE

BY

LUCY M. MITCHELL

WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS



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TO THE MEMORY

OF THE

HON. GEORGE P. MARSH,

THIS WORK

IS GRATEFULLY AND REVERENTLY

DEDICATED.

NOTE.

A Portfolio, containing reproductions in phototype of thirty-six masterpieces of ancient art, and entitled SELECTIONS FROM ANCIENT SCULPTURE, *has been prepared by the author, in order more amply to illustrate the subject treated of in this work.*

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PREFACE.

FRAGMENTS of a great artistic past have come down to us, now torn from their original surroundings, and wrapped in mystery to our changed modern world. For centuries these monuments have lain buried beneath the soil, or, when visible, have too often suffered sadly from neglect. Sundering from this vast treasure what belongs to the plastic art, we find the sculptural monuments widely scattered, and often hopelessly isolated, so that a feeling of discouragement will sometimes come over one attempting to solve the riddles propounded. Here it is that the archæologist comes to our aid, with his new-born science, which dates hardly farther back than the days of Winckelmann; and bringing to bear upon his subject the patient labor of the excavator and of the conscientious collector, the resources of profound learning and of a comparative spirit, and the breadth of a scientific vision which is able to classify and group the sundered fragments, he makes the disjointed members more and more parts of an organic whole.

Following, then, the guidance of the band of scholars who have so gloriously commenced this task, I have attempted in the present work to treat the sculptural monuments of the different nations of antiquity, and to build up some semblance of the stately fabric of old. Many, alas! are the blocks still lacking to complete the structure of an exhaustive history of ancient sculpture; but if we surround the mute monuments existing, with the faiths out of which they sprung, and pour upon them the light of national custom and thought, they will become eloquent witnesses to the art-life of those remote ages.

The monuments preserved to us from Egypt, Chaldæa, Assyria, and Persia; those left by the Phœnicians on many shores; and those found in

Asia Minor, Greece, on the islands of the Ægean, and in Italy, — form the subject-matter of this work.

In choosing the historical method here pursued, no apology seems necessary. It has long since been shown, not only that beauty in art has not always existed, nor been at any time a sudden creation, but rather that it has grown through the centuries, with the development of man's imaginative and artistic powers. Moreover, by this historical method alone can fair comparison be instituted between cruder and riper works, and light be thrown backward and forward upon earlier and later monuments. Thus we are enabled better to appreciate excellences wherever found, as well as to grasp more fully the power and significance of the highest achievements.

As different localities, with varying endowments of race, show widely differing works, the value of the geographical element, in treating of the history of sculpture, is evident. Even in a land so small as Greece, there seems to have been a marked diversity of power at one and the same time, in different parts, some regions falling far behind others in the great work of artistic creation. Consequently, as far as possible, each country or district has here been treated by itself, and comparisons have then been drawn with the contemporary art of other regions. In this process, although our knowledge of the once flourishing art-centres in the ancient world is in many cases lamentably fragmentary, the monuments preserved serve as trustworthy guides whose testimony will doubtless be supplemented by discoveries yet to be made.

In the present work, though familiar historical divisions have, as far as possible, been observed, they have not been designated by numbers, but according to some prominent characteristics. Thus, for instance, in Greek history, for the usual "Third Period" has been substituted "The Age of Pheidias and of Polycleitos." The general index has been prepared with special regard to this historico-geographical plan of the work, the order of the references under single heads following the course of history. A skeleton-topic, as it were, is thus given, which may readily be filled out by using the references to ancient and modern authors contained in the corresponding pages of the text.

The system I have adopted in the spelling of Greek proper names has

been in accordance with the following principle: With the exception of a few words having well-established, frequently genuine, English forms, — in which case, use has been made of these traditional forms, — the aim has been to give the ancient spelling and pronunciation, as accurately as is consistent with the values of English letters and with due regard to the clear analogies of English spelling. A detailed statement of this system of transliteration will be found on page 696.

The sources used in the preparation of this work have been of two kinds, — the literary and the monumental. The literature comprises records left us by Greek and Roman writers, and the works of modern scholars, in whose front ranks stand the German archæologists from the time of Winckelmann down to our own day. The citations from ancient authors are based upon Brunn's great fundamental work, "Die Geschichte der Griechischen Künstler." The monuments consulted consist of the most varied objects, from the tiny jewel and delicate vase-painting to the colossal statue. These have been studied, as far as was possible, directly from the originals; but, when such were inaccessible, the best casts and photographic reproductions have been used.

Since, in treating of works of art, description cannot by any possibility supersede the sight of the artistic creations themselves, a strenuous effort has been made to secure suitable illustration. A large number of the finest wood-engravings were prepared for me by the skilful artists of "The Century Magazine," for a series of articles which appeared in 1882 in that periodical. Others are by Peter Meurer of Berlin, to whose efforts is due any excellence in most of the outline engravings, as well as in some of the others carried out in full. In treating of so vast a subject, a few illustrations already current in trade have of necessity been employed, which unfortunately fall short of what could have been desired.

It has been a source of great strength in the prosecution of this work, that scholars and artists of different nationalities have volunteered and given their aid most generously. To Professor von Duhn of Heidelberg, I cannot sufficiently express my thanks for the revision of my proof-sheets, and for imparting to me of his great fund of learning and experience, as well as for allowing me the privileges of his Archæological Institute during the last year

spent in the preparation of this work. For access afforded to the University Library in Heidelberg, I am indebted to Professor Zangemeister; and, for like opportunities in the Berlin Museum Library, to Dr. Max Fränkel. The continued personal kindness of both of these scholars has been of incalculable service in the prosecution of a work requiring resources of an extensive and varied nature. Nor should I fail to mention the advantages enjoyed in the British Museum Library, and the unfailing kindness of Mr. Garnett.

Besides, great favors with regard to the monuments have been conferred upon me by the scholars in charge of the collections of antiquities. Especially to Professor C. T. Newton of the British Museum, would I express thanks for the kindness with which he has granted every request made, even when it concerned the choicest fragile bronzes in his charge, as well as for his ready and generous assistance in furnishing the latest information about the marbles, and for his ripe judgment upon many questions entirely outside of the Museum. To Mr. R. S. Poole, Mr. Head, and Professor Gardner, I am indebted for access to the treasures of the Medal Room, and for encouragement in many different lines; and to Dr. Birch, for his courtesy in what concerned the Egyptian and Assyrian antiquities. The kindness of the eminent Directors of the Berlin Museum — Dr. Schoene, and Professors Curtius and Conze — made what would otherwise have been a most difficult task a delightful one, and facilitated in every way the study and reproduction of the monuments in their charge. To that Nestor of Greek archæology, Professor Brunn, and to his worthy disciples Dr. Furtwängler and Professor Milchhöfer, I take pleasure in acknowledging the gift of many inspiring thoughts, as well as many communications by letter, which have been like jewels to be wrought into the sombre web of my own recital. To my brother, Professor J. H. Wright of Dartmouth College, I am indebted for the revision of my proof-sheets, verification of my references to ancient authors, and preparation of the accompanying index of classical citations, as well as for his suggestions with regard to the difficult subject of the English spelling of Greek words. To my husband, I owe a debt of gratitude, not only for assistance with his skilful pencil, but also for his untiring vigilance in matters of criticism.

LUCY M. MITCHELL.

MARION, MASSACHUSETTS, Sept. 15, 1883.

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EGYPTIAN SCULPTURE.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

Antiquity of Egypt. — Historical Sources. — Character of the Land. — Influence of Climate and Natural Phenomena upon Ancient Inhabitants and their Art. — The Pharaoh, his Divine and Absolute Character — The Aristocracy. — Curious Beliefs with Regard to the Future Life. — The *Ka*. — Importance and Durability of the Tomb and its Statuary. — Construction of the Tomb. — The *Serdâb*. — Tomb Reliefs. — Provision made for Funereal Services. — The Pyramids. — Pyramid Temples. — Absence of Statues in the Pyramids. — The Sphinx. — The Mysterious Character of the Egyptian Gods. — The Innumerable and Multifarious Forms given them. — Animal-headed Divinities. — Depressing Influence of Symbolism on Art. — Prosaic Character of Egyptian Myth. — Materials used for Sculpture. — Absence of Marble. — Methods of Working. — The Attendant Difficulties. — Divisions of Egyptian History.

THE hoary civilization on the banks of the Nile was regarded with wonder, even by the nations of antiquity. Homeric verse sings the "hundred-gated Thebes." Solon, the Attic law-giver, and, according to tradition, Pythagoras, the Samian philosopher, drank at the fountain of Egyptian wisdom. Plato, filled with marvel at the stability of the empire, tells us that the statues in his day were like those produced thousands of years before.

For our knowledge of the land, its customs and religion, we were long dependent upon the reports of Greek and Roman travellers alone. Plato, Herodotos, Diodoros Siculus, and others contributed towards clearing up the mystery hanging over its past, but in narratives colored deeply by their own national peculiarities. Much we owe to Manetho, an Egyptian priest of high rank, who lived in the early part of the third century B.C., and wrote a history of his people in Greek, by order of the Greek ruler of Egypt. But the study of the excavated monuments has thrown still greater light on that obscured past. From them the Œdipus of modern research has wrung many truths of deep import, not the least of the results being the light thrown on the spirit and motive of sculptures heretofore enigmatical. The enduring colossus; the tiny statuette found with the mummy; the tomb written all over with painted relief; the towering obelisk; the papyrus-roll, revealing the lore of ancient Egypt; the brilliant mummy-case; and the hieroglyphic story read at last from the very heart of the pyramids, — have aided in filling out the picture of those ancient days, so that many customs seem as vivid as though they were but of yesterday.

As the traveller on the banks of the Nile gazes at the majestic ruins of Thebes, her prostrate temple columns, pylons rent asunder, and shattered colossi, seem once more to stand up, and speak of the glories of that age when Egypt was the conqueror of the world; when beneath the magic wand of those arbiters of her destinies, the Thothmes, the Amenophs, and the Rameses, these wonders of architecture and sculpture sprang into existence. If we could, in imagination, build up these countless and vast structures, people them with their statues, line them throughout with reliefs, and then, with the painter's brush, charm back their former brilliancy of color; if we could see the obelisk, shining with gold; the broad avenue of silent sphinxes, through which passed the stately procession; the priests performing their gorgeous rites before the sacred images; and if we could picture the fertile Nile valley, with its overhanging canopy of blue, and the unbroken sweep of the distant mountains, — we should then be able to gain an impression of the part that sculpture played there, its impressive forms harmonizing with the grand repose of the landscape, and its colossal proportions witnessing to the ambition of mighty Pharaohs.

The Nile valley, running north and south through the entire length of Egypt, for three-quarters of the distance does not at the utmost exceed fifteen miles in width; and, in some of the southern districts, the mountains on the east, the Arab chain, approach the Western, or Libyan range, so closely, as to form a narrow defile.[1] Farther to the north, the Libyan heights sink so decidedly as to admit the passage of a large canal, which supplied the vast reservoir known to the admiring Greeks as Lake Mœris, and served to irrigate the province now called Fayoom. In Lower Egypt, not far from the ruins of ancient Memphis, the Nile finally separates into two branches; the one called the Rosetta finding its way to the sea in a north-westerly direction, and the other, the Damietta, taking a north-easterly course. The five other outlets known to antiquity have long been choked by the annual deposits of the river; but, as of old, artificial canals still intersect the broad plain of the Delta.

Along this valley, how striking the contrast between the stream with its closely clinging belt of verdure, and the barren cliffs with the shifting, smothering, desert sands, stretching away to the right and left! But in June the waters, as by magic, slowly begin to swell, although no rain has fallen in Egypt. The dams are opened in due course of time, and the eager waters flood the parched land up to the very base of the mountains. At this time the country appears like a lake, out of which cities and mounds rise like islands. Cheery scenes accompany this season of annual overflow. Busy boats ply about; the populace, young and old, and herds, stand or wade in the grateful waters; fish dart and plash; while flocks of birds watch for their finny prey. After the waters recede, a rich loam is found deposited over the whole land: a light plough easily opens this soft, warm soil; in it the scattered seed rapidly germinates, the plant comes to fruition, and the barren land is changed to a paradise.[2]

Hence it was that Herodotos could, so eloquently, call Egypt the "gift of the river."[3] The harvest being over, the desert wind once more prevails; and the struggle of the verdant plains against scorching sun and burning sand is renewed. Such is the annually recurring phenomenon in the Nile valley, the unswerving regularity of which through the centuries, combined with the isolation of the land, shut in by the mountains, the ocean, and the equally boundless sea of desert, made Egypt the cradle of a most ancient and peculiar civilization.

Much discussion has arisen concerning the affinities of the ancient inhabitants of Egypt. Lepsius, Bunsen, and Maspero, ranking their language with ancestral Semitic speech, call it proto-Semitic.[4] As the monuments, passing from the sea up the Nile, grow less and less ancient, it seems probable, that the Egyptians of history, wandering from Western Asia, entered their promising valley by way of the Isthmus of Suez. Still another opinion, held by Renan and others, is, that their language shows nearness of kin to the Chamitic languages of Northern Africa.[5] According to one view, the ancient inhabitants of the Nile valley were a Semitic race, who, it is conjectured, on entering the valley, became intermingled to some extent with a race of negroes already occupying the soil, but more probably expelled them from their homes. According to still another theory, the Egyptians may have belonged to the great Cushite stock supposed to have spread from Southern India to North-western Africa.

The mummies found in the ancient tombs, as well as the forms the sculptor has reproduced in statue and relief, show clearly, that the early Egyptians were not negroes; and the modern peasant seems to have preserved somewhat the ancient type.[6] He is of good stature, and the form of the fellah is lean and slender. His shoulders are high and square, his chest protruding, and his sinewy arm ends in a long, fine hand. His hips are disproportionately small for the powerful shoulders. Details of knee and calf, as with a pedestrian people, are very pronounced, and the feet long and flattened from the habit of going barefoot. The head is often ungracefully large, the forehead somewhat low, the nose short and round, the hair straight and stiff; and the peculiar cast of the features, with the long, almond-shaped eyes, produces a mild, even sad expression.

The energetic and practical turn of the ancient Egyptians was, no doubt, greatly encouraged and developed by their natural surroundings. As far back as they can be traced, they are engaged in the herculean task of turning the great river into a source of blessing, hoarding up its waters in artificial lakes, or dispersing them by judicious canalization. Moreover, the necessity of improving every foot of this narrow stretch of fruitful land, and of renewing the landmarks annually effaced by the overflow, besides the construction of waterworks, and the observation of the Nile level to catch the suitable day for letting loose the waters, early developed sciences which should subserve these ends.

The unique physiognomy of the Nile-land, together with the strongly pronounced phases of its natural phenomena, could not fail to leave their deep impress also on the imagination of its ancient inhabitants. The broad, unchanging ocean; the trackless desert sand; the mountains of sandstone, limestone, and granite, of which interminable ranges swept the horizon; the blazing sun; the glowing, cloudless sky; the invariably recurring starry nights; the very atmosphere, preserving what was out of reach of the flowing waters from the tooth of corruption, — seemed to teach the enduring nature of all things. All this, and especially the annual periodicity of the overflow, with its accompanying harvest, by which the Egyptian was freed from the fitful freaks of climate, doubtless encouraged that quietism and contented conservatism which were so strongly pronounced in his character, and which we shall see mirrored in his art. The subjects which he treated, the types which, in the bright dawn of his national life, he had developed, passed on with little change; that which seems to us constraint, doubtless appearing to him a blessed, time-honored regulation. He builds temples, not to last for a few centuries, but for ages. The pious remind the gods, that their gifts are of "hard stone," eternal witnesses to their devotion.[7] Eternity seems written on these Egyptian works. Rameses II., in Pentaur's hymn, is made, when pressed by his foes, to appeal to the gods for help, because he has put up to them "eternal stones." [8]

Moreover, the transparent atmosphere and blazing sun of Egypt, as well as its tremendous horizons, and broad sweeps of mountain and plain, required forms in art more colossal than those prevailing in the diversified scenery and shadier climes of the North. Seen through this air, and in such intense light, statues, to be effective, require to have two or three times the height of man; and, in the midst of such surroundings, the colossal Sphinx, the majestic seated Pharaoh, and the towering obelisk, are not inexplicable strangers, but the very autochthons of the soil.

The geographical conformation of Egypt was also conducive to that political and social uniformity which it retained throughout its venerable course. The long river, affording ready communication, and the broad, alluvial plain, were hostile to small, independent states, but rendered it easy for conquering armies to subdue them. Among the earliest spectacles which meet us in the recorded history of Egypt, is that of absolute power, using the masses at its own sovereign will. On the plains of Memphis, where Cheops raised his tomb, the Pyramid of Gizeh, rivalling the mountains, we seem to hear the groans of impressed multitudes, whose echoes had sounded down to the time of the Greek Herodotos. Israel, under a much later Pharaoh, sighed by reason of its bondage, "its cry going up to God." The latest discoveries witness to the labor and time spent in the construction of the treasure-cities of Pithom.[9] The vast number of ancient monuments, as well as the carelessness manifest in much of this forced work, furnish additional testimony to the severity of the

tasks imposed upon the ancient dwellers on the Nile.[10] But the Egyptians, doubtless naturally inclined to veneration, were from childhood accustomed to a religious reverence for their ruler; and so generation succeeded generation of submissive subjects, ignorant of the spirit of freedom. The insurrections or tumults occurring in the course of Egyptian history are, as a rule, roused and fanned by foreigners; and the native population, with their myriad hands and unrequited toil, continued, through the ages, to raise colossal temples in honor of their Pharaohs, or to drag ponderous monoliths, figures of "sacred" majesty, to their place before the pylon or within the court.

But though oppressed, and blindly obedient to authority, the Egyptians do not appear to have lost their *morale*, or to have developed a morose and unkindly disposition in their dealings. From numerous inscriptions and papyri, it appears that one of their fundamental maxims was the cultivation of a charitable spirit. In the "Book of the Dead" (chap. cxxv.), that code of moral action, a copy of which was placed with every mummy to be the sure "passport" through the journey to the future world, in almost the very words of the Christian doctrine, charity is inculcated. It reads, "I have given bread to the hungry. I have given water to the thirsty. I have given clothes to the naked. I have not calumniated the slave to his master." A prince of the nome, or province, of Meh, one Amooni, thus recounts his kindly actions on his tomb at Beni-Hassan, of so early a date as the Twelfth Dynasty: "There is no minor that I have put to grief, no widow that I have despoiled, no laborer that I have turned off, no shepherd that I have imprisoned, no chief of five men, from whom I have taken his men for forced labor: there were no hungry or miserable in my day; for, if a season of want came, I had cultivated all the arable land of the nome of Meh to its northern and southern frontiers. I caused the vassals to live by it, providing food, so that none hungered among them. I gave to the widow, and to her that had a husband. I made no distinction between great and small in all that I gave."[11] Although Amooni was thus ready, like Zaccheus of Scripture, to proclaim his own good deeds, his words, doubtless, embody the ideal of a good man among the ancient Egyptians; and their art seems to reflect this kindly spirit. In fact, there seems among this people to have been a vein of merriment, and an enjoyment of life, as appears not only from inscriptions, but also from the scenes sculptured in the tombs. We see them dancing, playing games, hunting, and fishing; and, in their prayers, they beg to have life preserved, and to enjoy a happy old age, — if possible, to arrive to the perfect age of one hundred and ten years.[12] The solemn and funereal character of early and later Egyptian statuary, peopling numberless tombs, could not then have been due to the gloomy and exclusive spirit of the people, but must find its explanation in connection with the naïve faiths which gave birth to their art.

The monarch Pharaoh combined in his person the most varied offices and

attributes. Besides being the highest civil authority, the head of the army, and an extensive land-owner, he exercised the priestly office, and even held the position of a deity. He was worshipped by his people as the direct descendant of the gods, who in remotest ages had ruled over the land in person.[13] Even during the oldest, the Memphitic period of Egyptian history, far more prominence seems to have been given to the worship of the king than to that of the gods proper; and at a later date, while the statues of the gods scarcely exceed life-size, those of the kings were in colossal proportions.[14] The divinity of the monarch commenced on earth, but to every Pharaoh death was an apotheosis; and the living ruler pays his homage and addresses his invocations to his divine ancestors.[15]

In one case, Rameses II. is, strangely enough, represented as worshipping himself in his own image; and again, in a relief in Abydos, he is in the attitude of adoration before his father, Seti I.[16] The king was, besides, priest supreme. A cult like that of Egypt required, doubtless, a large number of ministers; but, in the principal temples at least, the king, as high-priest, alone had the right to enter the sanctuary where was kept the symbol representing the deity.[17] A glance through illustrated publications of Egyptian carvings shows how often he appears worshipping a deity, often being presented by another deity.

It is not strange that the Pharaoh, possessed of such absolute power, having at his command the unrequited toil of his subjects in the quarry and on the building-site, and regarded as a god, the unquestioned ruler of his people, the high-priest before whom every head was bowed to the earth, should have filled with his majesty the vast structures which his word had caused to spring from the earth. His image is everywhere about the temple; in the form of colossal, seated statues in front of the pylons; as huge, standing figures lining the porticoes; and, in relief, occupying the great halls and courts, where he appears, not only worshipping, but now receiving the adoration of the crowds, now leading troops to battle, now returning victorious. Are statues of subjects allowed in the temple, it is only "by favor of the king," to whom they have done some great service.[18]

But while the divine Pharaoh thus bent to his immediate service the most ambitious efforts of architect, sculptor, and painter, there were, besides, many officials of state who employed the artist. Although there were no castes in Egypt, yet priests, warriors, and scribes seem to have constituted each a privileged body. They had command of great resources, all the land which was not royal domain being in their hands. Their importance, even from oldest times, is evident, both from their spacious and gorgeous tombs, lined with relief or fresco, and their speaking statues, brought to light on that wide plateau at Memphis, where these lordly subjects were laid to rest under the shadow of the pyramid tombs of their monarch masters. From this vast

cemetery, seventeen kilometers long, statues of but one Pharaoh of the Memphitic period (Khafra) have as yet been brought to light; but the statues of men high in rank may be counted by the hundred.

Profound mystery long hung over this population of statues, imprisoned within Egyptian tombs, and the gayly colored reliefs, lining their walls like brilliant tapestry. Only recently has this question received an approximate solution through the interpretation of the hieroglyphics.[19]

The Egyptian, with a feeling common to humanity in all ages, felt an intense desire to outlive the few short years of his pilgrimage on earth; and hence, to securing a happy and contented hereafter, much of his earthly substance was devoted. He conceived the life to come as a continuation of existence in the Nile valley. The life on earth was to him but a short episode of an eternity mirrored in the present. So intense is this feeling, that only lost souls are spoken of as dead; while the one occupying a coffin or tomb is called the "living;" and the coffin of Una, the great statesman of King Pepi, is called "the chest of the living." [20]

But the Egyptian believed, that, for the soul's future happiness, the preservation of the mortal body was in some way indispensable.[21] There are chapters in the "Book of the Dead" relating to the uniting of the soul to its body. Now the body, if left to itself, was in danger of annihilation. Hence the efforts to preserve it in a condition as nearly like life as possible; hence the colored cheeks, the carefully braided locks, and that physical dissolution might be postponed for ages to come, the costly embalming of the mummy, and the pains taken in securing for it an inviolable resting-place, far above the rising waters of the river. The hardest stones were sought for the sarcophagus. Hieroglyphic records present the picture of a high functionary sent out by a powerful Pharaoh to spend months in the arduous search for an adamantine block of granite or basalt.[22]

But far stranger than this was the material view taken by the Egyptian of his ethereal part, and the provision he made for it. It was believed, that, under the creative hand of Ptah, an immortal second self, a kind of spiritual double, called the *Ka*, sprang into being with every mortal, and grew with his growth. It was conceived, to use Maspero's definition, as a copy of the body in matter less dense than all corporeal substances, a kind of aerial colored projection of the individual, reproducing him feature for feature. But as the *Ka* had accompanied the body in life, sharing its earthly lot and its dwelling of wealth or poverty; so after life had fled, and the body was wrapped in its mummied shroud, this spiritual part must needs bear it company in the tomb. Moreover, the future existence of this invisible *Ka* was believed to be dependent upon a material support necessarily resembling the earthly body; and hence the *Ka* received a statue which it might occupy through the ages of an endless future. That this statue might be enduring, it was made of hard stone,

and concealed from danger. Out of this, its stony body, it was believed that the shade could wander, walking among men in true ghostly fashion.[23] But a single statue might perish, or become mutilated, and future happiness be forfeited. Hence that unique feature of earlier Egyptian statuary, the multiplication of the figures of the deceased in his tomb.

Like other men, the Egyptian dreaded the helplessness and solitude of the grave; the more so, that he attached such reality to it. This phantom would suffer hunger, and be in danger of annihilation, did not surviving friends care for its wants, and piously bring it offerings of food and drink.[24] Did they, however, neglect such sacred duties, then the dead would be roused to anger; and the spirit, or *Ka*, would have its revenge.[25]

But the Egyptian did not depend upon the pious devotion of surviving friends alone. His family might become extinct, and then his shade would be neglected. Consequently, in his lifetime he took every precaution to insure its future well-being. The poor and down-trodden could hope for little; and, as remains show, a few amulets, a bath of natron, a few windings of linen, and a grave in the dry, conserving sand, were all the precautions taken against dissolution.[26] But the Pharaoh and the rich were better able to provide for their future.

The site of the tomb was always chosen high above the overflowing waters, in strong contrast to the abodes of the living, built within reach of the swelling Nile, and of which scarcely a vestige remains. The Egyptians, as we are told by the Greek Diodoros, called their dwellings "inns," on account of the shortness of life; but the tombs they called "eternal dwelling-places," and this expression is met constantly in inscriptions within the tombs.[27] On the plateau of the Libyan, or Western range, behind which the sun dropped every evening, there to commence his dangerous journey through the sombre land of Ament, the Egyptian chose the site for burial. The western shore of the Nile was thus the land of the dead: graves are found on the eastern shore, only where the distance over to the Libyan mountains was too great for friends to go with food for the dead, and return by easy journey. Wherever found, the tombstones, however, always face the East, as though the mummy were watching for the rising sun, which should illumine his night, and put an end to his long sleep.

The tomb of the rich of the oldest period is the original form from which those of later times seem to have been derived. It consists, as a rule, of three parts, — first, the mummy-chamber; second, the shaft; and third, the chapel, with its adjoining dark recess filled with statues, and called by the Arabs *serdâb*.[28]

The mummy-chamber is hewn deep within the living rock: and its walls, massive and enduring as eternity, are pictureless; showing, at the most, traces of ritual phrases.[29] In the centre stands the lonely sarcophagus, hermetically

sealed, and containing the mummy. Accompanying the coffin, a few large red vases of coarse fabric, and the remains of quarters of beef, are all that have been found in mummy-chambers of the oldest period. These vases, doubtless, once contained water, as was the case with those found in other parts of the tomb. It is not strange, with the parching desert on every side, that aridity should have been the synonyme for death; and that water, deemed the essential principle of life, should have been abundantly provided for the thirsty *Ka*.[30] The numberless statuettes, and well-manned models of boats, found with the sarcophagus, appear for the first time in the tombs of the Eleventh Dynasty, at the opening of the Theban, or second, period.

The entrance to this hidden chamber is always found scrupulously closed with solid masonry. From it leads up the long and narrow vertical shaft, in many places reaching a depth of thirty meters, and filled up with a conglomerate of earth and stone, to make still more inviolate the mummy's rest. The mouth is most carefully concealed; and often a false shaft is made, to lead astray any inquisitive searcher.

Over the concealed entrance to the mummy-chamber rises, in the shape of a truncated pyramid, the *mastaba*. It varies in size, and richness of internal appointments, with the age and wealth of the deceased, who had devoted much of his substance while living to making habitable this his "eternal dwelling." In this *mastaba* was the chapel where children, friends, and appointed priests met, on certain festivals, to eat and drink with the departed, doing him religious honors, and setting aside his portion on a table of offerings; thus keeping up the consoling fiction of an earthly life in common with the living.[31] Here, even the stranger could enter, and say the prayers which the deceased, speaking from inscriptions on the walls, besought him to repeat for their mutual welfare. The outer walls of the *mastaba* were not usually the field upon which the ancient sculptor displayed his skill; although, in some instances, his work is found on the façade. About the door is, however, invariably a stereotyped formula of prayer in hieroglyphics, followed by a mention of the funereal gifts to be presented to the deceased on certain anniversaries, "even to eternity." Stepping inside, gayly painted reliefs, covering the walls, present themselves on every hand. Sometimes these brilliant linings of the tombs were found unfinished, the occupant having been surprised by death before the sculptor had completed his work.[32]

Could we imagine the rich man's children and friends about us, we should, doubtless, hear them discourse upon the *Ka* statues of their departed ancestor, walled up in a dark recess adjoining. As a rule, the chapel of every tomb of the Ancient Empire is furnished with one such recess, called *serdâb*. In the tomb of Pehen-u-ka, at Sakkarah, six such enclosures were discovered, unfortunately despoiled; and, as the part of a statue was found in the chapel of the same tomb at Sakkarah, it is evident that the statues were not all confined in

the *serdâb*. The two figures in the chapel of Ti are another proof that statues of the tomb were occasionally allowed outside of the closed *serdâb*. Sometimes, however, figures within this enclosure had direct communication with the chapel through a crack in the wall, only wide enough to admit a hand, and intended as a channel of intercourse between the convivial gathering in the chapel and the silent, walled-up statues. On a relief in the tomb of Ti at Memphis, friends appear at this opening, wafting grateful incense to reach the stony nostrils within.[33] Frequently, twenty or more statues of the *Ka* are found in these closed recesses; all representing the deceased, as is evident from their similarity one to the other, and their dedicatory inscriptions. In the *serdâb* of Ra-hotep's famous tomb at Memphis, eighteen portraits of the worthy dignitary were found, some of them in red granite, others in limestone, and one in Oriental alabaster. The largest of these measured eighty-three, and the smallest thirty-five, centimeters in height; the deceased appearing in different poses, either seated, standing, or kneeling.[34]

In keeping with the desire to alleviate the solitude of the tomb, were depicted on its walls the forms of the favorites and attendants of the deceased. As far back as we can trace the Egyptian, he was too advanced to secure society for his dead by the bloody immolations practised by many primitive peoples, as, for instance, African races of to-day. The speaking forms of art had been called to his aid, depicting in small statues, but far more in brilliant relief, servants and craftsmen in the routine and ardor of work. The busy cook kneads bread, the butcher slays the ox; and thus the services of the *Ka*, or double, of the servant, were secured for his master's shade. Episodes of the shambles are made still more real by accompanying inscriptions, as where one shouts, "Hold him fast!" and another replies, "Ready, make haste." Even jokes from his busy attendants are sometimes written on the walls, to delight the ear of the dead. A noisy sailor on the water, in one case, shouts to an old man, "Go you, too, on the water!" to which the reply is, "Don't make so many words."[35] In the tomb of Ti, some of the servants are clearly portraits, as the cripple, leading "pick-eared" hounds. Brilliant color throws its charm over many scenes, and what the low relief could not otherwise have brought out appears as clear as life. Surrounded by rural scenes, among his servants, or in the midst of his family, sometimes engaged in pleasant games, or diverted by the graceful dance, continually re-appears the all-important inhabitant of this "eternal dwelling," towering in colossal proportions above his pygmy attendants or kin.[36] That all this concerns the dead, appears most clearly from inscriptions, such as are found repeatedly in the tomb of Ti at Memphis. Here occur the explanatory words, "He sees the plucking of grapes, and all the labors of the field." "Ti sees the stables of the oxen and small beasts, the trenches and canals of the tomb: he sees the gathering of the flax, the harvesting of the wheat, its transport on the back of the ass," and the like.

An honored place in the west wall of the chapel is given to the tombstone proper, the stele, on which the deceased appears, often as standing, receiving the pleasant gifts of his surviving friends, or as seated before a table laden with good things, of which he was believed to partake. To these was added a written prayer, the counterpart of that of the façade, that the god would see to it that the *Ka* of the departed actually received these offerings intended for him.

Below the stele is sometimes found, still uninjured, a table of offering and libation, often of fine workmanship and ornamented form. On one such table of wood, vases, evidently once intended for water, were found, as well as a figure of a plucked goose, in stone.[37] On these tables, friends perhaps deposited the food which should go to nourish the languishing *Ka*. So important was deemed the continuance of these provisions, that the great ones of Egypt set apart lands and goods, the revenues of which should supply banquets, to be held in their chapels through all ages to come; stipulating with priests by contracts for their perpetuity, as well as their abundance and variety. Many of these written contracts are still extant, and date as early as the Fourth Dynasty.[38] In the tomb of an unknown nobleman of the Sixth, and of Hapi Toofi of the Thirteenth, Dynasty, are found whole deeds or fragments relating to the duties of the *Ka*-priest, and to the institution of sacrifices for the statue of a deceased prince.

Thus, by a most ingenious intermingling of spiritual and material elements, making his tomb like his home on earth, only more enduring, the Egyptian believed that his happy future was secure.

A lively communication between this busy spirit world and living men was supposed to exist. Thus, to the wooden statue of an Egyptian lady, which is now in Leyden, was found attached an importunate papyrus letter from her living husband, who evidently expects his better half, though in the grave, to get the full force of his message.[39]

As the well-sealed mummy-chamber of the humbler tombs contained the sarcophagus and mummy; so those vast tumuli of accurate geometrical shape, the pyramids, were the mummy-chambers of royal tombs.[40] For royalty, the chapels appear to have been built separate from the pyramid; since the ruins of buildings have been discovered to the east of the second and third pyramids. Here religious services were kept up for countless generations in honor of the dead king by his descendants, and by colleges of priests appointed for the purpose.[41] Many a functionary who now reposes by his Pharaoh in the Memphis sands is proud to say, that he was "priest of the temple of the pyramid of his king."

Did these temples connected with the pyramids, like the chapels in humbler tombs, have their *serdâb* with concealed statues of the Pharaoh, or were the statues of the king left exposed? Scarcely a vestige of these pyra-

mid temples now remains, and still less of their statuary and reliefs, to aid in the solution of this query. It is possible that the seven famous statues of Chephren (Khafra), found by Mariette in a well, in the so-called Temple of the Sphinx, may once have occupied his tomb, but, as has been conjectured, were at some time dragged forth by the populace, and precipitated into the place where they were found.[42] It might also be imagined that the pyramids themselves contained images of the kings, hidden in some deep recess. As yet, however, only one chamber which might have served as a *serdâb* for statues has been discovered, — that in the Pyramid of Oonas, the last king of the Fifth

Fig. 1. The Great Sphinx. Gizeh.

Dynasty; but the fact, that statues themselves have nowhere been found in the pyramids, is an objection to taking this for a *serdâb*.

Towering above the vast necropolis at Memphis, the mammoth form of the Sphinx, the god of the rising sun, and so symbolical of the resurrection, guards the silent population of mummied kings and priests, and introduces us to the vast army of Egyptian gods (Fig. 1). The devout spirit of the ancient Egyptians towards their gods is evident: most of their manuscripts are of a religious character; and, even in their profane literature, mythological names and references appear on nearly every line. The national spirit was full of reverential thoughts concerning the gods; and expressions of praise, and en-

thusiasm for their works, abound. Local deities were worshipped in the different cities; and, as each city came to take the lead in state, the local god seems to attain pre-eminence in the great Egyptian Pantheon.[43] But though texts, reliefs, and inscribed statues abound in the Pharaonic temples, yet great mystery hangs over these divinities; and their central religious thought is obscure to us, as it was to the masses of antiquity. We seem everywhere to be met with the famous inscription of Neith at Saïs,[44] "I am that which is, that which will be, and which has been; and no mortal has ever raised the veil which covered me." Glimmering through this obscurity, Egyptologists think that a belief in one God can be traced, at the time of Egypt's highest political power, in a pantheistic sun-worship, shared, however, only by the initiated few, standing on a higher plane. In the fathomless depths of Nu, the primeval ocean, there moved hither and thither, in chaotic confusion, the genius of all things; and, out of this surging mass, the great God, self-generating, produced himself, and fructified all other beings in heaven and on earth. "Father, mother, and son in one," to use a favorite Egyptian phrase, "he was the creator of his own members, which are the gods."[45] These secondary emanations of the great divinity could, in their turn, produce new gods, and are likewise grouped in triads of father, mother, and son; thus indefinitely multiplying the Pantheon, but passing so imperceptibly one into the other that they have a shadowy character, far different from the pronounced individuality of the Greek divinities.

Even the hasty wanderer through our museums is astonished by the multitude of strangely shaped deities present either in life-size statues and tiny statuettes, or on tattered papyrus and finely chiselled relief. In the British Museum he can count at least one hundred and forty bronze statuettes of the mummied form of Osiris, and in every museum he will meet that lion-headed goddess whose five hundred and seventy-two statues decorated the courts of the Temple of Mut at Karnak.[46] But, more than by their countless numbers, he will be impressed by the prevailing intermixture of human and animal forms to represent deity. Human-headed lions or birds alternate with still more surprising medleys of human forms, surmounted by animal heads, be it beast, bird, or reptile. These were probably symbols of familiar objects and phenomena. Noum the ram-headed is called the "terrible face." Doubtless, as symbolical of the wide-spread sun-worship, the head of the hawk appears on all the gods of light, partly, perhaps, on account of the brilliancy of his eyes; the hawk-headed Horus at Ombos being said to illumine the world with the splendor of his orbs.[47] The sharp-eyed vulture may likewise have received divine honors for his services as a persistent scavenger, warding off pestilence by cleaning the land of the putrid carcasses stranded after the overflow.[48] Similar causes, doubtless, led to the reverence of the ancient Egyptian for the ox and other useful animals, as well as for inanimate objects. The regard

shown by the modern fellah for these animals, still so necessary for his land, may perhaps indicate the spirit of this most ancient religion of the Nile.

Much of this animal worship in Egypt may find further explanation in the singular belief, so difficult for us moderns to imagine, that the sacred animals were the doubles of the gods. The bull Apis, the most perfect incarnation of divinity in animal form, was called the second life of Ptah and the soul of Osiris; and when the sacred animal, carefully tended in a temple, died, he became Osiris, and his name Osar-Hapi, out of which the Greeks made Sarapis.

As time advanced, these symbols of the gods in animal shape may have come to express certain abstract qualities, supposed to be characteristic of the divinities. Thoughtful priests, perhaps, imagined into them mysterious meanings. In the texts, animals express mental functions, supposed to be inherent in deity. Thus sheep, kynokephalos, jackal, and crocodile meant respectively terror, adroitness, anger, — subjective qualities and powers which the heads of these animals may have expressed when placed on the human form of the deity.[49]

Upon art, this extensive use of religious symbolism could not fail to exercise a depressing influence. A symbol cannot appeal directly to our feelings as does a pure work of art: it must first receive its interpretation. However much, then, the Egyptian may have imagined into his countless and incongruous figures, they could not fail to exclude him from the purely ideal world, and will ever remain unattractive to the lover of what is great and true in religious art. In the Egyptian ritual the cat appears as the destroyer of noxious vermin; and the artist uses her head on the shoulders of the goddess of purification, whose statues lined the temple-courts at Karnak, — symbols of the purity required of those who entered within their walls.[50] But who on beholding these cat-headed monsters, arranged before the sacred place, shoulder to shoulder, would, without having read the "Book of the Dead," receive even the faintest impression of their symbolical import?

Moreover, the Egyptian gods are not actors in a mythology which appeals to our poetic sense. In most of the texts, Ra, Ammon, Hathor, and Mut are impossible beings; their life offers no change; they never break their eternal speechlessness, except to repeat to king or deceased some stereotyped formula of benediction. Egyptologists tell us, that "Egyptian myth has no charm in itself; that brilliant imagination and sparkling freshness, so peculiar to the oldest Greek poets, is foreign to its puerile details."[51] The dynasties of the gods have their episodes, which are but the counterfeits of the reigns of mortal kings. The god has his court-minister, his army, and navy. His eldest son and heir-apparent commands the troops. His prime-minister, also a god and the discoverer of letters, has rhetoric and geography at his command, and is court-historian as well. He records the royal god's victories, and gives them pleasant, high-sounding names. When the god fights the monster Typhon,

he uses no supernatural weapons, but, with his archers, sails against him up the Nile, makes carefully planned marches and counter-marches, fights battles and conquers cities, until all Egypt is at his feet, — and all this as any Pharaoh would have subdued Ethiopia or Arabia. Although many of these historical fictions were, doubtless, greatly elaborated at a late date, still their origin in the national religion is from very early times; such mythological scenes having been found to line a part of the tomb of Seti I.[52] The Egyptian mind being, then, thus attached to symbols, and prosaically historical in its turn, it is not strange that the artists were held to fictitious and arbitrary forms, especially when we remember the nature of their land, and their isolation for ages.

Fig. 2. Sheik-el-Beled. Boolak. Cairo.

The materials with which the Egyptian artist worked also show most clearly their influence; and, even if his artistic gifts had been of a livelier and more poetic sort than they actually were, the task which he chose was attended with insurmountable difficulties.

Clay was indeed furnished by the Nile valley in abundance, but unbaked figures in this material are most perishable; and the process of firing is so difficult that only small figures can be produced with success.

Of woods, sycamore and acacia grew in Egypt, and were used, as we shall see, throughout its history, for statues and statuettes. These wooden figures we always find much freer in movement than the works in stone; the arms and legs not being "reserved," as in the latter, but carved fully in the round, and detached from the body, so as to give an agreeable impression of life. A glimpse at the Sheik-el-Beled (Fig. 2), of the earliest period of Egyptian art; at the wooden figures of the British Museum, of a much later day; as well as at wooden spoons, like that of the New-York Historical Rooms, representing a girl swimming, — well illustrates this greater freedom.

Bronze, an importation from Asia, was sparingly used, as the diminutive size of the monuments in that metal shows; but its treatment was likewise

free from those encumbrances which make figures in granite and limestone stiff and uncouth. Bronzes often have much motion, and easy flow of line, as appears in the figure of the negro, of the New-York Historical Rooms, who kneels with arms fastened behind (Fig. 3).

But fine-grained marble, of all stones best suited for plastic forms, was lacking in Egyptian quarries; the only marble being a coarse black variety, but little used. The Egyptian was, therefore, forced to use hard and soft calcareous stone, or the harder materials, porphyry, basalt, serpentine, and diorite, — all of which were found in the mountains of the Eastern desert, — besides granite quarried at the First Cataract. For the Pharaoh, it was natural that the harder stones should have been chosen; the great distances from which the blocks were brought, as well as the extreme difficulty in working them, greatly enhancing the value of the statues. This fashion, set by the Pharaoh, would naturally be followed by those who were in any degree able so to do.

Fig. 3. Kneeling Figure. Bronze. New-York Historical Rooms.

But these harder stones cannot be worked like marble, with gentle and finely regulated blows. The sculptor in marble brings into requisition chisels graded to his use, and driven by a light hammer; thus producing broader or heavier lines, the finer touches being given without the use of the hammer. With the borer, worked like an auger, deep or shallow channels are cut; the steady, screw-like motion not exposing the statue to the danger of breakage. The well-modelled surface is then gone over with files of different grades, wielded as the painter would his brush, and making fine lines, which follow the swell and fall of the muscles. To reduce these lines to uniformity, the surface is, according to the present mode of working, usually polished off with emery. After careful study of early Egyptian monuments of the Louvre, M. Soldi, himself a sculptor and gem-cutter, has found no signs of the use of the borer and file, and hence infers that these instruments were not known to the Egyptians, at least until a very late date; the use of the chisel being also very limited.[53]

The Egyptian sculptors, choosing the hardest stones for their statues of Pharaohs, were obliged to deal heavy blows with a ponderous instrument upon a coarse *point*, thus shivering off the rock bit by bit. We see this long, oval-shaped mallet frequently pictured in scenes where statues are being executed, not only from tombs of the Memphitic period, but also those of the much later Eighteenth Dynasty (Fig. 4). The materials of which these tools were composed is also a question of interest. At present, steel among metals alone cuts granite and diorite; and it seems improbable that the ancient Egyptians made a bronze sufficiently hard to cut these rocks. Experiments made in

France with Egyptian bronze failed to cut stone; confirming the belief, that only steel or stone could have been used. But whether iron and steel were known and used in early Egypt, is still a disputed question. It is, however, agreed by all, that silex, which cuts granite, although slowly, was used down to latest times.[54]

But, whatever the tools used by the ancient Egyptians may have been, it is evident that their primitiveness, together with the obduracy of the stone, were serious impediments in carrying out finely modelled details. The work was like a sketch broadly blocked out by the shivering process, the defects of which were covered by polishing. Monuments actually show this polishing going on with oval, egg-shaped objects, or broad, flat disks, which are evidently used with water and powdered sandstone. Finally, with emery must have been produced that shiny finish, still seen on Egyptian statues, which, to the casual observer, has an elaborately fine look, but is, in reality, only a cloak for lack of artistic details.

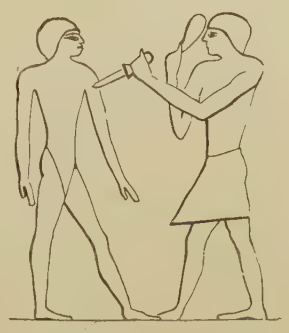

Fig. 4. Making a Statue. Eighteenth Dynasty.

But, besides thus affecting the surface treatment, these obdurate materials, doubtless, also have much to answer for in the constraint of most Egyptian compositions. The sculptor was in constant danger, while hammering, of giving too heavy a blow, and of destroying what he was seeking to represent. The statue would, consequently, be planned so that it might least be exposed to such risk, or any subsequent disaster. In relief, where no such danger impended, we see the sculptor represent lively action: he makes the beard hang loosely from the chin, and the arm extend with staff in hand. In statuary in hard stone, on the contrary, the pose is quiet; at most the left leg is advanced, as in walking; the beard clings to the chest; the hair is fast to the shoulder; the arms and legs are "reserved;" and, in sculptures of the Theban and later periods, a pilaster-like support runs up behind the whole, protecting the weighty head, the neck and legs, and at the same time offering a convenient space for dedicatory inscriptions, but dooming the statue to be but a lifeless imitation of nature. Finally, a pasty coating of opaque color, serving to protect the surface, prevented that charming play of detail which forms one of the chief attractions of Greek works. Traces of red still remain on the famous Memnon statue, the portrait of Amenophis III., and on great numbers of figures less widely known.[55]

The remote prehistoric cycles were to the Egyptians their Golden Age, when successive dynasties of the gods, dwelling among men, ruled over them in person. In like manner history proper is divided up into dynasties of kings, introduced, according to Manetho, by Menes, and continuing through

thousands of years, embracing thirty dynasties of Pharaonic rule. Many of these had but a short duration, while others extended over centuries. Their number is confusing; but, grouped in certain grand constellations, Egyptian history assumes a clearer shape.

Pharaonic Egypt had three great periods, each of which is associated with some prominent and ruling city.[56] The first of these periods, during which Memphis was the central point, is called the Memphitic, or Ancient Empire, and lasted from the First to the Eleventh Dynasty.

The transfer of the seat of power up the Nile to Thebes has given its name to the second, or Theban, period, which comprised the Dynasties from the Eleventh to about the Twenty-first. This age, the most brilliant of all, was overcast at its middle by the invasion and rule of the Shepherd Kings, or Hyksos, said to have lasted more than five hundred years.

But, the empire of Thebes falling to decay, the cities of the Delta, Tanis, Bubastis, Mendes, Sebennytos, and Saïs, disputed the sovereignty. The latter city, as most successful in this rivalry, may give its name to the last era of Pharaonic rule, the Saïtic period, which continued from the Twenty-second to the Thirtieth Dynasty.

Finally, with the Greek conquest and occupation of the land by Alexander, the old traditional civilization began to wane. This process went on uninterruptedly under Roman rule until the last blow was given in 381 A.D. by the Emperor Theodosius I., who prohibited the worship of the ancient gods, and by an edict ordered the destruction of the images, and made Christianity the established religion of the land.

The dawn of Egyptian history, associated with the rule of Menes, fades away in prehistoric times. Mariette and Maspero, believing that the thirty dynasties enumerated by Manetho comprise only the reigns of the legitimate rulers, and, consequently, successors in continuous line, give the date of Menes as about five thousand years B.C. Others, Lepsius and Brugsch, believing that some of the dynasties mentioned by Manetho are synchronous, place Menes at about 3500 B.C., or somewhat earlier. Even this more recent date makes the Egypt of the Memphitic period, with its monuments, gleam out like a light-house in the midst of the profound night which covered the rest of the world at that time.

CHAPTER II.

THE MEMPHITIC OR ANCIENT EMPIRE.

Historical Introduction. — Funereal Character of Sculptures. — Oldest Statues from Gizeh. — Lifelikeness of Statues from this Age, and General Characteristics. — Ra-hotep and Nefert. — Sheik-el-Beled, or Ra-em ka and his Wife. — Ra-nefer. — The Scribe of the Louvre. — Head of Old Dignitary in the British Museum. — Dwarf in Boolak. — Other Statues. — Bronzes. — Hollow Casting. — Groups — Statues in Hard Stone. — King Chephren. — Variety in those Oldest Works. — Freedom from Conventionality. — Stocky Forms. — Greater Freedom due to Material, and to Desire for Exact Portraits — Lack of Feeling or Expression in Faces. — Statues of this Olden Time not Architectural. — Reliefs from Tomb of Ti. — Superiority of Animal to Human Forms. — Wooden Panels from Tomb at Sakkarah. — Effects of Hieroglyphic Writing on Art. — Reason for Lowness of Relief. — Colors used. — Rarity of Representations of Gods. — The God Thoth, Sinai. — The Great Sphinx.

In the Memphitic or oldest period of Egyptian history, the remarkable fact meets us of a civilization developed on the banks of the Nile which should not be surpassed in its subsequent stages.

The first three Dynasties are veiled in obscurity, yet there are indications that society was then in a formative state.

The first king of the Fourth Dynasty, Snefroo, whose reign is quoted in the monuments as the earliest landmark of history, enriched the land by causing the copper and turquoise mines of Sinai to be worked, and went on conquering-expeditions against his negro enemies in the south. But more brilliant were the succeeding reigns of Khoofoo, Khafra, and Menkara, or, as the Greeks called them, Cheops, Chephren, and Mykerinos, the builders of the great pyramids, the most prominent rulers of the ancient empire, and the patrons also of literature, art, and science.

Throughout the Fifth Dynasty the flourishing condition of Egypt seems to have been uninterrupted; but, during the Sixth Dynasty, we see the signs of coming trouble, heralding that obscurity which, between the Sixth and Eleventh Dynasties, settled upon the land. In vain have been all efforts to explain satisfactorily this strange blank. Some have imagined that a foreign invasion, sweeping all before it, brought this blight upon the land.[57]

The sculptures of this Memphitic period are, with very few exceptions, funereal in character, and come from the tombs of that vast cemetery of ancient Memphis which stretches from Gizeh away to the south of Meidoom. The

numerous statues, mute inhabitants of this vast city of the dead, owe their inspiration to that most curious belief in the *Ka*, described above (p. 9), in consequence of which the greatest lifelikeness was sought to be obtained in the statues of the deceased.

Although there must have been a time when the Egyptian sculptor was still a novice in his art, still seeking for modes of expression, this period of beginning is veiled from our view. In the oldest existing monuments, there is scarcely a sign of such inexperience, when the A B C of the technique was being learned.

From the three earliest Dynasties, no monuments which can with certainty be dated have been discovered: nor were it strange had none survived; for, even early in the Fourth Dynasty, older works had so fallen to decay as to require reparation; Cheops, the builder of the Great Pyramid, having then, according to inscriptions, restored a temple, and renewed its statues.[58]

There is, however, a group of statues of so primitive and undecided a style, that they have been assigned to that remotest time when society was probably in a formative state. Several of these figures from the tombs of Gizeh, in soft limestone, are now in the Louvre. Two of them are almost identical, and, according to the inscription, represent Sepa, an ancient functionary, a "prophet and priest of the white bull." A third is Nesa, a lady in tightly fitting garments, a "relative of the king," and, doubtless, the wife of Sepa. Both male and female wear heavy wigs, and carry their arms most stiffly. We seem to see the crude and unsuccessful attempts of the sculptor to imitate nature, while in the faces we catch no individuality of expression. But even here the sculptor has tried to represent figures fully in the round, and without that support at the back always met with in stone statues of much later periods. The tendency seems to be, to have the surfaces square and unrounded: the much developed lateral muscles of the thigh and calf we find, however, occupied the sculptor's attention; but the hands and feet are always feebly given. Green paint, a peculiarity of the oldest time, is still to be seen about the eyes and bracelets. Another archaic statue, now in Berlin, is that of the official Amten. A few other less-known archaic figures have been found in these tombs of Memphis, and are now in Boolak, all marked by this curious band of green paint as well as by undecided and feeble execution.[59]

But the majority of the works from the oldest tombs are marked by singular skill of workmanship, and lifelikeness in the faces. Of these the eminent Fergusson says, "Nothing more wonderfully truthful and realistic has been done, till the invention of photography; and even that can hardly represent a man with such unflattering truthfulness as these old portraits of the rich, sleek men of the pyramid period." The most of these figures represent dignitaries of state, civil and religious; one of a cook, or master of the wardrobe, suggest-

ing the prominent part played by the chief baker in the story of Joseph in Egypt. Not infrequently their wives, sisters, and children appear with these lords of the land. We see these tomb-figures in various positions, some seated on high chairs, others on the ground with legs crossed, and having on their knees a partly unrolled papyrus, doubtless representing the "Book of the Dead," for the guidance of departed souls: again, they appear writing, like the famous Scribe in the Louvre. Occasionally they are found kneeling, with hands folded, and very frequently standing with left foot advanced, and *baton* of command in hand, or with both hands hanging at the side, holding papyrus-rolls.

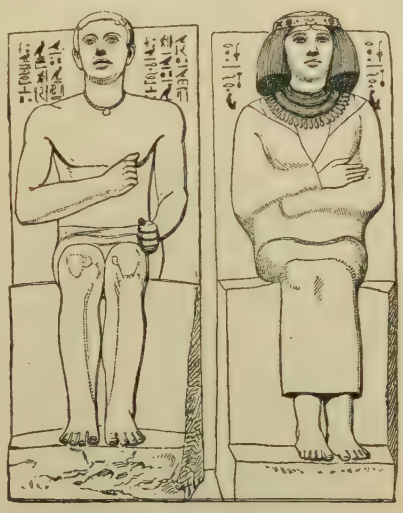

Fig. 5. Portrait Statues of Ra-hotep and Nefert. Boolak. Cairo.

Most ancient among these are those remarkable limestone figures in Boolak, somewhat less than life-size, representing Ra-hotep, "a prince of the blood and general of infantry," and his sister or wife in a snow-white garment (Fig. 5). These two statues, seated side by side, were found in a tomb at Meidoom. The archaic form of this structure, and the occurrence of the name of Snefroo, first king of the Fourth Dynasty, in a neighboring tomb of similar build, make it certain that these admirable statues date back from that remotest historic past.[60] In Ra-hotep's statue, hands and feet, the stumbling-block of the Egyptian sculptor, are sadly defective; but the closely shorn head, and animated face with its intent, upward gaze, have a forcible naturalness, which extends as well to the strong frame, and distended muscles of the arm, raised as if gesturing. The profile (Fig. 6) of this ancient soldier, whose military glory dates from so many thousands of years ago, awakens much respect for his character, but more for the artist who has caught and rendered it so well. The Lady Nefert (the beautiful) is simply styled the "relative of the king." Although she sits silent, her arms folded across her chest, still, on gazing into her eyes of

Fig. 6. Profile of Ra-hotep.

crystal (Fig. 7), and watching her speaking lips, we seem to know her very thoughts. Her bunchy *coiffure* reminds one that it was usual in those ancient days to wear a wig instead of the modern turban, as protection against the scorching sun. Nefert's closely fitting snow-white garment beautifully suggests a form in keeping with her rich, voluptuous face. A necklace, and band about her hair, are all the ornaments she wears; the grace of her whole appearance being due to charms the sculptor has evidently caught from life.

Fig. 7. Face of Nefert.

To a somewhat later period, the Fifth Dynasty, belongs that celebrated wooden figure, now in Boolak, which, at the Paris exposition of 1867, startled the modern world from its false dream as to the rigidity and cold conservatism of all Egyptian statuary. This statue (Fig. 2, p. 17), about 1.10 meter in height, with its round, intelligent face and obese form, shows us, not one of the attenuated, wiry, southern Egyptians, but a type frequent among the villages of the Delta. When first discovered, the Arabs were struck with its resemblance to their own corpulent village chief, and at once called it Sheik-el-Beled (village chief). Although the lower part of the statue, with its inscription, is lost, and the legs had to be restored, we learn from the tomb in which it was found, that one Ra-em-ka, a man who had held, among other offices, that of governor of several provinces under different kings of the Fifth Dynasty, was buried there. Ra-em-ka's front and back are strongly portrait-like, and detailed in execution; although the coating of stucco and paint is now gone. We see a man who has become corpulent with increasing years, but whose fat sags as he grows old. Around his waist is bound a short petticoat, lying in folds in front, the rest of his form being nude, as was natural in a hot climate. The naturalness of the body is intensified in the round head, with its short hair, and speaking mouth and eyes, animated as by a smile. The construction of the eyes makes them lifelike to an almost disturbing degree. They are of that peculiar and somewhat intricate workmanship, employed in Cheops' time,[61] in which envelopes of bronze served as lids, into which was inserted a piece of opaque white quartz. Into this was introduced another piece of crystal, having in its middle a shining nail, which gives the eye its startling and lifelike expression.

The figure of Ra-em-ka's wife, of blacker wood, and found in the same tomb, has, on the other hand, a different character. Although head and torso alone are preserved, we can nevertheless detect in this less realistic fragment an elegance lacking in the comfortable form of the worthy spouse himself. Clothed with a tight robe, her body resembles that of Egyptian women of to-day, having slender hips and lean arms.

The statue of Ra-nefer, likewise an official of the Fifth Dynasty, and, according to the inscription, a priest of Ptah and Sokar, is of quite a different character from that of the jovial Ra-em-ka. In his limestone statue at Boolak, 1.73 meter in height, Ra-nefer stands before us in hieratic attitude, with left foot advanced, both arms dropped at his side, and holding tightly in each hand a papyrus-rod. Around his loins is a scant apron, the Egyptian *shenti*. His face has speaking portrait features; and his form, skilfully rendered, is like that of the modern fellah of upper Egypt, lean, as if dried by the burning sun under which he lived.

The famous Scribe of the Louvre (Fig. 8) is better known than the statues thus far discussed. This limestone figure is seated in Turkish fashion, an attitude by no means easy to express in sculpture. This speaking face and lean form belong to Skemka, the scribe, who seems here busily engaged with his professional duties, as he, doubtless, often was in life, while recording for his master. A reddish tone covers his skin, and his eye is of the intricate workmanship of many statues of this time.

Fig. 8. The Scribe. Louvre.

From this unattractive face let us turn to regard that magnificent fragment in the British Museum, the head of a benignant old aristocrat in calcareous stone (Fig. 9). We see here how admirably the ancient sculptor performed the task — confessedly one of unusual difficulty — of portraying character in life-size forms. A certain kindliness of expression, combined with the flaccidity of age in the skin, suggests the work of some Egyptian Holbein. The large, wavy wig, the fresh naturalness in treatment, as well as the site of discovery, Memphis, mark this nobleman as a representative of the pyramid period. This and other works prove, that, in statues of that earliest time, the ear had its natural position in the head, and that the eyes were not elongated by strips extending to the ears, or the eyebrows expressed by elevated bands, as they were in much later

statues, like the colossal rose-granite head of Thothmes III., in the British Museum (Fig. 25). The rare rendering of the skin in this Memphitic head is never met with in late Egyptian works, seldom even in Græco-Roman art, but constitutes one of the royal peculiarities of Greek art in its prime.

A remarkable statue of a dwarf, now in Boolak, might be taken to represent one who had held the position of court-fool, as this office existed under the Pharaohs. The inscription tells us, however, that he was either a cook or chief of perfumers, Nem-hotep by name; and judging from the beauty of the tomb he has built for himself, near the pyramids where his statue was found, he must have enjoyed great favor and wealth. There is nothing conventional in his freely moving legs and arms. The thick-set, corpulent form of this grotesque figure seems full of life, as we see him rolling along with straddling gait, his mouth encircled by an expression of satirical humor.[61a]

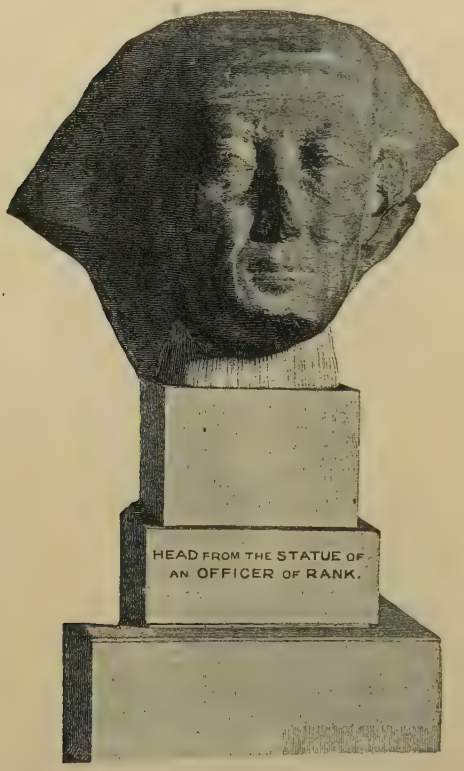

Fig. 9. British Museum.

Besides these statues, there are many others of humbler type from this remote date, but no less interesting on account of their varied and pleasing character. These works, representing servants or mourners, unlike the statues of their masters, have great diversity of pose. We see a youth on his knees (Fig. 10), rolling out bread, doubtless for his master, interred in the tomb. Form and face are those of the ungainly dwellers on the Nile; but his limbs are well rounded, his pose natural, and instinct with free life. So, also, a remarkable collection of six statues, now in the Boolak Museum, each about forty-two centimeters high, reveal the ancient sculptor's skill in representing various positions.[62] We see the cook with hands deep in the dough, or on bended knees rolling it out. These statues could scarcely seem more life-like did we recall the fact, recorded by Mariette, that in Nubia, even to-day, women wear the same head-dress, — take the same pose, and use the same kind of utensils, in making bread.

Another figure, seated on the ground with both knees up, holds between them a vase, into which he thrusts his right hand. Another sits with both knees up, and one arm thrown over his head, as though in the attitude of

mourning. Still another quietly kneels on the ground, with hands folded together, and a smiling, expectant look on his face. A youth carries a sack over one shoulder, and holds a bunch of flowers in the free hand. This figure upsets the theory once held, that the Egyptians never represented the human form in entire nudity.

But, besides these statues in wood and stone, a few in bronze have also been discovered which seem to mount up to this high antiquity. The use of bronze in Egypt, at a very early date, is confirmed by inscriptions as old as the pyramids, and the discovery of this metal in the Great Pyramid, as well as the existence of the bronze ferule from Pepi's sceptre (Sixth Dynasty), now in the British Museum.

A bronze, sixty-seven centimeters high, belonging to M. Gustave Posno, has the stocky form, round features, and thick hair, of the wood and stone statues of the Memphitic period, besides their careful rendering of the muscles of arms and legs, as well as details of the knee. The technical perfection of this figure is most noteworthy. The oldest existing bronzes from Greece or Etruria are rudely cast in one solid mass; but, in this bronze figure of thousands of years ago, we have the perfected and far more skilful hollow casting, all the irregularities of the surface being repeated in the interior. Trunk, legs, and head are in one piece, the arms alone being attached; and yet the bronze is thin and light, the outer surface being skilfully finished by the use of chisellers' tools.[63]

Fig. 10. Boy Kneading. Boolak. Cairo.

Besides such single statues, there are many groups, offering in their composition the original motives for later works. Sometimes the man is represented as seated, his wife standing beside him, and having one arm over his shoulder as if to express affection.

The bulk of statues from the Memphitic period are in wood, or soft calcareous stone. But still others have been found in hardest diorite and basalt. Such are the eight statues of King Chephren, the builder of the second pyramid. These were discovered in a well full of water in the so-called Temple of the Great Sphinx, and are now in the Boolak collection. In the most famous of these the sculptor has represented the king in somewhat more than life-size, 1.06 meter in height (Fig. 11). The inscription on the pedestal removes all doubt as to its being a representation of the all-ruling Chephren, who sits

before us on a rich throne, with the grave dignity of one believed to be a god. The arms of his throne end in lions' heads, its legs in claws; and its sides are decorated with the symbols of Upper and Lower Egypt, — stalks of lotus and papyrus, twined about the letter standing for union. Unlike the statues of common men of this Memphitic age, the heads of many of which are bare, or covered with a cumbrous wig, here a stiffly regular head-dress, the royal *klaft*, surmounts the locks in front; and the sacred hawk, with outstretched wings, hovers over the back of the head; while a square-shaped beard hangs from the chin. Although there seems an attempt here to raise the figure of the king above the common herd, yet the portrait features are unmistakable; and he appears as he did while ruling among men. The broad shoulders, vigorous chest, and thoroughly executed knees, show in the sculptor a powerful hand, little baffled by the obdurate material, a stone even harder than porphyry. The fragment of another of these statues of King Chephren, a head in basalt, also at Boolak, represents this god-king in the wane of life, aged and wrinkled, but with all the dignity of the statue just described.

Fig. 11. King Chephren. Boolak. Cairo.

Although there is something monotonous in the frequent repetition of seated and kneeling statues, the variety of pose is greater than in later art; and there is little of that constraint given to later statues by the invariable pilaster left at the back. The sense of nature indicated by the curving shoulders and the swelling back of statues of this period in the British Museum is most pleasing, and disproves the assertion, that Egypt did not and could not produce full statues in the round.

In all these statues of the Memphitic age, with their varied poses, speaking faces, naturalistic forms, the artist's freedom is apparent. Frequently the only conventionalism suggested by these heads is seen in the arrangement of the wig, doubtless following the prevailing fashion, which seems frequently to have been changed. According to Mariette, in the Third, and early part of the Fourth, Dynasty, the wig is large, spreading out over the shoulders, but generally leaving the ears uncovered: later, the round, smiling, kindly face peers out from a wig which more frequently covers the ears.

In these ancient statues the form is, as a rule, stocky and thick-set, having

lean extremities; and great care may be noticed in the representation of many parts, *e.g.*, the muscles about the knee-pan. Thus, in the sturdy walking figure in the British Museum from Gizeh,[64] there is a careful study of nature. Veins, and gentle tissues of skin, are indeed wanting on this tawny body; and we cannot expect, in the lean form of the usual Egyptian, subjected to this hot climate, to find all the delicate play of transparent skin and full-flowing muscle possessed by people of a moister clime. The favorite material of this ancient empire, wood and soft limestone, as much easier to manipulate than the hard granite, porphyry, etc., may account for much of the admirable freedom in the sculptor's work. The sycamore, acacia, and ebony in use, were, it must be remembered, in the dry climate of Egypt, nearly as imperishable as stone, and were made still more enduring, as well as lifelike, by a fine coating of gauze, over which was placed a thin layer of stucco, afterwards painted and gilded. Even stone received color whose brilliancy is often well preserved, as admirably illustrated in the treasures of Boolak.

But, while thus faithfully portraying life, it must be said, that the sculptors of the Ancient Empire, like their successors, do not go beyond the simple representation of existence; the passions and emotions being seldom, if ever, expressed. We may almost believe, that passion could not have furrowed the ancient Egyptian's brow, so calm is the language of his art. His lifelike, realistic statues can never enkindle that enthusiasm produced by works in which poetic grace, masterly composition, and soul expression, combine to charm the eye. But, to do justice to those old carvers, let us bear in mind the limits placed upon them by the prosaic spirit of their practical countrymen, who required faithful counterfeits of themselves for their tombs. The physique and physiognomy of his race, not graceful and beautiful, but ungainly, were, therefore, of untold influence upon the sculptor. Granted, moreover, that he had been capable of so doing, he would have had little encouragement to represent heroic action, and create ideal artistic works, knowing that they were to be forever buried in the tomb, to keep company with the mummy. Moreover, to the Egyptians excited action or great emotion would have been unbecoming in the image of him who simply awaited the dawn of that day when he should again see body and soul united.

We are, moreover, surprised to find, that the statues of that olden time are in no way subservient to the architecture, neither decorating nor supporting it. Imprisoned in the *serdâb*, they are found arranged in rows along the wall, as though awaiting the service to be paid them; as much freedom as is possible being given each statue without exposing it to breakage.

But, leaving the statues and groups in the dark *serdâbs* they inhabited, let us glance at the gayly hued reliefs lining the tomb-chapels of this ancient period. In later times an army of strange, fantastic gods invaded the chamber; but, in these older tombs, every thing is as little funereal as possible; and we

look in vain for even a single representation of the divinity on the walls. Representative of these reliefs are the carefully carved and gayly painted scenes preserved for us in the tomb of Ti, discovered at Sakkarah. Ti, we are informed by the inscription on his stele, was a civil dignitary of highest rank, serving under three monarchs of the Fifth Dynasty. In addition to high civil honors, he also held an important sacerdotal office at the tombs of the kings of the pyramids of Abusir. His figure appears repeatedly on the walls of his chapel, now surrounded by his friends, now superintending various rural scenes. We see him being entertained by music and dancing. Again, he is shooting aquatic birds in the marshes, or hunting hippopotami from a papyrus-boat. Fish sport in the water; and birds sit on their nests, or fly about among the papyrus. In another place Ti's form towers up among pastoral scenes. An overseer gives orders for milking; and well has the artist caught the impudent kick of the tethered calf, the beauty of a flock of downy cranes (Fig. 12), and stolid life of a drove of asses (Fig. 13), carved here to delight the eyes of Ti in his long home. In one case a driver, provoked by the stubbornness of a dumb array of asses, utters the well-deserved threat, "People love those who go quickly, but strike the lazy."

Fig. 12. Relief from Ti's Tomb. Sakkarah.

Other scenes on the tomb-walls represent the transportation of Ti's statue, and the wafting of incense by friends at the opening of the *serdâb*. Hieroglyphics offer explanations here also, such as "This is the statue in thorn acacia," or "This is the statue in ebony they are drawing." "The servants pour water" is the inscription opposite a servant who is wetting the runners on which the statue is being dragged.

Fig. 13. Asses in Relief in Ti's Tomb. Sakkarah.

The superiority of the brute to the human form is noticeable in all these reliefs, as well as of Ti's portrait-like face to his body. This latter defect may be seen in another set of reliefs of older date, but of superior execution, on the four wooden panels discovered at Sakkarah in Hosi's tomb.[65] They represent scribes, favorites of the king; the one before a table of offering being Pekhhesi, the standing one Ra-hesi (Fig. 14). These panels lined mock doors, such as are found on the west side of every tomb, and seem intended as an entrance

to the world of shades beyond the setting sun. Unlike the usual stone linings of the chapels, these reliefs from Hosi's tomb are of wood; and the tomb itself was constructed of unbaked yellow brick, — facts which indicate its very great age, although the artistic skill manifested surpasses that in later reliefs. Seated or standing, the human figure is taller and more slender than the usual representation of the people of this ancient empire. The finely formed portrait heads, aquiline noses, strongly marked jawbones, thin lips, and arching insteps, have nothing in common with the round noses, full lips, stocky forms, and flat feet, of other tomb-reliefs from the pyramid period. The detailed anatomy about the collar-bones is well-nigh unique in Egyptian relief, and shows a truly artistic hand. And yet these excellences are united to strange defects. The head, in profile, rests on shoulders in full front view; while loins and legs are twisted back again into profile. There seems here an avoiding of difficulties, and a simple representation of things without regard to their actual appearance.

Fig. 14. Wooden Linings of Doors from Tomb of Hosi. Boolak. Cairo.

In explanation of these faults, so prevalent in all Egyptian relief, it should be remembered, that the human figure formed a part of the writing, as may be seen on these very wooden reliefs from Hosi's tomb (Fig. 14). The human form, thus made to stand for definite ideas, and fixed in faulty forms during the infancy of art, could not have been changed without causing confusion in the meaning. It would, therefore, naturally become, in the course of time, inviolate. Repeated attempts to introduce a truer profile are seen in reliefs of different ages, but the innovations of random artists were not accepted; and it may, doubtless, with truth be said, that in relief, at least, "writing killed art." [66]

Throughout these reliefs the colossal form of the all-important tomb-owner towers up among the minor actors, scattered over the walls; and the explanatory inscriptions among them give the reliefs still more the character

of a very detailed written story, lacking in poetry of form. It is most evident, that the sculptor did not intend to present graceful and ideal scenes, but simply strove to make vivid what he daily witnessed, arranging his matter according to the horizontal and perpendicular lines of the writing. The dread of destruction of these reliefs doubtless influenced the Egyptian to make them very low; and, although architectural harmony of effect was thus secured, the sculptures necessarily received a sketchy and summary treatment. To make more emphatic the relief, the artist had recourse to various expedients. Did he wish to indicate projecting eyebrows, he prolonged them in a slightly raised line to the ear; did he wish to indicate the arm across the chest, he separated it by two depressions in the body, following the outline of the arm; and, finally, what sculpture could not represent, he brought out by color.[67]

In executing this multitude of scenes, as we learn from an unfinished tomb removed to Berlin by Lepsius, the surface to be worked up was first covered by regular squares in red. In these a scribe sketched in red ochre a few outlines of the subjects to be represented. This drawing was then filled out by an inferior workman, still in red. A more skilful hand then passed over it with black, correcting any errors, thus preparing it for the sculptor's chisel. Finally, painting came to complete the work; the most conspicuous tints being black, reddish brown, pale brown, yellow, light and dark blue, and green, the parts intended to be white being left the natural color of the stone. Women, if Egyptians, always have, as the fairer sex, pale-yellow complexions, and men a heavier reddish-brown skin. Metals receive also conventional colors, iron being blue, bronze yellow or red: wood is brown, and, when in logs, a greenish gray. Animals receive more natural colors; cows, calves, and asses being represented as black, brown, and dappled. How cheery must have been the impression on the visitor of the chapels, made by all these familiar scenes so gayly and harmoniously colored!

Artistic representations of the gods are wanting in the tombs of the Memphitic period, although the names of all the gods worshipped in later times are met with in the inscriptions of this oldest period.[68] But, though not pictured in the tombs, hybrid forms of the gods existed even then; as we know from one of the most ancient reliefs extant, discovered on the peninsula of Sinai.[69] That being a region rich in mines of copper and turquoise, the Egyptian monarchs, at different times, sent thither their armies to conquer the opposing Asiatics. The tradition was, that the precious minerals in this valley owed their discovery to an inscription written in the rock, not by the hand of man, but by the god Thoth himself, — the scribe of the gods and the inventor of many useful arts and sciences, such as speech, writing, music, and astronomy. This ancient relief at Sinai (Fig. 15) commemorates the bravery of the great Cheops (Khoofoo of the Fourth Dynasty), and represents the monarch as attacking a fallen Asiatic in the presence of the god Thoth, who has the head of an

ibis, the bird sacred to that deity, on a full human body. The inscription leaves no doubt as to the age of this representation of the deity, and reads "Khoom Khoofoo, the great god, having life and health behind him, subduer of the An foreigners."

The other representation of deity from this remote age, perhaps the best known to the modern world of all Egyptian monuments, is the great Sphinx at Gizeh (Fig. 1, p. 14). This most prominent feature of the landscape has been for thousands of years the object of wonder and veneration, and, as indicated by an inscription now in the Boolak Museum, even in Cheops' time needed and received repairs.[70] The colossal form, 652.46 meters long (172 feet), is cut out of the natural rock, and represents a crouching lion, surmounted by a human head, parts of which are constructed with layers of massive masonry. Over the whole, color, seen in Pliny's time, and still evident in places, cast its protecting brilliant mantle.[71] This mysterious Sphinx has been repeatedly excavated from its shroud of desert sand, and its lofty back mounted with ladders, but only again to be half buried from view in the drear waste. Fully excavated, its gigantic form would tower up to a height equalling that of a five-story house; and of the size of the face we may form some idea from the fact, that one standing on the upper lobe of the ear has difficulty in reaching with outstretched hand the top of the head. The Arabs call it "Aboo-l-hol," the Father of Fear. To the Egyptians of ancient days it was, however, the form of one of their highest gods, Hor-em-khoo, Horus on the horizon, or the rising sun, and, watching over the vast necropolis at its feet, may have meant resurrection, and conquest over death. This gigantic apparition on the borders of the desert, with its boldness and energy of execution, illustrates powerfully that mysterious symbolism, so full of high spiritual significance to the Egyptians, but is to us still full of mystery. Was this giant of the desert the portrait of some king, like other sphinxes of later days? Did it have, like the rest, its mate? And why did it receive a form so much more colossal than that of all other known sphinxes?

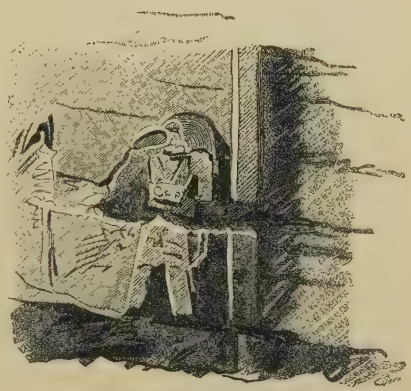

Fig. 15. Relief of the God Thoth. Sinai.

While this one monument, and, perhaps, some of the symbolic forms of the gods, seem to indicate an ideal tendency in the Egyptian mind, the main character of the sculptures of the Ancient Empire is realistic, and, indeed, distinctly portrait-like, as we have seen from the study of its tombs.

CHAPTER III.

THE THEBAN EMPIRE.

Old Theban Empire. — Historical Introduction. — Change in Art. — Abydos, its Tombs. — Beni-Hassan and Sioot, Rock-hewn Tombs. — Colossi. — Conventionalism. — *Shabti*, their Significance. — Reliefs of this Age. — Statues of Pharaoh. — Statues of Subjects. — Priest of Ammon. — *Résumé*. — Hyksos Monuments. — The New Theban Empire. — Historical Introduction. — Fluctuations of Art. — Size and Extent of Monuments. — Monolith of Rameses II. — Tomb Temples, Private and Royal, their Contents. — Significance of their Reliefs. — Osiris. — Absence of *Serdâbs*. — Funereal Temples. — Temple Reliefs. — Ramesseion. — Colossi in Temples. — Memnon Colossi. — National Sanctuaries. — Temples of Luxor and Karnak, their Statues. — Avenues of Sphinxes. — Lion Sphinxes. — Ram-headed Sphinxes. — Rock Temple at Aboo-Simbel. — Colossi of Rameses the Great. — Statues of Gods in Temples. — Their Mysterious Form and Numbers. — Statuettes in Private Houses. — Those in the Sand. — Egyptians' Feeling with Regard to Desert Sand. — Sculptors' Aim at Portraiture. — Khoo-en-aten. — Statue of Rameses II., Turin. — Rendering of Race Peculiarities. — Dancing Girl. — Relief of Seti I. — Battle Scenes. — Causes of Shortcomings in Relief at this Time. — Sculptors. — Mertesen and Aoota. — Sculptors' Models. — Methods of this Age. — *Résumé*.

At the close of the four obscure dynasties which terminated the Memphitic period, we find that the centre of empire had passed from Memphis to Thebes. The era thus introduced lasted through many centuries from the Eleventh to the Twenty-first Dynasty, and is divided by the invasion of the Hyksos or "Shepherd Kings," into two empires, — first, the Old Theban Empire, from the Eleventh to the Seventeenth Dynasty; and, second, the New Theban Empire, lasting from the Seventeenth to the end of the Twentieth Dynasty.

With the first kings of the Eleventh Dynasty, Egypt seems to be waking from a long sleep. Her ancient traditions are apparently half forgotten; the proper names, titles, and the writing itself, all seem new; and, if we may judge from the monuments, a race of more slender build now occupy the land. The style of the monuments at first seems rude, but by the Twelfth Dynasty the mighty forms of the Oosertesens and Amenemhas appear. The boundaries now extend from the Mediterranean on the north to the land of the Cushites in the south; and the stupendous plan is carried out of hoarding up the waters of the Nile in a lake, the Mœris of the Greeks, a reserve to be used in years of drought. Monuments, discovered at Tanis and Abydos, show, that under the Nofre-hoteps and Sebek-hoteps of the Thirteenth Dynasty, as well as during the following, the Fourteenth Dynasty, Egypt had lost nothing of her political

prosperity. But suddenly a people, whom Manetho calls Hyksos, or Shepherds, poured in from the coasts of Asia along the frontiers of the Delta, massacring, plundering temples, and imposing a yoke of blood and iron upon the northern provinces. For several centuries the Theban kings were probably tributary to these invaders, who, although they did not extinguish Egyptian civilization, seem for a while to have checked its course. The ensuing Fifteenth and Sixteenth Dynasties bear witness to this blank in their utter lack of monuments. By the Seventeenth Dynasty, however, the night which had so long hung over Egypt seems to have yielded to dawning day. In Lower Egypt the Hyksos kings still ruled, but the civilization of the conquered nation must by that time have re-acted upon them in their religion and arts: they appear to have adorned the Temple of Tanis with sphinxes, having, however, human heads of an un-Egyptian type (Fig. 16). They adopted the gods of their subjects, adding, however, a deity of their own, Sutekh, whom they made the head of the Pantheon. But the native kings at Thebes did not long endure the presence of these foreign rulers, and, after a successful rebellion, expelled them from their valley.[72]

Fig. 16. Sphinx from Tanis. Boolak. Cairo.

I.—THE OLD THEBAN EMPIRE.

At the opening of the Old Theban Empire, as in the preceding Memphitic age, the tomb is still the source from whence our knowledge of sculpture is obtained. We find now, that the attractive tomb-sculptures of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties have given place to the rude works of the insignificant time of the Entefs and Mentoo-hoteps. This appears not only in the primitive reliefs at Drah-aboo-l-neggah at Thebes: the architecture, the sarcophagi, and hieroglyphics, all share in the general feebleness of execution. During the following, the Twelfth Dynasty, the sculptor seems to have regained what he had lost, carrying out traditions inherited from that hoary ancestry, but remodelling them according to the new time, and thus inaugurating what may be called the first renaissance in Egyptian art.

The tombs now vary in construction, as well as sculptural finish, with their

site; those found on the plain at Abydos being quite different from those hewn in the mountain side at Beni-Hassan and Sioot.[73]

Abydos, in Upper Egypt, was believed to be the spot where Osiris, the great god of the dead, was buried; and hence it became to the Egyptians what the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem has been to the Christian world. Here they chose to be buried, or, at least, to have a commemorative tombstone; and here a vast necropolis, excavated by Mariette, is still to be seen, harboring the dead from the remotest ages of Egyptian history down to the fall of the gods. The tombs here found, belonging to the Old Theban Empire, consist of small, slender pyramids, in which are deposited the mummies; a chapel, or simply an outside tombstone (stele), sometimes adjoining the structure. This vast field of slender pyramids must once have given the impression of an encampment of tents. Very few statues have been discovered here, but countless tombstones, on which the deceased appears in relief before a table richly laden down with offerings, food for the hungry *Ka*. As yet no figures of gods appear in the tomb; but the members of the family occupy the relief, sometimes kneeling, or otherwise offering adoration to the departed.

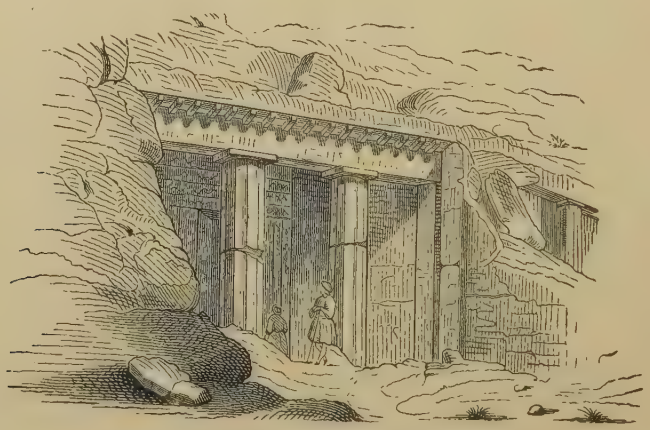

Fig. 17. Entrance to Rock-Tomb at Beni-Hassan.

Quite different are the tombs of this age at Beni-Hassan and Sioot. These are hewn in the mountain side, and were the stately burial-places of great feudal lords of the Twelfth Dynasty. A portico, supported by massive pillars leads into the tomb-chapel, also dug out in the native rock (Fig. 17). The sombre *serdâb* of the Memphitic age, with its twenty or more statues, has disappeared. The statues of the deceased, now greatly reduced in number, occupy niches in this chapel itself, or kneel between its columns. Magnificence and a desire for colossal proportions seem now to have gained the ascendancy, as appears, not only from the architectural character of these rock tombs, but also from the greater size and more obdurate material of their statues. In the tombs of the Memphitic Empire, as for instance in those of Ras-hospes and of Ti,

the statues for the *Ka* were of moderate size, and in wood, or soft calcareous stone: but, in one of the tombs of the Twelfth Dynasty, a picture represents a colossal statue which seventy-two men are dragging to its destination; the ponderous stone figure of the deceased towering high above their heads.[74]

In the statues preserved from this period, we find that the artistic rendering is also different from that in works of the Memphitic age. The forms are more slender and the figures more bony than the stocky forms of the Ancient Empire. The figure is rendered with more conventionalism; although in individual parts, as in the knee and leg, there is still evident a regard for nature; and, in the face, portrait features are represented.

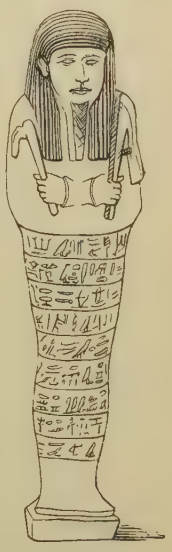

Fig. 18. Funereal Statuette. British Museum.

While the naïve portrait statues of older times within the *serdâb* thus fade from view, supplanted by these later conventional figures, we find that the mummy-chamber, formerly occupied by the solitary sarcophagus, now receives, in addition, a population of statuettes called *shabti*, "respondents," which may be seen in great numbers in all our museums.[75] They have been found in the tombs of the Twelfth Dynasty, and continued to be used throughout Egyptian history. These little figures, varying from a few centimeters to a meter in height, are frequently found by hundreds, covering the floor of the mummy-chamber, or safely packed away in boxes made for the purpose. Their shapes are diverse, sometimes representing the deceased standing in the dress of the period, but generally taking a mummy-form. In the latter case the hands are crossed on the chest, usually holding a mattock or hoe, used in agriculture, which often has a sack of seed hanging from it (Fig. 18). The head with its wig, or, as in the case of monarchs, with the *uræus*, the emblem of royalty, is seldom a portrait; although a few figures have been found with individual traits. The material of which these *shabti* are composed is alabaster, lime-stone, black granite, and bronze, often exquisitely enamelled; but more usually they are of blue or gray porcelain, inaccurately termed "Egyptian porcelain." They represent the deceased whose name is generally inscribed upon them; but the fact that the name is sometimes left blank shows that they were articles of common trade, to which friends added the name of their dead.

But to what purpose are these indefinite multiplications of the figure of the deceased thus made to accompany his mummy? Although their origin may be traceable to the material faiths of the Memphitic period, yet they seem to indicate a more elaborated view of the future life than appears in the older tombs. The experiences of life, resulting from wrong-doing, seem to have awakened among the Nile inhabitants an idea, that, for the shortcomings on earth, either retribution must be suffered or atonement made in the future

world. Consequently, the soul after death had many ordeals of purification to pass through before it could enter definitely into its eternal happiness. This Egyptian purgatory and its labors were conceived of as having all the features of the Nile valley itself. Here, before the soul could find rest, vast fields intersected by rivers and canals must be tilled, and made to bear fruit, by the labors of the dead. Sometimes, pictured in the "Book of the Dead," a lady is seen driving the plough: again, it is a man who ploughs, sows, cuts the ripe grain, and drives the cattle who tread it out (Fig. 19). Lest, however, the deceased come short in his trying ordeal, or, perchance, be wearied in his tasks, swarms of these little helpful *shabti*, or respondents, were placed with the mummy. In the "Book of the Dead" one chapter, the one hundred and tenth, is devoted to

Fig. 19. Tilling the Fields of the Egyptian Purgatory. From the "Book of the Dead"

these labors; and another, the sixth, which was often inscribed upon these statuettes, is entitled, "The chapter of making the working figures in the Kerneter" (Hades).

A strange form among these *shabti* is that in which the dead is wrapped in his shroud, and appears lying on his bed with upturned face, as if awaiting the resurrection; while a bird with human head and arms, representing the soul of the departed, stands beside him, and puts its hands on his chest, as if also awaiting the happy re-union of soul and body. Inscriptions on these reclining figures show that they all are to share in the toils of the eternal fields. The finding of unfinished moulds for such figurines and amulets at Thebes, together with what are believed to be models in stone for sculptors, as well as the excellence of the earlier specimens of these *shabti*, greatly enhance their art value.

In the tombs of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties, the walls of the chapel are lined with reliefs, and still more frequently paintings, the subjects being much the same as those of the Memphitic period. Rural and family scenes still interest us, and as yet no figures of the gods intrude. We frequently see the hunter returning from the chase, carrying the game, with his

dog by his side (Fig. 20). But, as a rule, in the reliefs of this period the same falling-off is noticeable as in the statues. Conventionalism stalks forward with steady strides. The homely freshness of nature in the older reliefs fades before the stiffness of academic rule. Traditional groupings and gestures appear in hackneyed repetitions.

At this time we still find the Pharaoh absorbing much of the sculptor's best powers, the result being statues, so highly prized in later dynasties as to have been appropriated by their monarchs as portraits of themselves. Thus the stately figures of Oosertesen, which, doubtless, once decorated the sides of a gateway from the ruined temple at Tanis, were usurped by later Pharaohs, and received the cartouche of Rameses III. and of Menephtah. The pyramids on the islands of Lake Mœris were, according to Herodotos, surmounted by colossal royal statues; but such strangely decorated monuments, if they existed, are thoroughly ruined: and little now remains except the barest traces of the pyramids themselves.[76]

The vestiges of temples from this age are few. Later generations seem to have torn them down, to build up more gorgeous edifices; and, of the sculptures which once occupied them, naturally little has been found.

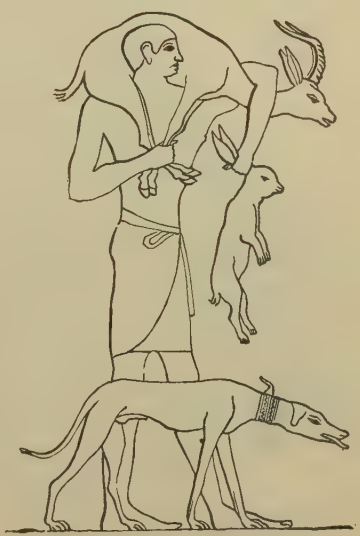

Fig. 20. Hunting-Scene. Beni-Hassan.

A most interesting assemblage of figures, discovered by Mariette in the oldest part of the great temple at Karnak, shows, however, that other statues than those of the Pharaoh then found their way into the sacred building, but, as inscriptions teach us, usually by favor of the monarch.[77] Sometimes the Pharaoh rewarded a distinguished subject by thus recommending him to the favor of the gods. This group of fourteen figures from Karnak, dating back to the Twelfth Dynasty, enables us to conjecture the place which statues of this kind held in the sacred building. These statues were found arranged in a row on a long, breast-high pedestal. One kneels on one knee. One, like the Louvre Scribe, sits *à la Turc*, holding a papyrus-roll. Another is in the ancient attitude of praise, with his knees drawn up to his chin, — a common attitude among modern Egyptians while at rest. One of these figures is repeated three times in different poses; and if an exact portrait, as it seems to be, the original must have been decidedly a *bon vivant*, none too agreeable to look upon. On another of these statues, found at Karnak, besides the usual dedicatory inscription to the gods, is one in which the deceased informs us, that he was a distinguished man of letters in his day, that he was initiated in all the

mysteries of the god Thoth, and because of great civil services in guarding Thebes, and regulating trade on the Nile, had been elevated to the rank of commander-in-chief. Besides, he tells us that he had constructed a pylon, placed in the temple-hall columns of colossal proportions, and erected to the king a statue ornamented with precious gems, taking care to add that it was of "hard stone." In this long row of sculptured figures, varying in pose and size, we see Egyptian statues, not architecturally bound, as they are generally conceived to be, but representing simply a row of worshippers, quietly awaiting within the temple the blessing they desire. Doubtless, many statues in our museums once occupied a similar position in some old Pharaonic temple. Such may have been the statue of a scribe discovered at Thebes, and now in the New-York Historical Rooms (Fig. 21). In looking at the strikingly portrait-like and quiet, homely face of this worthy dignitary, as he sits with the papyrus-roll spread out on his lap, we almost forget the astonishing anatomy, the amusingly regular folds of his abdomen, and the impossible manner in which he crosses his legs. The badge of office over his shoulders, as well as the inscription, show that this bland ancient was once a priest of Ammon at Thebes, and not an official of the Memphitic period, as the naturalness of the face might tempt us to think.

Fig. 21. Priest of Ammon. New-York Historical Rooms.

In looking over these statues of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties, we find that the sculptor does not create new types, but holds on to those familiar forms handed down from an honored past. Thus, like the seated Chephren of old, the monarch still sits solemnly erect, with hands at rest. This is well illustrated in a statue in the Louvre of Sebek-hotep of the Thirteenth Dynasty. Thus also statues of scribes, like the scribe of old, still cross their legs, as seen in the figure of Mentoo-hotep, discovered by Mariette at Karnak, and belonging to this age; so, also, the old Memphitic figure of a bread-kneader, with hands deep in the dough, is repeated in the figures of this time. In the Berlin Museum such are to be seen, accom-

panying the sarcophagus of Mentoo-hotep, palace inspector in Thebes, during the Eleventh Dynasty.[78]

After the brilliant reigns of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties came the gloomy invasion of the Hyksos. Very few monuments from this troubled period are preserved. At Tanis, which is identified with Avaris, the ancient seat of the Hyksos power, Mariette discovered, however, several very peculiar sculptures, which, although of Egyptian workmanship, have so un-Egyptian a type of face, that they have been supposed to represent some of those foreigner kings. More recent discoveries have brought to light still others of these unique statues, known as the Hyksos sculptures. On one of these, a sphinx, was found the cartouche of Apepi, known from Manetho to have been one of the Hyksos kings. But careful examination of this cartouche, and the position it occupies on the shoulder of the sphinx, have led Maspero to believe it to be due to one of the numerous arbitrary usurpations of earlier statues by later Pharaohs. The four colossal sphinxes (Fig. 16) among the number of these sculptures from Tanis were found in a sadly damaged state among the ruins of a temple. Instead of wearing the usual artificial *coiffure* of the Egyptian-Pharaoh head, a thick, lion-like mane rises up around the face; the stiff, regular chin-beard alone calling to mind the usual royal Egyptian head. The cast of the features here is strange, the cheek-bones very pronounced and broad, the face round and angular, the eyes small, the nose flat, mouth disdainful, and whole expression fiercer than in genuine Egyptian faces.

Still more remarkable than these sphinxes is a group in gray granite, also discovered by Mariette at Tanis, and now in Boolak.[79] Here two powerful figures, enough alike to represent the same person, stand side by side, holding fish, aquatic birds, and lotos in their extended hands, — offerings, no doubt, to some god. What little is left of the face, with its hair falling in long, heavy curls, and full, clustering beard, shows no resemblance to the true children of Mizraim. The view of this group at the back is noticeable, for the sculptor has spared no pains in bringing out its swell and fall; although, strangely enough, the wide space between the legs is left a solid mass.

II. — THE NEW THEBAN EMPIRE.

The expulsion of the Hyksos kings marks the dawn of that brilliant epoch termed the New Theban Empire. Under the kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty Egypt speedily regained what the five centuries of invasion had cost her, and from now on through the Nineteenth Dynasty held a political position unrivalled either in earlier or later times. Conquering campaigns, far into the heart of Asia, now occupied her armies; and world conquest was the realized dream of her Pharaohs. Thothmes I. crossed the deserts between Egypt and the far-off Tigris, leaving monuments commemorative of his victories in

Assyria. His daughter, the proud Hatasoo, invaded Arabia, and brought home richest treasures and many unhappy prisoners. But no Pharaoh better deserves the name of great than her brother, Thothmes III., the Alexander of seventeen centuries before our era. Under him Egypt became the arbiter of the destinies of nations. Long before the siege of Troy, his fleets conquered Cyprus, and his armies overran Nubia and Abyssinia. During his reign, in the poetical language of the time, Egypt placed her boundaries where she chose. The undiminished empire of the Egyptians continued under the sceptres of the remaining kings of this dynasty, which counts among its rulers the illustrious names of Amenophis III. (the builder of colossal portraits of himself, the Memnon statues) and Amenophis IV., the heretic Khoo-en-aten.

Under the following dynasty, the Nineteenth, the fortunes of Egypt maintained a certain outward *éclat;* but across the glory of its warrior kings, the Setis and Rameses, was cast the shadow of coming trouble. Rebellion had now to be quelled: the widely scattered members of the empire showed signs of breaking up. Now we meet the despotic figure of Rameses II., the Sesostris of the Greeks, and oppressor of the children of Israel.[80] We see him in the fourteenth century B.C. hard pressed in battle, and hear him, in Pentaur's hymn, vow "hard stones," "eternal witnesses," to the gods of his piety; and on his safe return we see spring up on Egyptian soil countless monuments, commemorative of his great deeds. But, after his successor, decadence set in; and by the following, the Twentieth Dynasty, the great waves of triumph and glory had set back in rapid ebb, and Egypt was threatened and invaded by Ethiopians and Assyrians.

Following this ebb and flow, we see the artistic activity of the New Theban Empire, in its architectural monuments, mounting now to unrivalled heights of gorgeous display, now sinking to poor and feeble efforts, sculpture following its sister art. The inspiration of military success, contact with the outer world, and the accumulation everywhere of great riches, produced their effect. Egyptian architecture now assumed forms of colossal size, and unfolded rich variety in detail. The vast temples, with forests of columns and courts, of this age, have been the astonishment of all later time. Sculpture, both in statue and relief, accompanied architecture with greatest profusion. As existing ruins testify, it was the age of colossi. Not alone Thebes was thus rich, all the other religious or political capitals of Egypt — Abydos, Memphis, Tanis, and Saïs — had their giants. This extravagant size is still more astonishing when we remember that these colossi were mostly in one block of the hardest stone, requiring for their execution untold patience and time.

The limestone monolith of Rameses II., once standing with a height of thirteen meters before the temple of Ptah at Memphis, now lies prone in the midst of a forest of palm-trees at Mitrahenny (Fig. 22). Every year, when the Nile rises, this giant is covered by the waters, the portrait-face and

admirably executed form appearing again when the waters retire. On his belt and on the scrolls in his hands he carries his titles. Guiding his steps is still to be seen the arm of his little daughter, appearing in low relief on the support of his leg. This great colossus of Rameses, with its beautiful face, together with the one of this king's wife of equal size, and the four smaller ones of his daughters, no longer extant, may have been those seen by Herodotos standing before the temple of Hephaistos at Memphis.[81]

Tombs, equally marvellous for their vast extent and exhaustless labor, were now carved into the very heart of the mountains. Here, also, sculpture kept pace with architecture, spreading over every surface reliefs of vast extent. But although statuary was thus stupendous, and reliefs were of such extent,

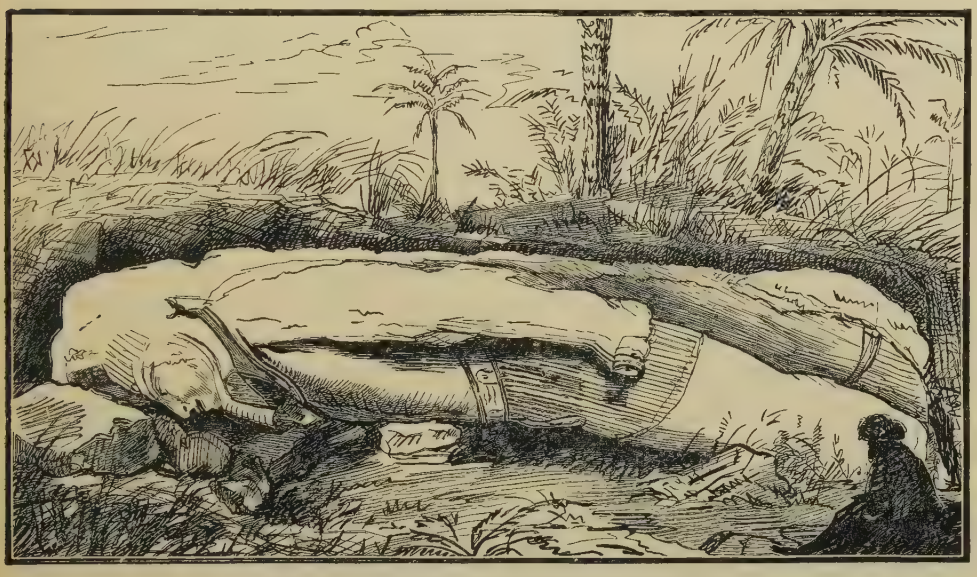

Fig. 22. Fallen Colossus of Rameses II. Mitrahenny.

covering tomb, temple, and pylon; although innumerable figures of gods appeared, and sphinxes lined avenues measuring more than a mile in length, — still, everywhere hardest stones, granite, porphyry, basalt, and diorite were preferred to wood and soft stone, now sparingly used.

Heretofore we have seen the tomb to be of most service in throwing light upon sculpture; but now the temple, imposing in its dimensions, forms the great centre of attraction. There is, however, among these sacred structures, a difference to be noticed, somewhat affecting their sculptural accompaniments. One class consists of great national monuments to deity: the other, erected to kings and queens, seems an outgrowth of the tomb-chapel of earlier days, which has at last attained a size so great, and an adornment so elaborate, as to be worthy of a place beside the temples of the gods.

Before considering these various temples, let us first cast a glance at the

private and royal tombs, those ambitious mummy-chambers of this empire, solemn and endless galleries, called *syringes* by the Greeks, hewn out from the bowels of the earth, opposite the city of ancient Thebes. Every traveller who has visited the desolate, wild valley called Bab-el-Moolok, and seen here the broken cliffs and crumbling rocks of the Libyan chain, pierced by these numerous royal, as well as private, tombs, has marvelled, as before the pyramids, at the perseverance of a people who spent such labor upon their last resting-places. Still greater will be his wonder on exploring these galleries and halls, which pierce over one hundred and fifty meters into the mountain side, and are lined throughout with sculptures or painting.

In private tombs, soon after entering these subterranean chambers, comes the chapel where friends once met for offering: farther on, in the remotest part, in a niche, and raised on a kind of platform, the stiff statue of the deceased was to be seen, usually accompanied by wife and children, many of which figures are now in our museums. When the occupant was possessed of sufficient means, and the tomb has been undisturbed, the sarcophagus is found in hard stone, surrounded by numberless *shabti*, and those strange vases, *canopi*, in the shape of the four genii of Ker-neter, or Hades, and holding the noble parts of the mummy. The covers of these vases have the form of the heads, either of men, animals, or birds, according to the genius represented, and abound in every Egyptian collection. On the walls of the tomb, occasionally appear in relief scenes from daily life, as in the older time; but generally these have yielded to the speechless, motionless figures of the gods.[82]

But these private tombs are of even less interest than those of the kings themselves. In these the mortuary chamber is, likewise, dug out in the mountain side, but hidden as completely as possible from public view; while the chapel, removed to a distance, becomes a gorgeous temple. The tomb of the great Seti I., with its passages and chambers, extends for one hundred and forty-five meters into the mountain, its remotest explored end being fifty-six meters below the level of the valley; and the tomb of Rameses III. has a length of one hundred and twenty-five meters. All this vast expanse of wall, ceiling, and pillars, except the chambers of sepulture, is covered throughout with the creations of the chisel, to which the painter's brush has given an additional charm. In one of the largest tombs the excavated surfaces have an area of twenty-three thousand square feet. As no ray of sun penetrates these passages, all this work must have been executed by torchlight; and yet, although the sculptors knew that the entrance to these abodes of the mummy would be permanently concealed, and, if possible, even obliterated, they finished their decorations with the utmost care.

"Here," to use Mariette's words in describing the tomb of Seti, "the defunct is no more to be seen in his family: there is no more making of furniture, no more building of ships, no more extensive farm-yards, with oxen,

antelopes, wild goats, ducks, and cranes, marching in procession before the stewards. All has become, so to speak, fantastic and chimerical. Even the gods themselves assume strange forms. Long serpents are pictured gliding hither and thither around the rooms, or standing erect against the door-ways. Sometimes convicted malefactors are being decapitated, or precipitated into the flames. Well might a visitor feel a kind of dread creeping over him, did he not realize, that underneath these strange representations lies a most consoling dogma, vouchsafing eternal happiness to the soul after the many trials of life. Covering the walls, from the entrance to the extreme end of the chamber, are represented the many labors of the soul, separated from the body, triumphant by such virtues as it has practised on earth, and ending in the final judgment. The serpents, darting venom, and standing erect over each portal, are the guardians to the gates of heaven, which the soul cannot pass unless possessed of piety and benevolence. The long texts on other parts of the wall are magnificent hymns, to which the soul gives utterance in honor of the divinity whose glory and greatness it thus celebrates. When once the dead has been adjudged worthy of life eternal, these ordeals are at an end: he becomes part of the divine essence; and henceforward he wanders, a pure spirit, over the vast regions where the stars forever shine. Thus the reliefs of the tombs are the emblem of the voyage of the soul to its eternal abode. From room to room we can follow its progress, as it appears before the gods, and becomes gradually purified, until at last, in the grand hall at the end of the tomb, we are present at its final admission into that life where a second death shall never reach."

This supreme regard for the inviolability of the tomb, and the careful preservation of its reliefs forever to be sealed from mortal view, seem to show with what tenacity the Egyptian held to the belief in the magical virtue of these pictured and sculptured emblems to assist the soul in its future trials. Did the god thus appear distributing reward in the tomb, the soul would, in reality, more surely receive it; and, did the deceased appear in his tomb as journeying to the celestials, the securer would be his future bliss.

Although reliefs, figuring the gods, thus abound in these rock-tombs of the kings, statues, properly so called, are not found; the nearest approach to them being very high relief at the extreme end of the chamber where the deceased, sometimes, is seated between two gods: and sometimes the front part of the cow-shaped goddess, Amenti, projects from the wall, as though approaching the deceased. All these gods appertain to the myth of Osiris, the solar deities being excluded from this sombre region. "The life of man is compared by the Egyptians to the course of the sun above our heads," says Mariette; "and the sun, disappearing in the west, is the image of the deceased. Scarcely has the last moment arrived, when Osiris takes possession of the soul which he is charged to conduct to eternal life. Osiris, it was said, once descended upon

earth. A being good beyond degree, he had mollified and elevated the ways of men by persuading to good deeds. But at last he succumbed to the ambush of Typhon, the genius of evil, and was slain. While his mourning sisters, Isis and Nephthys, were searching for his body, which had been thrown into the river, the god came to life, and, appearing to his son Horus, made him his avenger. This sacrifice, once made by Osiris for man, he constantly renews in favor of the soul disengaged from its earthly ties. Not only is he its guide: he becomes identified with it, absorbs it into his own being. The dead is even called Osiris. The god must submit to all his trials, subdue the guardians of the infernal regions, and combat the companion monsters, Night and Death, before the soul can be termed 'just.' It was he who finally conquered the shades with the help of Horus, and opened the gates of eternal bliss." This doctrine seems obscure in the Memphitic and Old Theban Empire. The god of souls, though invoked in many inscriptions, is not represented in those earlier tombs; the dead himself being, as we have seen, their chief inhabitant. But, in these tombs of the New Theban Empire, statues of Osiris, Isis, and Nephthys appear.

Nothing has been found in these vast subterranean chambers which corresponds to the *serdâbs* of the Memphitic age, although it is probable that statues were placed in some special part; since, in the tomb of Rameses IV., inscriptions indicate that there was one room set apart for statues, and another for *shabti*. But we have clear evidence, that at this time the royal statues were placed at a distance from the mummy, in the far-off temples sacred to its service.

Turning from these rock-hewn mummy-chambers to the temples of the New Theban Empire, we find that all the temples on the left bank of the Nile at Thebes, with one exception, are funereal. Here the king should receive the offerings of his descendants; and here he was worshipped in company with the deities themselves, sculpture adding its fulsome but indispensable tribute. We find in reliefs actual history now appearing; the walls of these temples being written all over with pictures of the warlike exploits of the kings and queens, or of their victorious triumphs. Thus, in the ruins of the temple at Deir-el-Bahari, built by proud Hatasoo, appears, in full detail, sculptured with great boldness and breadth, an expedition undertaken by this strong daughter of Thothmes against a country called Poont. Here the Egyptian general receives the disarmed chief of the enemy, presenting himself as a suppliant. Behind the conquered man walk his wife and daughter, both repulsive in form and face, their flesh sagging so that it would seem difficult for them to walk.[83] The traveller Schweinfurt tells us, that a similar corpulency is common to-day among the Bongo women. Besides these unfortunate barbarians, we see, in these reliefs of Queen Hatasoo, the Egyptian fleet being freighted with booty, such as giraffes, monkeys, leopards, weapons, ingots of copper, and rings of gold.

In another place the triumphant army re-enters Thebes, marching to the music of trumpeters who go before, while each soldier carries a palm and a pike. The god Ammon witnesses the procession of short-horned oxen, monkeys, etc., and addresses his congratulations to the victorious queen who is thus enriched.

Fig. 23. Court in the Temple of Rameses III. Medeenet-Aboo.

The walls of the Ramesseion, the famous temple of the great Rameses, teem with the exploits of that Pharaoh, the Sesostris of the Greeks; and terrible is the *mêlée* of battle in which he joins, his horses plunging over and among the bodies of the slain.

Besides these historical scenes, there appear, on the walls of these funereal chapels, representations of the king in adoration before the god of Thebes,

Ammon Ra, often associated with Mut and Khons, the other deities of the Theban triad. Again, the royal personage quenches his thirst with the milk of the cow-shaped goddess, Hathor. Still again, the monarch is worshipped by his children. So Rameses I. appears in a niche, adored by his grandson. By all these scenes, doubtless, the living Pharaoh planned to secure to his *Ka* future entertainment and happiness, and at the same time to gratify the spirit of self-exaltation.

In addition to these reliefs, thus lavishly spread over wall, pillar, and pylon of the funereal temples, numbers of colossal statues found here their proper place. They appear, standing around some of the courts at regular intervals, like constituents of the architecture, wearing the mummy-robes and emblems of Osiris, or the garb of the living monarch, but always having the portrait-head of the Pharaoh, as in a colonnade of the court of the temple of Rameses III. at Medeenet-Aboo (Fig. 23).

Again, the colossal seated statues of the monarch occur in even numbers, on either side of the entrance, frequently accompanied by diminutive members of the royal family; the heir-apparent, "the law-giver between his feet," peering out from betwixt the gigantic knees. Such is the so-called statue of Memnon and its twin colossus, sixty feet in height, portraits of Amenophis III. (Fig. 24), before the gigantic pylons of that monarch's spacious tomb-temple, whose ruins are now scarcely traceable among the sands. Until 27 B.C. these portraits of the Pharaoh attracted no unusual attention. At that time, however, an earthquake precipitated the upper part of one of them; and it was observed, that from the remainder, when wet by the morning dew, and touched by the sun's first rays, a prolonged sound was heard. As Greeks and Romans were then frequent travellers in Egypt, this phenomenon attracted much attention, and gave the statues a world-wide fame. Being familiar with an Egyptian hero, Memnon, son of Eos (Aurora), this colossus soon became to the Greeks their mythic hero, greeting with audible tones his mother, as she came at break of day, heralding light to the darkened world. Whether these stately figures, seated in quiet before the pylons, like their companions the obelisks, were actually objects of worship, we do not know; but it is not at all improbable that they also had their stated rites and appointed priests.

Passing across the river to the right bank, we meet with another vast complex of sacred buildings at Thebes, the temples of Luxor and Karnak, which likewise have their lavish accompaniment of sculpture. These temples were not, like those just described, funereal in character, but were great national sanctuaries, sacred to deity, the expression of the piety of successive generations, from the time of the Twelfth Dynasty down to the Roman age. Different princes have here added their contributions to the original structure: one has built a pylon with its seated colossi, another a court with its surrounding columns, another has planted a solemn row of sphinxes before the entrance,

or raised a finely chiselled obelisk. Thus the Pharaonic temples on the right bank may well be called the "growth of ages."

The reliefs covering their interior represent, not the boastful historical scenes of the funereal temples of the Pharaohs on the left bank of the river, war-scenes also appearing rarely on their exterior. We see, instead, the great gods of Thebes in solemn assemblages, to whom kings offer their humble adoration.

Besides, within the building, a king often offers to such and such a god his statue, as a perpetual witness of his piety, thus securing divine favor. These

P. Meurer X. A. Berlin.

Fig. 24. The "Memnon Colossi." Thebes.

royal figures were sometimes erected by decree of a college of priests, or by a private individual who had vowed thus to render to his sovereign due honor. In these statues the king becomes a god. He was himself present in the stone, fashioned in his image; and to him were rendered divine honors in an established service of offering and prayer, recited at the feet of the statue.[84] It is difficult to comprehend the ancient Egyptian's thought; but, in a temple of Abydos, Rameses is to be seen invoking himself in his own statue. At Karnak were found a number of remarkable colossi, representing Thothmes III., the head of one of which is now in the British Museum (Fig. 25). Before one pylon alone, six such statues had their abiding-place. Could we but imagine the whole building raised once again, and these statues, silently

seated in front of the massive pylon, projected against the deep blue, in the blazing light of day, or even see these colossi lying under their native sky in grand ruin, how different the impression they would have from that we receive while standing before the stately head of Thothmes III. imprisoned in the dark galleries of the British Museum!

Leading up to the entrances of these temples of Karnak and Luxor were imposing avenues, through which the worshippers passed in approaching the sacred precincts. Facing the road on each side crouched sphinxes, mysterious combinations of lion and man, ram and lion, or colossal rams, varying with the size of the pylon to which they led. The width of these stately avenues at Karnak is about twenty-three meters, and the sphinxes occur at intervals of four meters. Could we have passed with the ancient Egyptians up the avenue, two kilometers long, leading from Luxor to Karnak, we should then have counted about a thousand such sphinxes, crouching in the attitude of perfect repose. If the sphinx is a pure lion, like those from Gebel Barkal in the British Museum, the king of beasts quietly crosses his paws, the dormant power of his form in contrast to the vigilant face (Fig. 26). At Karnak, between the front paws of the imposing ram-headed sphinxes, and under their placid heads, stands the small figure of a king, whom the divine animal, as symbol of Ammon Ra, thus seems to protect. As yet Egyptologists are unable to discover whether these sphinxes had, like the obelisks, a specifically religious character, or were simply decorative symbols. In either case, we can imagine how imposing these quiet, ever-recurring forms must have been from a glimpse at even the single members, now in ruins, or torn from their original place (Fig. 27). An admirable specimen of these ram-headed sphinxes, to be seen in the British Museum, is from the avenue which led to the pylon built by King Horus.

Fig. 25. Thothmes III. British Museum.

In reliefs, this mysterious sphinx-form receives many variations. Decorat-

ing the throne of Amenophis III., it bears the monarch's head, and stands holding in its powerful clutch the helpless form of an Asiatic foe (Fig. 29). Sometimes it is seated on its haunches, as afterwards in Greek art. Again, it appears as the prototype of the Greek griffin, with a hawk's head, but having the beak closed, as in the monuments of Amenophis III. at Karnak. Seldom does the sphinx receive female form; although the warlike queen Hatasoo appears once in this shape on a small coffer of the Abbott collection, where she is furnished with powerful wings, contrary to the usual Egyptian mode of representing this mythic animal.

But not at Thebes alone, during this time, were tasks of great magnitude performed by the sculptor. Among the mountains of Nubia, in the south,

Fig. 26. Lion from Gebel Barkal. British Museum.

Rameses the Great caused temple courts and passages to be excavated. This prince himself adorns the façade of the great rock-temple at Aboo-Simbel (Fig. 28) in figures hewn from the mountain side, 20.13 meters (66 feet) high, and having forefingers 91 centimeters (3 feet) in length. These statues are all alike; two of them sit on each side of the entrance: and a cornice of dog-headed apes, each 1.82 meter (6 feet) high, surmounts the temple front. The sand is rapidly shrouding the grand and thoroughly Egyptian features of the monarch, who looks calmly down on the great river flowing at his feet. The mild dignity of these faces, expressed in such immense proportions, makes them unequalled for beauty among Egyptian colossi. The structure of the body, however, is rigid and conventional, typical of that vast number of statues which form the stern concomitant of much of the architecture in the Nile valley. Their royal character is marked, not only by the head-dress, but by that colossal size never given to statues of the gods. A relief of the hawk-headed divinity Ra, in

small form, appears in the niche above the temple-door, as being worshipped by Rameses at the god's right hand.

In the Egyptian temple, there was no central cult statue of the god, as in the temples of the Greeks.[85] Usually the holiest place was occupied by a mere symbol, sometimes a living animal; while the statues of the god appear to have been banished to less important parts of the building. The statues of the gods, votive offerings, deposited in the sacred edifice, were, however, numerous, and set up at the expense of the king or of private persons, with dedicatory inscriptions. Sometimes they represented the deity to whom the temple was sacred, and frequently gods who were strangers to the local cult. Those whose piety erected these votive figures did not fail to provide for a perpetual service of offering to be deposited on fixed occasions at the feet of the statues, and for

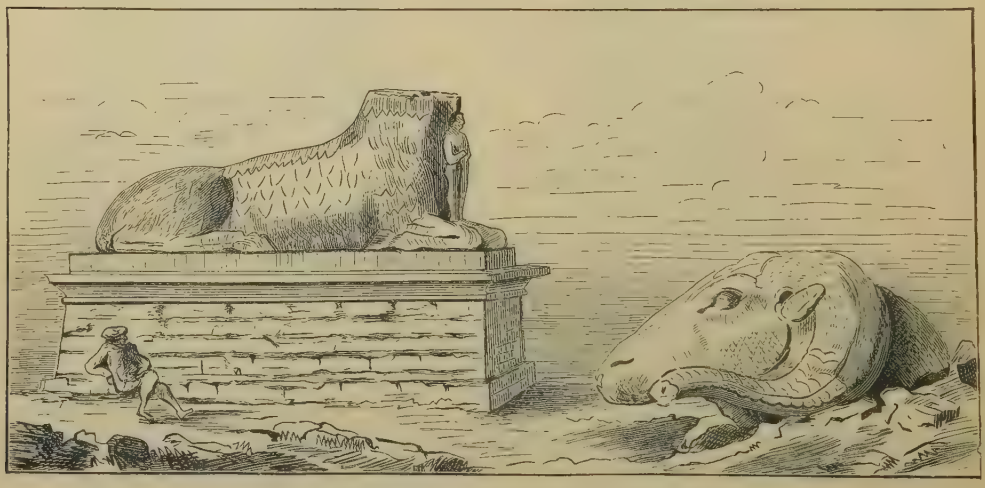

Fig. 27. Part of an Avenue of Ram-headed Sphinxes. Karnak.

ceremonies and prayers in which the name of the dedicator was to be always mentioned. The statue was clothed and unclothed by the priest, who also held conversations with it. A singular dialogue is recorded upon the stele of Bakh-tan, between the god Khons and his prophet, in which the god responds. Other inscriptions show, that the statue was considered the veritable dwelling of the god, a sort of tabernacle, taken possession of at the moment of invocation. Many of the images of the gods were of precious metal, and have fallen a prey to the avarice of man. These representations of deity in the New Theban Empire absorb far more of the Egyptians' energy than they did in the olden time, their innumerable hybrid forms crowding into the background the more natural subjects and naïve realism of the most ancient dynasties. Indeed, among the ruins of the time of the Thothmes and the Rameses, figures of gods, from life-size to tiny statuettes, are found everywhere. The courts and passages of the small temple at Karnak, which had a longitudinal section of not

more than a hundred meters, were decorated with five hundred and seventy-two statues, in black granite, of the lion-headed goddess, standing sometimes in one and sometimes in two rows against the walls, and so close together as to elbow one another.[86] In private houses, the gods, family divinities as it were, occupied, at the extreme end of a chamber, a niche cut to imitate the holiest place or sanctuary in the temple. At this family altar, and before the statues in the niche, stood a table, constantly supplied with offerings of food and flowers. Such family divinities may be traced up to the Eighteenth

rig. 28. Façade of Great Rock-Temple at Aboo-Simbel. Nubia.

Dynasty, and probably farther.[87] Besides, many statuettes were placed in private dwellings, such as those in the Boolak Museum, discovered by Mariette, potent talismans against harm, and doubtless, like the branch of aloes over the modern Egyptians' door, believed to ward off the evil eye.

Many similar figurines of deity were also found in the sand. To the pious Egyptian, this destructive element was an emblem of Typhon, the great power of evil. It signified to him death and sterility. Not only the beasts which haunted the desert, the sand also which covered it, and even its barren, sear color, were an abomination.[88] So intense was this feeling, that all animals, and, it is said, even children, born with hair of its hue, were sacrificed to the dread

demon Typhon. Before using any desert spot for sacred purposes, such as the erection of temple or tomb, care was taken to scatter broadcast purifying figures of the gods, sometimes in gold, oftener in porcelain and stone, but especially in bronze. Of these figures, Mariette discovered very many with the sand still clinging to them.

Fig. 29. Throne of Amenophis III.

But while the Egyptian sculptor of the New Theban age revels in colossal forms, costly materials, and strange combinations of human and animal shapes, to represent his highest ideals, he is still true to the former tendency to make the head a portrait of the Pharaoh or private person represented. Although the lifelike, every-day portraits of the Memphitic period are not seen, and the Pharaoh's features are generalized to suit the larger forms; yet our wonder is aroused at the resemblance to life preserved, even in such colossal shapes. The heads of Thothmes III. (Fig. 25) and Amenophis III., in the British Museum, and that of Rameses at Aboo-Simbel (Fig. 28), bear witness to this individuality. How unique the homely features of Amenophis IV., or Khoo-en-aten, the heretic king (Fig. 30), with his retreating forehead, large, aquiline nose, long, ill-shapen chin, startling, almond-shaped eyes, and flabby cheeks! In his form also, as in reliefs, and in a statuette of the Louvre, we seem to see a representation of life. Even such repulsive features as the flat chest and large stomach testify to the desire to imitate nature.

Fig. 30. Portrait of Khoo-en-aten, the Heretic King. Thebes.

But that the sculptors of this age, while rendering characteristic features, did not neglect the beautiful, is well illustrated by a beautiful statue of Rameses II., now in Turin (Plate I.). Here, in very hard stone, the sculptor has succeeded in giving the softness and delicacy of life. The undulations of form are admirably expressed through the rigidly regular drapery; and the head, full of true ideal beauty, gives a most elevated conception of the sculptor's powers. We wonder at this display of ability in combination with the immovable pose, the unpleasant support at the back, the tiny figures, with outstretched hands, decorating the great king's seat on either

side, as well as the peculiar treatment of the garments, very full in their fall, and, doubtless, in nature of very thin, transparent stuff. No detail has the painstaking sculptor here omitted; and how thorough and happy his approach to an agreeable *tout ensemble* appears throughout, even to the elaborate finish of the head-dress. In this beautiful statue conventionalism seems so coupled with abstract grace, that the great possibilities of Egyptian art dawn upon us with rare force. When this figure, however, is compared with the realistic, lifelike figures of the Ancient Empire, as, for instance, the strong, rocky Chephren (Fig. 11), we realize the great difference between the work and spirit of the various ages of Egyptian sculpture, and better appreciate the attainments of each.

Moreover, the Egyptian sculptor now seizes race peculiarities, and renders them with great skill. This is admirably illustrated in the bands of chained

Fig. 31. Chained Prisoners being Driven. Aboo-Simbel.

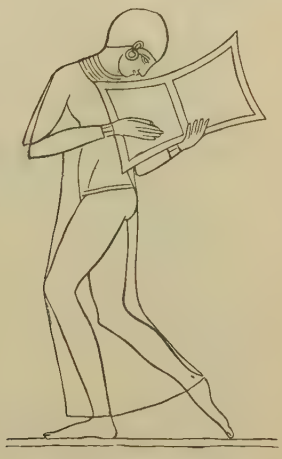

Fig. 32. Dancing-Girl. Thebes.

negroes (Fig. 31) from the temple at Aboo-Simbel. The excited passion and restless writhing of the prisoners, galled by their bonds, is rendered with a masterly hand. In one relief, where Rameses II., protected by the bird-headed deity, decapitates, at a blow, ten of his pygmy foes, whom he holds by their scalp-locks, the characteristics of race are most pronounced. This distinction of foreign races throughout the New Theban Empire is at strange variance with the stiff conventionalism in the forms of the Egyptians and the gods. The Egyptians themselves are now represented as more slender than in the Ancient Theban Empire, and a tendency to elegance is manifest in the more elaborate although unartistic head-dresses and garments. Smaller reliefs in the tombs will be found to be not wanting in attractiveness. That the Egyptian sculptor could render female grace appears from a part of a tomb-relief of the Eighteenth Dynasty, of which a drawing was made before its destruction by tourists. Here, as may be seen in a figure from one of those dancing-scenes,

beauty of design, graceful attitudes, combined with the elegance of the musical instruments, attract the eye (Fig. 32). This figure shows us the artist in a new light, free to follow his own instincts, as he was unable to do in the official scenes he so often had to represent. The dancing-girl, with her head dropped, seems to follow with her eye the movement of her feet; and we may see the graceful swing of her body. The rich girdle she wears is an ornament such as is still worn by young girls in Upper Egypt and Nubia.

But, even in official scenes, there are often single parts which are exceedingly pleasing. In the original of a relief of Seti I. (Fig. 33), adorning the

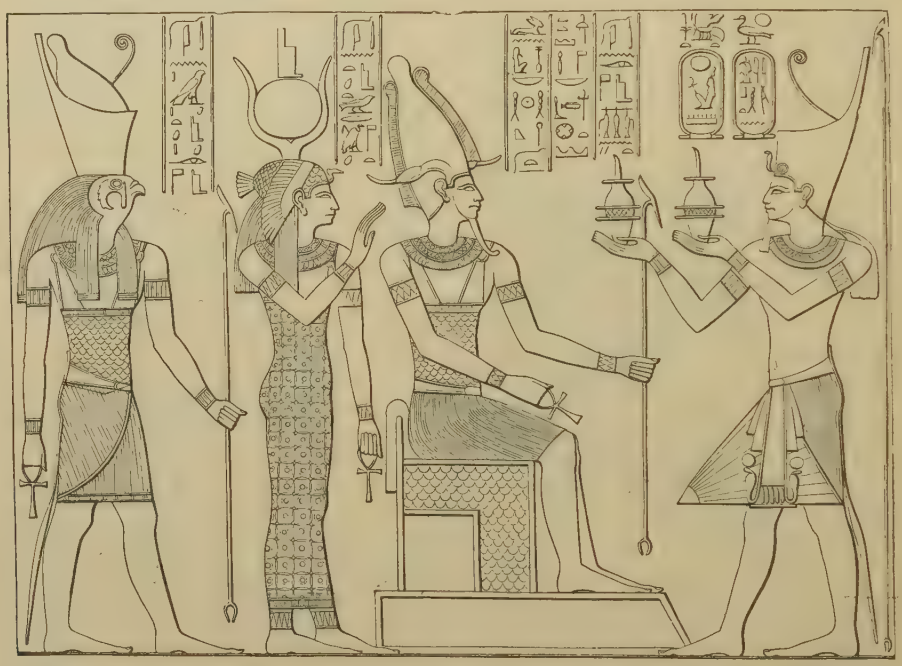

Fig. 33. Seti I. worshipping Osiris, Isis, and Horus. Abydos.

temple he built at Abydos, but of which the cut is a poor representation, the exquisite softness and sweetness of the face, combined with royal dignity, take us altogether captive; and we wonder how an artist capable of creating such a face could have been satisfied to represent Seti's form and hands, both of which are right hands, in so schematic and lifeless a manner.[89]

In the representation of battle-scenes, there is a liveliness of detail and movement not met with in the idyllic earlier art. But the form of the horse is crude, lacking the truthfulness to nature seen in the cows, deer, and geese of that earlier day. The horse was probably introduced into Egypt as late as the time of the Hyksos, and hence received the conventional type so peculiar to later Egyptian art; whereas the other animals continued to be represented with the old naturalness. We feel this in looking at a pretentious and gayly-

colored relief, where Rameses II., and his three sons in smaller size, are represented in their chariots as storming forward to the attack of a fortress (Fig. 34). Each chariot is drawn by richly caparisoned horses, but having shapes more like wooden toys than war-horses. Even the fleeing herd below, terrified by the approach of the mighty conqueror, has more life than these leaping steeds.

The fallen in these battle-scenes are often scattered all over the field of the relief, sometimes under the feet of the Pharaoh's colossal steeds; so that at first sight the confusion of battle appears terrible, as on a relief of Seti I. at Karnak (Fig. 35). The endless repetition, however, of a few given poses, shows how bald and spiritless this chronicle of past events, more like a vast group of pictorial hieroglyphics than a poem glowing with passion and fire of war.

The shortcomings in the reliefs of this time may have in part resulted from the greater size of the buildings. The ambitious pride of Rameses caused vast and numerous structures to stud the banks of the Nile from the north to the remotest south; and, in covering this expanse of walls and columns, it must have been impossible for the sculptor to maintain any so-

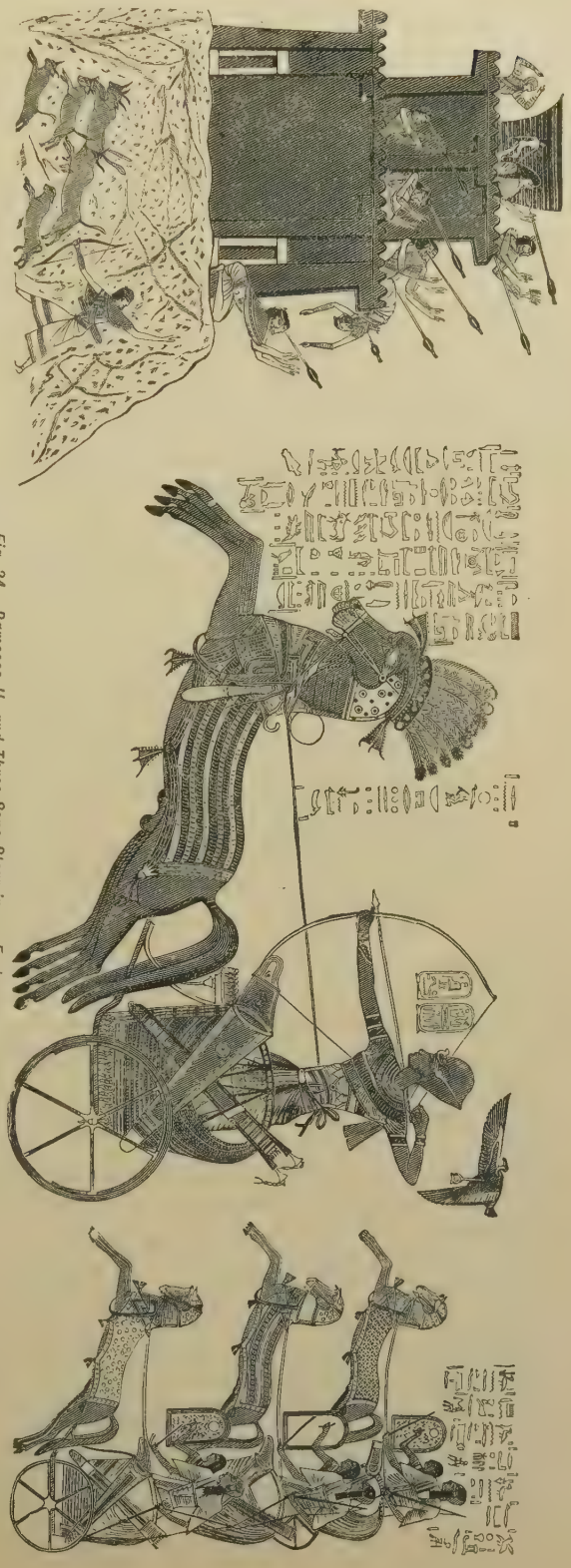

Fig. 34. Rameses II. and Three Sons Storming a Fortress.

briety in his compositions. Not limiting his sculptural decoration to certain parts, but striving to cover every part with relief, it is questionable whether, in the nature of the case, he could have preserved agreeableness of composition and harmony with the colossal architectural lines of the temple or pylon.

So, also, the carelessness of execution in many reliefs of this time may find adequate explanation in the fact, that more was demanded of the artists than they could do well. The coarse workmanship and displeasing superficiality of Rameses' sculptures in Abydos, as compared with those of his father, Seti I., in an adjoining part of the same temple, would thus find explanation in this rush of work in the time of Rameses.

In like manner the increased conventionalism throughout this New Theban

Fig. 35. Setl I. in Battle. Karnak.

Empire may also have resulted from this great demand for work. The wholesale production of sculptures and reliefs must have forced the artist to repeat now, more than ever, certain types by rote, for the sake of rapid execution, and thus to become very mechanical.

It may have been from the same desire for rapidity of execution, as well as for durability, that the sculptor now often carved his pictures, not in bas-relief proper, but by hollowing out the contours after the manner of *intaglio relievato* or *en creux*.

Even the master-minds who directed all this activity probably aimed to produce little more than fine architectural ornaments, and, as inscriptions show, were more proud of the size of their works, and the mechanical difficulties they had overcome in carving very hard stones, than of the more purely artistic excellence of their productions.

The names of multitudes of architects have been preserved to us, in one case the profession passing from father to son for twenty-two generations.[90]

Of sculptors, on the other hand, the names are very few; although the Egyptian word for sculptor, *se-ankh*, or "he who makes to live," is frequently annexed to figures represented as engaged in work.

Among the few known sculptors is one Mertesen, or Iritesen, of the Eleventh Dynasty, with whom we become acquainted through his own words carved on his tombstone, found at Beni-Hassan.[91] On this monument Iritesen appears on the lower row of a relief, occupying the same seat with his wife Hapoo, who has one arm put lovingly around the neck of her lord, and raises to his nose an *alabastron* full of perfumed oil. Before them is the usual table, piled up with every description of food; and above is to be read, "Funeral meal of bread and liquor, thousands of loaves, oxen, geese, all good and pure things, to the pious Iritesen; his pious wife, who loves him, Hapoo." In the middle stripe of the tombstone, this worthy pair are seen making front to a proces-

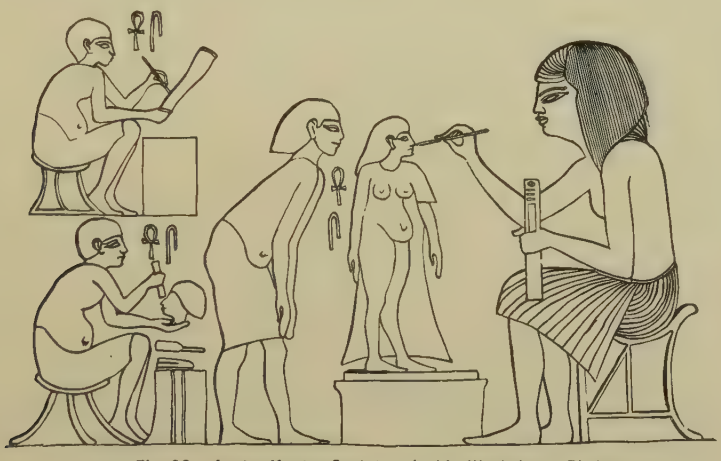

Fig. 36. Aoota, Master-Sculptor, in his Workshop. Thebes.

sion headed by "his son, his eldest, who loves him, Oosertesen," followed by the remaining children. In the inscription, Iritesen calls himself the "chief of artists," and is not slow to make us acquainted with his skill. He says, "I, indeed, am an artist, wise in his art, — a man standing above all men by his learning," and, after enumerating his gifts, adds, "So there is no man excels by it but I alone, and my eldest legitimate son. God has decreed him to be excellent in it; and I have seen the perfection of his hands in his work of chief artist in every kind of precious stone, from gold and silver, even to ivory and ebony." The self-laudation here is similar to that of the sculptor of the Memnon colossi, one Amen-hotep, son of Hapoo.[92]

One other sculptor, Aoota by name, seems to have enjoyed the admiration of his fellows as well as of himself, as a relief on the ruined wall of the temple of the heretic king Khoo-en-aten at Tell-el-marna informs us (Fig. 36). Here we see Aoota seated on a low stool, with a small statuette before him, which

he is touching up with color. In his other hand he holds his palette, one end of which he rests upon his knee. The inscription tells us that this is Aoota, master-sculptor of the great queen, and that the figure he is finishing is of the favorite granddaughter of that queen, the princess Bekh-a-ten, daughter of the king Khoo-en-aten.[93] Opposite stands a fellow-workman, bent over in attitude of rapt admiration. The same relief shows two others, busy, one

Fig. 37. Sculptor's Models. Boolak. Cairo.

with a head, and the other with a leg or arm; the hieroglyphic inscription *se-ankh*, engraved alongside of each, telling us that they are sculptors.

The head, on which one of these sculptors works, calls to mind the fact, that on nearly every site excavated, heads, as well as closed hands, animals, etc., are found, which doubtless served as models to sculptors. In the Salle de l'Est, at Boolak, are fifteen such heads (Fig. 37), together with sculptured slabs (Figs. 38, 39). These objects were discovered in the sand of the necropolis of Sakkarah, where, however, nothing indicated the site of a tomb. They are in

limestone, each twenty-five centimeters in height, and appear to be graded models for art-students, blocked out in the rough. The successive numbers show continual improvement, until, in No. 60, we see a thoroughly finished work. One of these models is cut through the middle, as though to bring out the profile; and others are squared off, as though to establish the proportions more accurately.

It has been conjectured, that these curious relics may be trial-heads, in which the sculptor sought to get the portrait of the ruler he was to represent; or that they may be officially prescribed portraits of the Pharaoh, sent out from the capital at each new accession to the throne, to serve as the type to be copied in all monuments in honor of the new monarch. A curious part was

Fig. 38. Bull for Sculptor's Model. Boolak. Cairo.

played by the portrait of the all-powerful Pharaoh during the reigns of Seti I. and Rameses II., when it was quite customary, in making statues, to give them the royal physiognomy, although intended for other people. Even humble vases were adorned with the head of the monarch.

In regarding the colossi and other elaborately finished sculptures of this brilliant epoch, we naturally imagine that the Egyptians must then have been possessed of all the refinements of a thoroughly developed technique. M. Soldi has, however, shown that this was not the case; nearly all the monuments bearing marks of the primitive character of the tools with which they were executed, as seen especially in the cavities of the hieroglyphics.[94] The high polish finally given killed out all irregularities, leaving the work like a grandly

planned sketch. Even in the mechanical contrivances for moving colossal statues, the Egyptians of this Theban Empire seem to have used very simple means, as is illustrated from a relief in a tomb at Beni-Hassan, and dating from the Twelfth Dynasty.[95] Here the colossal figure rests on a sledge drawn by multitudes of human hands: a man stands in the lap of the statue, and beats time, that the workmen may draw in unison. One pours water on the runners; and numbers of overseers with short whips are scattered along, to urge the workmen in their task. Such scenes, taken from life when Egypt was at the height of its civilization, show that thousands of human hands took the place of pulleys, capstans, and other mechanical appliances.

By comparing monuments from different places, it may be noticed, that while the same general character marked the sculptures of the whole land during this New Theban period, still the art of different cities had some slight local coloring. The sculptures, executed during the reign of Rameses II., at Abydos, are evidently the work of men superior to their contemporaries at Thebes. Those who work at Thebes are, again, different from those whose skill shows itself at Memphis, or in the cities of the Delta.

Fig. 39. Ram for Sculptor's Model. Boolak. Cairo.

As marked peculiarities in the statues of this period may be noticed the support at the back, as well as the "reserved" arms and legs in seated, standing, or kneeling figures. These strange adjuncts increase the already rigid impression of all the figures at this time, both large and small, which are not in wood or bronze. The greater freedom in statues of these latter materials may be seen in the large wooden statues of Seti in the British Museum, where these ungainly adjuncts are omitted, and also in the bronze negro of the New-York Historical Rooms.

A general survey of all Egyptian sculptural monuments, thus far discussed, leads to their division into two general classes: first, those of a freer sort, mostly belonging to earlier periods, almost always in wood, bronze, or soft stone, and having small proportions; second, those chiefly of the later period, larger and more conventional, in which sculpture becomes architectural in its spirit. To this latter class belong the so-called Osirid pillars lining the temple-courts, the seated royal colossi before the entrances, the sacred apes hocking on the cornices of the pylons or around the bases of the obelisks, the sphinxes bordering the avenues, and the lion-headed goddesses symmetrically arranged in temple-areas. But it is to be noticed, that these sacred objects never support any thing. They simply supplement architectural lines. In scarcely more than two cases does the human form bear the roof. Such duty is only performed by prisoners, bent and distorted under their burden, as in the portico of the so-

called Pavilion of Rameses, at Thebes. In representations of Pharaoh's throne (Fig. 29), we sometimes see a negro and an Asiatic, bound back to back, and standing as though supporting the seat with their heads; and, in actual furniture and utensils, the figure of prisoner or slave was frequently made thus to do servile duty.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SAÏTIC AND LOWER EMPIRES.

Historical Introduction. — Changes caused by the Nature of the Delta. — Structures of Brick. — Art at Saïs. — Greater Costliness of Material. — Elaborateness of Finish. — Absence of Colossal Forms. — Ameneritis. — Statues at Sakkarah. — Reliefs more Varied and Graceful. — Cause of Conservatism in Egyptian Art. — Proportions of Statuary. — Decline of Egyptian Sculpture from Time of Alexander.

For centuries Thebes had enjoyed a pre-eminent position, but by the Twenty-first Dynasty she yielded her proud rank to the growing cities of the Delta. Among these the most important was Saïs, which gives its name to the remaining period of national Egyptian rule, reaching down to the conquest of the Nile valley by Alexander the Great, 332 B.C.

The opening of this Saïtic period was marked by serious reverses to Egyptian arms. The vast possessions abroad, results of the brilliant conquests of the Thothmes and Rameses, were gone; and Egypt found herself surrounded by enemies. Among the principal features of the earlier part of this period were the prevalence of Semitic influence, the dominating position of the hierarchy, the contention of the Assyrians and Ethiopians for possession of the land, resulting in the supremacy of the latter.

But about the middle of the seventh century, 660 B.C., a change appeared, associated with the name of Psammetichos I. of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, resulting in a renaissance in state and in art. This vigor in Egyptian affairs seems to have found its parallel in other parts of the ancient world. In distant Mesopotamia, Assyrian kings were building vast palaces, and decorating them with the most perfect of known Assyrian sculptures, little conscious of the Persian power in the north which should soon lay waste their land, and conquer Egypt also. Psammetichos, who appears to have had Libyan blood in his veins, encouraged intercourse with the Greeks, and other distant lands. His policy was followed out by his successors; and, one hundred years later, Amasis encouraged the settlement of Greeks at his capital, Saïs. But Amasis was scarcely in his grave when the Persian Cambyses appeared on the borders, and reduced Egypt (about 527 B.C.) to a province of his kingdom. During the following, the fifth and fourth centuries, when in Greece a Pheidias and Praxiteles were in their prime, the Persians repeated their invasions, meeting with

spasmodic resistance. The last and most effective blow to Egyptian life was received with the conquest under Alexander. From that time independence and national vigor seem to have slowly vanished; and Egypt became a submissive servant, first of the Ptolemies, and finally of the Romans.

During the Saïtic period, as during that of Thebes which preceded it, temple and tomb seem to have been the sculptor's principal field of activity. Both king and subject still desired the preservation of the mummy and its tomb, as well as the perpetuation of the funeral services in the chapel; but the nature of the land of the Delta required other modes of procedure than those practised on other sites. On the alluvial plains of Lower Egypt, subject to the annual overflow, security against moisture could only be attained by the erection of vast structures, whose foundations would resist the flowing waters. That this was the course pursued, is evident from a few ruins and the testimony of ancient writers.

The kings of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, as we are told by Herodotos, found their last resting-place in the midst of the temple at Saïs, sacred to Neith, described by the Greek historian as of great magnitude. No ruins of these royal tombs are preserved, to throw light on their structure and decoration.

Private Egyptians of this time seem to have deposited their dead in extensive structures of brick built for this purpose, the adjoining chambers serving as chapels. Two such mountains of brick were discovered by Champollion, still containing the funereal figurines and vases.[96] But these masses with their cells between, washed every year by the Nile, have absorbed, like a sponge, the moisture of the river, and become, for the most part, hopeless ruins.

But, while Saïs itself has rendered very little, the monuments of this age at Thebes and Memphis still exist. These consist mostly of tombs, which are found to contain statues and figurines, as well as reliefs, showing great fondness for elegance and costliness of material, and a more elaborate taste than that of the times gone before. Wood, formerly so much used, and so easily worked, is rarely found; but bronze, Oriental alabaster, green and black basalt, porphyry, and serpentine, are very frequently employed. Far greater costliness of material is likewise noticeable in the *shabti*, as well as the statuettes strewn in the sand for purification, and in the large figures. In bronze an elaborate finish adds to the elegance and *finesse* of the figures, well illustrated by those belonging to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, and found by Mariette at Medeenet-Aboo. On raising a stone, there were brought to light nearly a thousand bronzes, all representing Osiris. In these the diversity of color in the details is obtained by layers of *lapis lazuli* and brilliant red paste introduced into the bronze, as well as by threads of gold filling up furrows cut into the metal.

But, besides this tendency to employ more costly material, there is also a

change in the treatment of forms. Colossal statues now give place to works more unpretending in size, but finished with the painstaking care of a cameo or miniature painting. The broad, massive treatment and sketchy surface of older statues are now exchanged for roundness in detail, and astonishing neatness of manipulation. Although the inherited general forms are retained, there is a decided attempt to make them more agreeable by mellowing their sharp lines, and bestowing upon them delicacy of execution. But the works of art thus produced lack the vigor of the older period. Portraits now lose their realistic character beneath a veil, as it were, of elegance, frequently robbing them of any particular interest.

Among the most perfect of the works of this time is the statue, now in Boolak, of Queen Ameneritis, a lady who played a most important part in the history of her day. She was the wife of one of the Ethiopian kings of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, and grandmother to Psammetichos I. The figure of this queen, 1.67 meter high, is in costly Oriental alabaster, and appears to have been surmounted by two golden plumes, unfortunately now gone. She is clad in a tightly fitting robe, her arms are clasped by admirably executed bracelets, and her head is covered by the elaborate head-dress of the goddesses. One inscription teaches us that this choice figure of the queen was executed while she lived; and another, on the pilaster at the back, is the dedicatory invocation to the gods.

Of the powerful and enlightened kings of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, so few portraits remain, that it would seem as though they had either been destroyed or carried off in the repeated invasions of the Persians; but of the gods and private persons, numerous representations exist. Although the light point where centres the art-interest of this long-checkered period is the Twenty-sixth Dynasty and the house of Psammetichos, yet its peculiar excellences continued unabated down to about the time of the Greek occupation. In a tomb at Sakkarah, belonging to the Thirtieth — the last — Egyptian Dynasty, three figures in serpentine, now in Boolak, were discovered by Mariette, which admirably illustrate all the peculiarities of this last renaissance of Egyptian art.[97] These small figures are scarcely 91 centimetres (3 feet) in height, and represent Osiris; Isis, who shared in the protection of the dead; and a high functionary of state, Psammetichos, standing under the protection of the goddess Hathor, who has the form of a cow. A more careful modelling in such obdurate material, equalled only by its elaborate finish, it would be difficult to find than is evident in these statues, having thereby more the charm of the cameo than of bold statuesque rendering.

In relief of the Saïtic period, as in statuary, a few formal changes are evident. The representations of the ritual, the ordeals of the departed, and the army of judicial gods, still invade the tomb; and a few scenes like those of the Ancient Empire, quiet and rural, may be seen. But these are no longer so

unaffected in form: there is an attempted introduction of varied movement and more graceful proportions, which, however, is seldom truly satisfactory; as it stops half-way.

With the close of the Thirtieth Dynasty we stand at the termination of what was truly national and vigorous in Egyptian sculpture. Looking back, we marvel at its realism at the outset, as in the earliest statues of Memphis; at its boldness in rendering colossal forms, as seen in the works of Rameses; and, finally, at the delicate and painstaking finish of this Saïtic period. It is difficult, in the world of ever-changing form and thought about us, to comprehend fully the Egyptians' feelings in holding so tenaciously through thousands of years to the same modes of expression in sculpture. Some have sought an explanation in a hieratic canon from which artists never swerved. From very early times the Egyptian does not appear to have worked at hap-hazard, but to have adopted a uniform scale of proportions, which rarely was altered, but within its limits underwent many *nuances* of change. At first the standing body, male or female, is divided into nineteen parts; the unit taken being the middle finger.[98] The ancient Egyptian seems to have observed, that, as the body grows, the bones of the hand are the only ones which grow in the same proportion from infancy to age, and have constantly the same relation to the whole frame. A seated figure occupied fifteen of the nineteen parts. In the reliefs of the Ancient Empire, the upper part of the body occupies more squares than it does in those of the Old Theban Empire. The forms are consequently thicker and heavier; while the tendency is, as time goes on, to make the legs longer, and the form more slender. With the Twenty-sixth Dynasty we find that the form is divided into twenty-three parts from heel to summit of head, or twenty-one and a quarter to top of forehead, seated figures occupying nineteen of the twenty-three squares. This is, doubtless, the canon mentioned by Diodoros.[99] In it the form is about equally divided at the hips, and the head is one-eighth of the whole, — a proportion which we find also employed by the Greeks in their figures of the heroic style. The great diversity of proportion, however, existing between monuments of the same age, makes it difficult to believe that for the master artist any rigid canon existed. Doubtless the squares which mark off the form were used more to guide the copyists, of whom thousands must have been employed. In the tomb of Seti I. the artist altogether disdains the use of squares. In other reliefs they are clearly simply used to facilitate the arrangement of the groups and hieroglyphics. On a funereal stele in the British Museum from the Ancient Empire, the seated figure of the upper row of reliefs occupies the same number of squares as the standing ones below. Evidently, then, the similarity between monuments of the same date may be due less to strict canon than to the prevailing taste of the time. Thus, as we have seen in the Ancient Empire, stocky forms preponderate; in the Theban they are more slender; and in the Twenty-sixth

Dynasty they change again, the usual proportions being those which Diodoros reports to have been common to all Egyptian art.

With the subjugation of Egypt by Alexander (332 B.C.), a change, indeed, came over Egyptian affairs. The conqueror, by introducing the policy of leaving the vanquished in the possession of their religion, arts, and customs, happily secured for Egypt, after its centuries of warfare, two hundred and seventy-five years of peace. After the death of Alexander's son, Egypt fell to the Ptolemies, who form the Thirty-third Dynasty; and her political history from now on was merged in the struggles of Greek princes. As true Greeks, the Ptolemies, though often politically unfortunate, showed great zeal in literature and art. Under their patronage, Manetho, the Egyptian, wrote in Greek the annals of his country; the sacred books of the Hebrews were translated in the Septuagint version, and the great library of four hundred thousand volumes at Alexandria was collected. It was a Ptolemy who, according to a wild report, brought back the twenty-five thousand Egyptian statues carried off by Cambyses; and no dynasty after the Nineteenth erected more and grander structures on the banks of the Nile than did these Greek rulers. But, although the temples they erected are numerous and imposing, the sculptures that adorn them are without character, and show great falling-off from true Egyptian style. The architectural simplicity and strength of former times are gone. The introduction of the free spirit of the Greeks could not rejuvenate, rather does it seem to have hastened the decay of, the traditional art of Egypt.

With the Roman conquest, Egypt lost all political significance, and became little more than the granary of Rome. The emperor Hadrian, with his passion for every thing that was old, did much for the encouragement of art in Egypt, and sought to galvanize a new life into these antiquated forms. In honor of his favorite Antinous, he caused a city to be built, and many costly monuments to be erected. Before his tomb were sphinxes and obelisks; but this Roman-Egyptian art is characterless, — a mere affectation. The severe but beautiful forms of the sculpture of the olden times, although retaining their rigidity, became with every day more gross and careless. After the dismemberment of the Roman dominion into the two rules of the East and the West, Egypt fell to the Oriental ruler. It was not, however, until Theodosius promulgated his famous edict, that Christianity became the religion of the state, — 381 B.C. The emperor ordered the closing of all the temples, and the destruction of the figures of the gods, which many Egyptians of his day still adored. Thus was consummated the destruction of pagan Egypt, with its Pantheon of innumerable gods. Thousands of statues, we are told, perished: the temples were profaned and destroyed, leaving ruins which in the course of centuries have been shrouded by the sands of the desert, but are now slowly throwing off their covering mantle, and revealing their treasured secrets to the eager student of antiquity.

SCULPTURE IN WESTERN ASIA.

CHAPTER V.

CHALDÆA.

Mesopotamia in General. — Chaldæa. — Historical Sketch. — Clay Tablets. — Ancient Myths. — Oannes. — Izdhubar. — Titanic Races. — Cylinders illustrating Myths. — Babylonian Religion. — Goddess Istar. — Her Statues and Statuettes. — Diminutive Remains. — Discoveries at Tello. — Mounds. — Gudea. — Head found at Tello. — Hardness of Material of Remains. — Traces of Egyptian Influence. — Independent Traits of Sculptures. — Subjects of Primitive Reliefs. — Character of Works. — More Vigorous Works. — Statue of an Architect. — Excellences of these Sculptures. — Later More Elaborate Works. — Resemblance to Greek Archaic Sculptures. — Cubes of Masonry and Contents. — Bronzes. — Influence of Chaldæan Art.

As the Nile is the bearer of blessings to Egypt, so through the heart of Mesopotamia flow two rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates, watering plains which were the seats of some of the hoariest civilizations of antiquity.

Of these our knowledge was long confined to the reports of a few Greek travellers, and to fragments from a history written in Greek by Berossos, a Chaldæan priest. But the past forty years have opened up undreamed-of monuments, over which even Xenophon's Ten Thousand seem to have passed, unconscious of the treasures buried in the soil, and of which Herodotos' descriptions give no notice. The explorations of Botta, Layard, Rawlinson, Place, Rassam, Loftus, and last, but not least, of de Sarzec, have opened to our astonished view ruined cities, palaces, and temples, witnesses to a powerful and long-lived civilization; while countless mounds, still unexplored, await patient labor with the pick and spade, that we may fill out our picture of buried empires.[100]

Northern and Southern Mesopotamia are strikingly different in geological conformation. To the south, in ancient Chaldæa, or Babylonia, the surface is flat and uninteresting; but to the north of Hit on the Euphrates, and of Sumarah on the Tigris, the plain is rolling, and slightly elevated in rocky ridges.[101] It is to the vast alluvial plain of Chaldæa in the south, that we must look for the oldest monuments. On all sides the level expanse is broken by solitary mounds, the remains of ancient cities or temples: elsewhere we see elevated embankments, marking the course of ancient or recent canals; and, towards the south, a few sand-hills. These forsaken plains now support a scanty population of wandering Bedouins, but once were proverbial for their fruitfulness, and teemed with inhabitants. Deep mystery shrouds the remote

beginnings of Chaldæan history. Enough, however, has been deciphered from the monuments to lead with certainty to the conclusion, that the races then occupying Babylonia were non-Semitic.[102] To them has been given the name Accadian and Summerian; but their origin is hypothetical in the extreme, the term Turanian being often a convenient cloak for vague conjecture. Long before 1700 B.C., Semitic tribes obtained possession of the land; and this Accadian tongue became extinct. The civilization which then arose sank before the Assyrians in 1700 B.C., and is scarcely heard of until 625 B.C., when Nabopolassar revived its glory. The conquering Persians, however, soon absorbed this later Babylonian empire into their own realm, which, in turn, fell before the world-conquering Alexander, to become the kingdom of the Seleukidæ, and, later, a part of Roman rule.

Before considering the monuments of ancient Babylonia, this battle-ground of empires, let us turn back to the gray dawn of antiquity, long before Assur had gone forth to establish the new empire of Assyria, and before Abraham had left his home in Ur of the Chaldees. In that earliest time, we find that the Accadians had written scientific and poetical works, woven a web of fantastic myth, and fashioned forms of gods and men which should serve as models to some of the later people of Western Asia. From clay tablets, preserved in the British Museum, these myths are being read, supplementing the meagre words of Berossos. Their artistic expression has at last been traced in rare cylinders, as well as statues and reliefs, recently discovered in Southern Chaldæa, covered with inscriptions in the same tongue, and now in part in the Louvre. A hasty preliminary glance at a few of these myths will throw light on many of the forms of art met with in the existing monuments of Chaldæa and its Assyrian heir, revealing, as well, the fountain-head from which Phœnicia, and, in a few cases, even Greece, indirectly drew.

One story is, that, during the remote ages before the Flood, a semi-human, semi-fish being, but full of wisdom, called Oannes, came up out of the neighboring sea, the modern Persian Gulf, and taught primitive man the arts of civilization. According to Berossos, he appeared wearing over his head a fish; and such a being appears on Assyrian monuments. Closely akin to this god seems that fish-tailed creature seen on very ancient Babylonian cylinders, evidently the prototype of the Philistines' Dagon of Bible history, of the god Ophion of the Phœnicians, as well as of the Geron, or Triton, of much later Greek myth and art.[103]

The exploits of heroes who peopled the land after the Flood formed a whole cycle of romance, which likewise throws light on many creations of later days. The hero of the national epic, Izdhubar, doubtless Nimrod, the "mighty hunter" of Bible story, whose narrow escapes and marvellous achievements in subduing terrible monsters are recorded in the Deluge tablets of the British Museum, unquestionably furnished the gem-engraver in ancient Babylonia, and

the sculptor in Assyria, with subjects for his fantasy; and the myth itself furnished, in many respects, the first draught for the stories of the Greek Heracles and Aphrodite.[104] Izdhubar, by some thought to be a solar hero, and by others a more purely historical being, attacked Erech (modern Warka), which was ruled by a goddess or queen celebrated for her beauty, the daughter of Anu, and named Istar, the Ashtoreth of the Bible and the Phœnicians, from whom the Greeks later may have derived their name Aphrodite.[105] In the conflict Izdhubar needed the aid of Heabani, the seer who appears on monuments as having the body of a man, but ox's horns, legs, and ears, and goat's or ox's tail.[106] Istar, conceiving a passion for the powerful Izdhubar which was unrequited, sent against him a hybrid monster, a bull with wings. But with Heabani's aid this monster was slain, Izdhubar dedicating its horns in one of his temples. Sickness afterwards befell the hero, and the sage Heabani was killed by a poisonous animal. To seek immortality for himself and his lamented Heabani, Izdhubar started out to find Hasisadra, or the Bible Noah, the hero who had outlived the Flood, and was believed to be translated to dwell with the gods, somewhere in the neighborhood of the Persian Gulf. On this long and perilous journey Izdhubar wandered to the boundaries of the world, where scorpion-men guarded the gate of the sun, then through the sandy desert, and a forest where the trees bore gems as fruit, until he reached the borders of the sea, and the ocean-gates over which the women Sabitu and Seduri, the "eye of youth," kept eternal watch. At last he met the Chaldæan Charon, with whom he sailed to the abode of the blessed, where he beheld the hero of the Deluge, and heard his story recounted. Here Izdhubar prayed for life to Heabani; and Merodach, the sun-god, came at his behest: and the ghost of Heabani mounted up from earth, and passed to the heaven of heroes, "where they feast on couches, and drink the pure waters of life." It was here, in the "land of the silver sky," that the court-poets of Nineveh of later times prayed that the "monarch might find his eternal home." For the first lays, telling of Hasisadra and of Izdhubar, we must go back to a past that was already half forgotten in the days of Abraham; and the tenacity of life of these stories appears from the fact, that one of the Izdhubar legends is still told on the banks of the Tigris about a strange monster dwelling in one of its caves.[107]

But besides this semi-mythic, semi-historical epic, there were stories told in Accadian of the creation of Titanic races. One of these tablets, anciently brought to Nineveh from Cuṭha, describes how the first creation was one of monsters and giants, "men with the bodies of birds of the desert, human beings with the faces of ravens, the terrible brood of Tihamat, the principle of chaos and night." One of these, called "Thunderbolt," gives us, moreover, a hint of the atmospheric origin of the legend.[108] Against these the gods fight; and terrible are the conflicts in varied form, apparently significant of the eternal battle between light and darkness, fire and moisture, that struggle making up the life

of the cosmic universe. So Merodach, or Bel, the sun-god, with "helmet of light," and his cimeter the lightning-flash, goes out, in ancient Chaldæan myth, against Tihamat, the Deep, and her allies, the seven storm-demons, overcoming this seven-headed serpent of the night by means of the forked thunderbolt in his hand, and by his sickle-shaped sword.[109]

On ancient Babylonian cylinders, which were used as talismans or seals, and belong to the age of the Accadian kings, at least 2000 B.C., and perhaps earlier, scenes from the legends of Izdhubar and these struggles with evil frequently appear.[110] Those occurring most often are the struggles of Izdhubar and Heabani with the lion and the bull, the journey of Izdhubar in search of Hasisadra, the latter in his ark, and the war between the winged god Merodach and Tihamat the sea-dragon, well represented in the British Museum.

In the religion of Babylon, many elements in the conception of the gods are present which were carried much farther by the Syrians. One striking feature is, that the powers of nature are interpreted as sexual, the female element predominating. The powers that gave life and that destroyed it were, moreover, combined in the one goddess, who at times seems the incorporation of productiveness, and again of destruction. As the enemy of life, she was a stern virgin without love, and armed with deadly weapons, her priests being self-made eunuchs. As life-giving, nurturing mother, on the other hand, she was known by many names, — the good Istar, Beltis, and Mylitta.[111] When, according to the tablets of the British Museum, Istar disappeared in the underworld, and was there imprisoned, the sexual elements in the animal creation remained dormant on earth, and did not awaken until she was set free. Her rites, in keeping with this latter phase of her character, were thoroughly sensual, and attended by unbridled license, and wildest gratification of the lusts, if we may believe Herodotos' story.

Numerous alabaster statuettes found in the ruins of Chaldæa, some of which are now in the Louvre, represent her as a nude female form, often with hands at the breasts, the fountain-springs of life and nourishment.[112] A fragment of a large statue of this goddess, of good workmanship but unpleasant realism, is now in the British Museum. It was found at Koyunjik, and has the dedication of Assur-bel-kala, a king who reigned in the eleventh century B.C., long before the palaces excavated at Koyunjik were built. Besides such feeble reminiscences of early Chaldæan forms, excavations long yielded nothing. The walls of massive temple-ruins and of palaces, built of clay bricks, were found coated simply with plaster, or glazed with gayly-colored tiles. No facings of stone or marble sculptured in relief rewarded the excavator. Besides, the figures discovered were very small, and in terra-cotta or alabaster, clearly, for the most part, the product of a late period, scarcely older than the time of Nebuchadnezzar. Hence the parent-stock whence sprang Assyrian

sculpture, with its elaborate finish, and thorough mastery of technique, was still an enigma.

But the excavations in Southern Chaldæa by M. de Sarzec, French consul at Bassorah, between the years 1877 and 1881, have thrown welcome light on this obscure subject.[113] Here were at last found many statues, and some fragments of relief, which are now in the Louvre, and offer an invaluable testimony to the sculptor's activity in this birthplace of Oriental civilization. The spot where M. de Sarzec has been thus happily rewarded for his patient and self-denying labors is in the midst of a malarial waste on the Chatt-el-Hai, a large artificial canal connecting the Tigris in the north with the Euphrates in the south, and entering the latter river some distance east of the marshes, into which it spreads, before finally joining the Tigris. Tello, where de Sarzec excavated, is remote from settled habitations, being frequented only by nomads. Here a group of mounds, covering a space of about six or seven kilometers from north-west to south-east, rise abruptly out of the broad, boundless plain, and hence have received from the Arabs their name Tello, or "the hills." The largest of these mounds rises fifteen meters above the desert, and has the shape of a parallelogram fifty-three meters long and thirty-one wide; its four corners coinciding with the four points of the compass. When pierced, it was found to contain the ruins of a complicated structure. Courts, large and small, opened into one another by narrow passages; the ground-plan calling strikingly to mind the far more extensive and ambitious palaces of Assyrian kings. At one side was a solid mass of kiln-baked bricks united with bitumen, and rising in terraces, one smaller than the other, suggesting the temple-ruins of Babylon and Assyria, those aspiring towers of Babel planned to command the broad horizon, and serving as a terraced substructure for the temple proper erected on the top. In these modest ruins of Tello, we seem to have an architectural prototype for the later buildings of the land. The age of these structures is determined by the inscriptions in Summerian found on the bricks and sculptured fragments, bearing the name of one Gudea. This Gudea was already known through his inscriptions on a few small bronzes and stone tablets discovered by Mr. Rassam in 1878 and 1879 in Babylonia, and now in the British Museum. His approximate date is supposed to be 2000 B.C., full 1100 years before the oldest discovered Assyrian palaces at Nimroud were built, and about contemporary with the earlier part of the Hyksos rule in Egypt.

In the large mound on the stoneless plain of Chaldæa no sculptured reliefs were found lining Gudea's buildings; but each court, chamber, and passage yielded its contingent of statues, large and small. In the main court, seventeen meters wide by twenty-one meters long, the greatest number were discovered; nine statues, a small stone head, as well as smaller figures, there rewarding the excavator's labors. Outside of the building was found the

largest figure of all, and in a passage a small figure of strange green color; in other mounds a few fragments of relief, besides a remarkably fine head, covered with a turban or wig (Fig. 40); and, in the plain itself, a few bronze figures were brought to light.

It is a matter causing no slight perplexity, that many of these monuments found in the midst of the alluvial plains of Southern Chaldæa are of diorite and dolerite, which could have existed nowhere in the neighborhood, but were favorite materials with the Egyptians. Inscriptions in Summerian on the sculptures themselves give the welcome key to this problem, showing that a lively intercourse existed between Egypt and Ancient Chaldæa. In these inscriptions Oppert has found it stated, that the mountains of Maggan, *i.e.*, the peninsula of Sinai, and that part of Egypt washed by the Red Sea, furnished the stones for the statues which this Chaldæan ruler put up in honor of his gods.[114] So Gudea seems to take pleasure in recording the fact, that the gold and stones with which he honored his gods were brought from afar.[115] These facts, and some superficial peculiarities of the sculptures discovered by M. de Sarzec, such as the square, firm rendering of the form, the lack of ornamental detail, the shorn heads and beardless faces, like those of Egypt, might tempt us to find a certain direct dependence of these Chaldæan remains upon the forms of the art of the pyramid land. Careful observation, however, reveals in them a strong national type, quite different from any thing Egyptian, and having its own individuality well pronounced.

Fig. 40. Head found at Tello in Southern Chaldæa. Louvre.

Signs of the effects of fire in many parts showed that that fierce element had much to do in bringing about the destruction of these Chaldæan monuments. Happily, however, many of the statues and reliefs, though mutilated, have preserved a delightful freshness of form and surface, enabling us to judge of their artistic character. In one of the mounds, fragments of a very primitive art, evidently feeling its way, were brought to light. Here appear reliefs on both sides of a stele of white stone, accompanied by very archaic inscriptions, in which it is thought that primitive idiogrammes may be recognized. In these reliefs the cruel scenes of war are traced with distressing minuteness. Flocks of vultures fly off with heads or other parts of human bodies: again, corpses are piled up, over which men mount, carrying baskets. Others, of much larger stature, carry a sort of military insignia in the shape of a spread eagle, and wear the cap with double horns, so often seen on cylinders and later Assyrian sculptures. The inscriptions connected with these reliefs have

not been deciphered ; but the fact that bronze figures found in graves at Tello carry baskets, as do the figures here represented as walking over the dead, seems to indicate a funereal scene in this relief, perhaps an offering to the dead. The shapes of all these figures betray a very inexperienced hand : the eye, for instance, is almost triangular ; the ear is rudely indicated, as in all early art ; and the aquiline nose is confounded with the forehead in one single curve. Here, then, we seem to have Chaldæan art represented to us in its feeble beginnings. But that it afterwards mounted to firmness of execution, and clear conception of nature, is seen from other remains discovered by M. de Sarzec.

This progress may be traced through two stages, — the first vigorous, and strongly approaching nature ; the second elaborated, and inclined to conventionality. The first class is made up of statues and heads found principally in the large mound. These are all alike in style and technique, and many of them bear Gudea's name inscribed upon the shoulder. They do not, therefore, represent divinity, but, probably, the pious Gudea himself, who, according to a full inscription on one of them, dedicates his own image in the temple of his gods, to whom he promises, besides, offerings of milk and sacred bread. Sometimes the figure is seated, sometimes standing, but always has the hands crossed in the pose taken by Orientals to-day when awaiting their master's orders. The same attitude is, moreover, repeatedly seen in figurines found in other parts of Babylonia, and in large statues from Assyria, doubtless indicating that it had a religious import. One statue with folded hands holds on its lap the plan of a building, and seems to represent an architect, perhaps Gudea himself, who may here present the work he has erected to the gods, the inscription on it making mention of a statue put up by him in the temple (Fig. 41). This quietly seated worshipper — as do the standing figures — has a stocky form, firm build, and short neck. They are clothed in drapery which is fairly pastoral in its simplicity. A long shawl, without any under-garment, is wrapped about the body so as to cover the left arm, and passes around under the right arm, which is thus left nude.[116] Sometimes this shawl, as in the figure of the seated architect, is partly covered with dedicatory inscriptions ; and everywhere it is bordered with a narrow fringe. This border, however, is not elaborately worked out, as the richly embroidered borders and fringes on Assyrian sculptures, but is simply indicated by incised parallel lines. It is evident that the artist has endeavored to render the drapery as fitting to the form beneath, and also to represent natural folds, as appears around the arms. This peculiarity is not met with, either in Assyrian or Egyptian sculptures, in both of which the natural folds of woven or embroidered stuffs are ignored. The nude, wherever it appears, is rendered with a keen eye for nature, as seen in the muscular arms, hands, and feet ; the details of toes and fingers being far more truthful than in the schematic or exaggerated treatment of Assyria, or the

absence of these details in Egypt. In the face is evident the most vigor of artistic rendition, as seen in the curious head in Fig. 40, found near the great mound. Here the heavy head-gear is of a stuff which gives the impression of curled hair. It is not impossible that this is an imitation of a kind of sheepskin, still extensively used in Persia for men's bonnets, and called in European trade Astrakhan. M. de Sarzec tells us, that Christian priests of the Chaldæan church in the neighborhood of his excavations still wear a turban made of a black stuff, which has the curled appearance of this ancient head-dress. How square and firm the proportions of the face! The eye, that feature which always caused the ancient sculptor the most difficulty, is here not obliquely set; nor are its lids undecided, but clearly defined, and widely open, giving the face an agreeable expression. The nose seems to have been arching, but not so curved as that met with in Assyrian sculptures; nor is that brutal fierceness in detail here seen which we find in those later works. There seems in these features, indeed, a near kinship to the straightforward simplicity of archaic Greek faces, and, in the pose of the feet, a striking similarity to that of the old statues found at Miletos, and now in the British Museum.

Fig. 41. Statue of an Architect, found at Tello. Louvre.

Besides these vigorous sculptures are those which show much greater elaboration on the part of the sculptor. In the latter the old realism, as seen in the turbaned head and the seated architect, disappears; and the eyes are placed obliquely. The shorn heads and beardless faces give place to very carefully curled hair and beards, like the over-fine *coiffure* of Assyrian kings and warriors. But the *finesse* of execution about these fragments partly makes amends for the loss of naturalness.

In addition to these monuments in stone from palace or temple, M. de Sarzec discovered, in graves, others in bronze, which have cuneiform inscriptions, a fact indicating their early and not Greek or Parthian origin, as might be inferred from the number of late graves also occupying the soil. In the plain, M. de Sarzec discovered four cubes of masonry composed of large bricks fastened together with bitumen, the cubes measuring eighty centimeters across the face. Within these cubes he found a cavity filled with yellowish sand, in

which were two bronze statuettes safely packed away, — one a man kneeling, and the other a woman standing. At the feet of each, and fastened into the bitumen lining the cavity, were two tablets, — one of white, and the other of black, stone, — having a cuneiform inscription, which was repeated in the bronze figures. That these in some way concerned the dead appeared when, in the same neighborhood, M. de Sarzec found a tomb in which the skeleton was still lying, and near its head a statuette with a similar tablet and inscription, and bearing on its head a basket. What the exact date of these very interesting bronze figures may be cannot be determined until their inscriptions have been read, although the cuneiform characters speak for an early date. The very great antiquity of the bronze figures of Gudea, which have long been in the British Museum, show, moreover, that casting in bronze was understood as early as his day in that ancient land.[117]

In these varied monuments in Chaldæa we have, then, in all probability, that parent-stock which should be followed in time by the far more pompous and conventional art of Assyria, the daughter land, and which should influence the early people of Asia Minor and the Phœnicians, as their monuments seem to prove.

CHAPTER VI.

ASSYRIA.

Natural Features of the Land. — Alabaster used for Sculpture. — Absence of Marble. — Character of the Assyrians. — History. — Paucity of Remains from the Oldest Time. — Remains near Beyrout. — Remains from Second Period. — Nimroud. — Assur-nazir-pal's Palace. — *Kirubi*. — Portal Guardians at Nimroud. — Lions. — Mysterious Symbolism. — Union of High and Low Relief. — Alabaster Slabs. — Prominence of the Monarch. — Colossal Winged Figures. — Tendency to Ornamentation. — Prototypes of Greek Ornament. — Bronze and Ivory Fragments. — Balawat Gates. — Incrustation of Statues. — Ruins at Khorsabad. — Sargon's Palace. — Alabaster Reliefs and Sculptural Adornment of Gateways. — Greater Size of Sculptures at Khorsabad. — Statues taking the Place of Bulls at Some Gates. — Incrustation of Palm-tree. — Reliefs. — Glorification of Monarch. — Battle and Hunting Scenes. — Feasting. — Color. — Last Period. — Ruins at Koyunjik (Nineveh) and at Nimroud. — Greater Variety and Elaborateness of Sculpture. — Greater Naturalness. — Assur-bani-pal's Palace. — Little Progress in Human Form. — Representations of Animals. — Hunting-scenes. — Fondness for Brutal Scenes. — Egypt and Assyria Contrasted.

To the north of the level plains of Chaldæa stretches the land of Assur, bounded by the Tigris and the Euphrates. Unlike its southern neighbor, this country is a plateau undulating in character, crossed by hilly ridges, and skirted on the east and north by mountains of greater height. The alluvial clay, which is here most abundant, is suitable for brick and terra-cotta; the near Koordish mountains furnish a hard yellow limestone; and, from the more remote ranges to the north, black basalt is to be obtained. Besides these harder materials, which had, moreover, to be brought from a distance to the ancient building-sites near the Tigris, a soft alabaster, frequently called gypsum, crops out from the rolling plain, and the ridges which border the river. From antiquity this stone has been used, and is still cut by the natives into thin slabs, much smaller, however, than those preserved from the days of Assyria's glory.[118] It is of coarse grain, and, when first quarried, has a grayish-white tone, which deepens on exposure to the air. It is, moreover, so soft that it may be whittled like wood, and is most susceptible to the effects of moisture. Reliefs which had been accidentally submerged but three days in the river were found hopelessly obliterated. The surface of sculptures in the British Museum, likewise, shows this perishable nature; being affected by the salt air of the English metropolis, and veiled with a harsh, opaque *patina*, quite different from that of freshly unearthed slabs, as we are told by Place. The softness and perishability of this material rendered it unfit to become the best medium for expressing sculptural

forms, and allowed the sculptor to venture but timidly into the realm of free execution; although the principal cause of the defects of Assyrian art, doubtless, lies much deeper than any merely technical hinderances. Marble — that material combining clearness and translucency with hardness sufficient to resist injury — does not appear to have been at hand; and the objects in this stone, found in Assyrian ruins, are both small and scarce.

And yet the advantages enjoyed by the Assyrians were far greater than those of their predecessors, the Babylonians in ancient Chaldæa, where not even alabaster was to be found, and stones were brought from remote Sinai and Egypt. Still another advantage enjoyed by the Assyrians was, that of building up their civilization and art on the earlier basis of their neighbors.

Aptly called the "Romans of the East," their earliest historical rulers appear as mighty conquerors, who know no mercy and give no quarter. By 1500 B.C., Assyria had become a powerful independent state, ruling over northern provinces, as well as Babylonia in the south. In the midst of this earlier period of Assyrian empire, which lasted to about 909 B.C., stand out, as mighty conquerors, Sargon I. and Tiglath Pileser I. Clay tablets, preserved in libraries of later kings, recount the exploits of these monarchs, their prowess, their pillaging expeditions in other lands, and their religious devotion, as shown in the erection of temples to their gods.

Although the Assyrian state was thus extended, and the king, at once head of the army, supreme judge and viceroy, or high-priest, enjoyed unrivalled power, still no palaces of this older time have as yet been discovered. Only stray sculptured fragments have been found, preserved in ruins of a much later day, as their inscriptions testify. Such is the torso of the goddess noticed above (p. 74), and discovered at Koyunjik, ancient Nineveh, and now in the British Museum. It bears the inscription of Assur-bel-kala, an Assyrian king who reigned about 1100 B.C. Here the female form is represented as fully nude; and the sculptor has succeeded in giving the roundness and voluptuousness of Oriental forms, even in the hard material, basalt. But like his fellows of an earlier and later day in Mesopotamia, and, in fact, most people with an undeveloped artistic sense, he has carved his dedicatory inscription directly over the surface of the skin, in disregard of the laws of taste. Whether this statue is, indeed, the work of an early sculptor in Assyria, or was pirated from Babylonia, the home of this nude representation of the female deity, cannot be certain. The latter supposition would find support in the practice, common with conquering kings, like Cambyses at a later day, of carrying off the gods of the conquered peoples.

Near Beyrout in Syria are two monuments, erected by kings of this period, one of them being by Tiglath Pileser I. It is carved in the face of the rock at the Nahr-el-kelb, and rises above the high-road where conquerors from the time of Rameses II. have passed, leaving the records of their success.[119] The

Assyrian sculptures here, from about 1140–1100 B.C., have the human figure very low and squat; there are no decorations of dress, hair, and beard, as in later Assyrian sculpture; and the whole cast of the figures calls to mind that of the ancient Babylonian king of 1120 B.C., whose tablet is now to be seen in the British Museum.

But, while the first period of Assyrian empire offers almost nothing for the study of sculpture, the second period is rich in works which have been brought to light.

This second period, lasting for about three hundred years, is ushered in by the powerful form of Assur-nazir-pal, who reigned in the ninth century B.C. (885–860), when Greek minstrels were probably first sounding Homeric verse. The warlike exploits of this monarch are found recorded in lengthy inscriptions, which dwell on the victories he won, and the cruel manner in which he dealt with his captives. We learn that after one campaign he had his victims flayed alive: in another he cut off their hands, feet, noses, and ears, and put out their eyes. Of the heads of decapitated prisoners he made one mound, and of their limbs another; thus signalizing in a most ghastly manner the greatness of his power. Captives allowed to live, he impressed into hard service; forcing them to raise a vast mound for his new palace at Nimroud, believed to be the ancient Calah of Scripture, which now became the most important city in the land. Excavations made by Layard in these mounds, about twenty miles south of modern Mosul, uncovered the ruins of Assur-nazir-pal's palace, as well as others of a later date. Among this complex of buildings, the one termed the North-west Palace, and two adjoining smaller structures, were found to contain numerous sculptures. Twenty-five chambers, large and small, were uncovered in the north-west edifice, every one of them yielding its share of carvings. Other chambers, where a simple stucco seemed to take the place of the sculptures, were only partially excavated.

At many of the doorways communicating between these chambers, as well as at what seemed outer gateways, strange figures were found, still keeping watch on either side of the entrance. Of these portal guardians, called by the ancient Assyrians *Kirubi*,[120] and, doubtless, allied to the cherubim which, in Hebrew story, guard the entrance to the garden of Eden, more than a dozen pairs were found, of various size and composition. Each figure is carved out of one solid block of alabaster; the surface of the largest being on one side two hundred and seventy-two square feet, and of the smallest twenty-five square feet. These colossal figures seem to have been commenced at the quarries; since reliefs now in the British Museum, from the ruins of Sennacherib's palace at Koyunjik, indicate their transportation. Here we see the figure of a majestic bull, lying sideways on a sledge, and, again, standing upright, towering high above the pygmy human beings dragging it to its destination.

At Nimroud the ponderous portal guardians, one of which is now in the British Museum (Fig. 42), sometimes have the body of a lion, with its cruel claws and angry tail, but the head of a man, perhaps the portrait of Assur-nazir-pal himself. A horned cap covers this head, delicately shaped ear-rings hang from the fully human ears, and the long hair and beard are laid in faultlessly regular curls. From the shoulders springs a strong wing; and, over the chest, feathers lie with the same precision as is seen in the stiff ringlets. The girdle about the body of the monster is given with great regard to decorative

Fig. 42. Portal Guardian from Nimroud. British Museum.

effect, in the peculiar twist of knot and tassels, and finished with extreme punctiliousness. Sometimes this lion-man monster has arms, and holds in one an animal, and in the other a blossom. Usually these figures look outward to all approaching the gate, but sometimes curiously twist their heads to the side, and gaze at each other from across the passage. Very often they have, instead of the body of a lion, that of a bull, — an instance of which is to be seen in the British Museum. In that case the ears are large and ox-shaped, and the band around the belly is lacking. Throughout the details of hair, feathers, and muscles in these bull-formed figures, there is the same primness met with in the lions. Before one small building at Nimroud, as a great exception, these

portal guardians were found to have the forms of pure lions (Fig. 43). Their threatening jaws and defiant attitude must, indeed, have inspired awe in those who sought to enter the gate; since, even as one of these figures now stands in the dim gray of the British Museum, its tremendous form, intense action, and yawning jaws, suffice to send a shudder over the beholder, and seem a fit symbol of a powerful watch before the dwelling of an Oriental monarch or god.

The stately forms of the composite monsters standing at the gates do not, like these lions, explain themselves, or hint to us the intention of the ancient sculptor. Nor do their inscriptions teach us their significance; although from other sources it may be gathered, that the adoration of the forces of nature lies at the root of this symbolism, which, from the prominent part it has played in the art of other countries, has given a lively interest to these Assyrian monsters. The visions in the first and tenth chapters of Ezekiel seem to have been written in vivid remembrance of such man, lion, ox, and eagle monsters. As the symbols of the four evangelists, these elements play an important part in Christian art. In similar manner, the horns with which the ancient Chaldæans and Assyrians decorated their sacred cap re-appear in the Hebrew Scriptures as the emblems of power; and, even to-day, the peasant in Mesopotamia ascribes to them such virtue, that he puts up a horned skull in his fields to make them productive, and hangs it over his door to ward off evil.

The union of sculpture in the round and very low relief is most characteristic in these Nimroud portal-figures. The whole of the head and the strong paws are carved almost fully in the round; but the wings cling closely to the background, filling up the space not already occupied by the arrow-head inscriptions, those stereotyped formulas continually repeated with little variation in Assur-nazir-pal's sculptures. Thus, while low relief seems to be well rendered, there is a marked absence of all genuine high relief, the combinations offered being any thing but agreeable. To one approaching the gate, the older figures at Nimroud seem to stand motionless, with their front paws firmly set together; but, on passing within, they appear to be walking out vigorously. This strange impression is produced by giving them five legs,—three on the side, and two in front. This desire to represent the winged beast differently from the two points of view is, however, wanting in the later sculptures at Nimroud and Nineveh, where the legs have the natural number, four.

Sometimes the doorway, instead of being guarded by these statue-like monsters, was simply faced with thin slabs of alabaster, in which, sculptured in very low relief, strange symbolical beings appeared. In the north-west building, this low relief was continued around the walls, lining many chambers and courts. The museums of Berlin and London are abundantly supplied with specimens of this sculpture: over one hundred and eighty-three meters of it are in different institutions in the United States, and still more was left on the spot where it was found.[121]

For this work at Nimroud, large, thin slabs were placed upright against the walls, first having been inscribed on the back with the name, title, and descent of the king Assur-nazir-pal. Iron, copper, and sometimes wooden clamps, held the slabs together; and, after they were securely in place, the sculptor commenced his work. In one of the buildings at Nimroud, two slabs were found in place, although unsculptured.

What principle guided the sculptor in the distribution of his subjects in the older palaces of Nimroud, we do not know. At the entrance to one of the small buildings, a composition unique in Assyrian sculpture, but calling to mind

Fig. 43. Portal Lion from Nimroud. British Museum.

scenes on Babylonian cylinders, was repeated on each side of the doorway. One of these groups is now in the British Museum (Fig. 44), and represents a colossal bearded being, having four outspread wings, and wearing the horned cap. He pursues a terrible monster, and brandishes forked lightnings, held in either hand. The monster, part lion, and part bird of prey with terrible talons, turns and yawns fiercely on his pursuer, making up a most spirited composition for a religious scene. Near these groups the large form of the fish-god was also discovered, but, like the former, points for its origin back to a mythical genius older than Assyrian art.

In the greater part of these older Nimroud reliefs, the living monarch, Assur-nazir-pal himself, is the centre of thought and action, always distinguished by his more elaborate dress, and pointed tiara bound around with rich

bands, which fall behind the back. He is attended by bearded officers of state, who stand before him with hands humbly folded; or by beardless eunuchs, who protect him with umbrella or fly-fan raised above his head. The costume of this king varies from that of later times; his tiara being lower and less pointed, and his garments simpler. Sometimes he appears engaged in war: he attacks a fortress; fights in his chariot, protected by the symbol of divinity floating in mid-air above him, or receives prisoners. Again, he is engaged in the hunt, or receives wine at the hands of his attendants. But there is no trace of portraiture in the features; king, humble attendant, and winged god, all being repetitions of the same type.

Although many of these scenes from daily life are interesting, as throwing light on the customs of ancient Nimroud, still none are so characteristic of its art as others representing religious ceremonies in which the king constantly takes part, and which are repeated with incredible monotony. In one chamber, for instance, the king was repeated all around the walls, holding up a cup in one hand, and a bow in the other. Attending him were two equal-sized figures, wearing garlands of rosettes, and having wings, but otherwise thoroughly human.[122] Around another room were repeated colossal winged figures, wearing horned caps, and carrying mystic symbols, — a square basket, a fir-cone, or a necklace (Fig. 45). These beings stand facing a conventionally arranged combination of palm and fir, the "sacred tree," a most important feature in these religious services, the exact significance of which is, however, not clear.[123] Some of these figures, if we may judge from the long hair, peculiar robe, and elaborate necklace, seem to be intended for goddesses; although the absence of breasts, and the masculine type of the face, do not support this view: nor do inscriptions give us the name.

Besides such gigantic figures which, in regular array, cover the surface of the large slabs, there was found in the North-west Palace a long, narrow apartment, where two rows of similar but smaller subjects decorated the walls. Above, in wearisome repetition, two horn-capped, winged forms knelt on either side of the tree; and, below, two eagle-headed, winged monsters appeared, likewise worshipping the ever-recurring tree. What these strange beings represent is enigmatical. It is possible that some represent deity itself, and others priests clad in robes of office.

As artistic compositions, these figures from Nimroud are tedious beyond degree; but, on close examination, their details offer much that is curious. Combined with a gross and extravagant rendering of the form, we find a most astonishing tendency to run into ornamentation. The muscles and joints curve according to decorative lines: no stray lock ventures to flutter out of its regular place, no feather to encroach on its fellow. Gracefully shaped necklaces, ending sometimes in a pomegranate, and calling to mind the descriptions of the adornments of the Jewish high-priest, clasp nearly every throat. Ear-

rings of varied and pleasing shape drop from every ear; and bracelets bind wrist and upper arm of king, attendant, and winged mystic figure.

Still more interesting, perhaps, than these ornaments, witnesses to the goldsmith's skill, are the trimmings of the garments. The elaborately wrought-out fringes suggest a passion for this adornment quite equal to that encouraged by modern fashion, but yield in artistic interest to the designs scratched with great freedom into the borders, doubtless imitating embroidery of actual apparel. These designs are to be seen all around the garment, and, in the case of the king, even over the breast. The most casual observer of these details on Assur-nazir-pal's robes, as they are to be seen on the slabs at Dartmouth

Fig. 44. Conflict between a God and Demon. Nimroud. British Museum.

College, N.H., and in the British Museum, may descry the elements out of which must have grown those borders which decorated Greek temple, vase, and utensil in a far nobler, more homogeneous form. Thus, as a clear prototype of the so-called Greek honeysuckle ornament, may be seen on these Assyrian robes a tuft of spreading palm-leaves or full-blossomed lotos, alternating often with a closed bud. A pleasing decorative effect is here produced; but the elements of which it is composed are not gracefully veiled to our eyes, as in the ideal Greek productions. Sometimes these plant-ornaments alternate with deer, fallen on their knees before the sacred symbol; again, birds seem to spread their wings before it, strange composite monsters occasionally taking their places.

Of even greater interest than these scenes is the one design in which a

winged figure in horned cap holds two dangling deer, and has the same pose that is given to a female figure, constantly recurring on very old Greek ornaments and vases, such as have been found especially in Rhodes. In many cases these bits of Assyrian embroidery seem to open up a glimpse into the passage of art-forms from the far-off Tigris valley to the Hellenic world.[124]

These broidered borders on the figures from Nimroud, dating from about 885 B.C., are far richer than those discovered in later Assyrian ruins. In the latter the love of elaborate and profuse decoration continues; but the interesting combinations of man, beast, bird, and flower disappear, and are supplanted by a profusion of rosettes, circles, and squares, covering the whole surface of the dress, conjectured by Semper to imitate woven and no longer embroidered materials.[125]

If, to all this detail, we add the colors which once made these sculptures brilliant, we can easily imagine the effect produced, like a vast tapestry lining the apartments of the palace. The sandals were painted red or black; the hair, lips, eyes, and ornaments, and probably the borders also, received color; but there is no sign that the whole surface was thus covered: and the mild, natural tones of the alabaster, with the gentle shadows of the sculpture, must have blended in a pleasing decorative effect.

But the artist has cut across the whole length of his highly finished work the never-failing inscription, which, added to the character of the sculptures, shows that decoration was secondary, and that his main object was the recounting in pictures the greatness and glory of the monarch. Provided this chronicle were clear, the artist does not seem to have cared to go farther, — granted that he were capable of any thing higher.

Besides these chronicle and decorative sculptures, one small statue of the king in silicious stone was found, which is now in the British Museum. This form is worked out fully in the round, deep fringes and drapery encircling its back; and yet, when seen from the side, the flattened look of this figure leaves the impression of nothing more than high relief, and fails to satisfy any of the requirements of statuary proper.

Of no slight importance for the history of art are fragments of bronze from Nimroud, some of which show that casting was known in ancient Assyria. Such is a part of a leg and hoof cast around a kernel of iron, and now in the British Museum. Bowls with most curious designs of a mixed Egyptian and Assyrian character, and bronze weights in the form of crouching lions, bearing Assyrian and Phœnician inscriptions, as well as ivory carvings, having an Egyptian cast, were also found. All these latter have, however, a character so foreign to the sculpture on the slabs, that their appearance in the heart of Assyria has given rise to much conjecture; but, as it is now agreed that they are imported Phœnician wares, their artistic character will be discussed when treating of Phœnician art.

About fifteen miles east of Mosul, in the mound called Balawat, those remarkable plates of bronze were found, which, known as the "Gates of Balawat," are now in the British Museum.[126] These bronze plates, beaten out to represent scenes from the life of Shalmaneser II., who reigned between 859 and 825 B.C., show us the battles, triumphs, cruelties, and devotions of this king, in multitudinous small figures. All these are accompanied by explanatory inscriptions, so badly crowded together, and careless in work, as to seem intended more for ornament than reading. One of the most interesting scenes is that where a sculptor, with hammer and chisel, is carving the image of the king in

Fig. 45. Mystic Figures before the "Sacred Tree." From Nimroud. British Museum.

the rock, while another stands by to direct. The inscription reads, "From the sources of the river Tigris I descended, victims to the gods I sacrificed, an image of my majesty I caused to be set up." Here we have a valuable explanation of figures, sculptured as triumphal monuments on the mountain sides of Koordistan, and found even as far as remote Syria, at the mouth of the Nahr-el-kelb, near Beyrout.

The chief significance of these gates, however, lies in the principle of incrustation they embody. Their bronze bands were merely coverings, which ran at intervals across the wooden surfaces of two enormous folding-doors, thus at once hiding and ornamenting the wood. The stone sculptures in Assyria are often slavish imitations of such incrustation in metal. On a fragmentary obelisk of white calcareous stone, now in the British Museum, according to the inscrip-

tion, executed for Assur-nazir-pal, and decorated with his exploits, the stone carving is most clearly an imitation of metal. Thus the figures, as a chariot and its horses, are bent right around the corner of the obelisk, after the manner of a pliable metal relief, but out of keeping with the nature of stone carving.

That not only parts of buildings were incrusted with metal, but, likewise, figures of the gods, appears from an historical tablet of Tiglath Pileser II. (about 745 B.C.), discovered at Nimroud, in which he says, "And figures carved in the likeness of the great gods I made, and they inspired reverence. Coats of Karri gold, silver, and copper I covered over them. I beautified their workmanship;" but, of course, figures so tempting to the avarice of man have not been preserved.

This practice of covering a cheaper material with metal we meet later. It was continued by the Phœnicians in the construction of Solomon's temple, and handed on to the Greeks, to play an important part in their glorious art.

On a fertile plain eighteen kilometers north-east from Mosul at Khorsabad, Assyrian sculptures were discovered, in many respects different from the older monuments at Nimroud. Khorsabad was first excavated by the French consul, Botta, in 1848; but the work was completed with rare thoroughness by Place in 1864. In these mounds was laid bare the work of Sargon, a usurper, who, after fifteen years of conquest and bloodshed, here built his palace and city between 711 and 705 B.C. He himself in extant monuments tells his story. "At the foot of Mount Mousri, in order to take the place of Nineveh, I made, according to divine will, and desire of my heart, a city which I called Hisir Sargon. I have constructed it that it may resemble Nineveh, and the gods who reign in Mesopotamia have blessed the splendid walls and the superb streets of this city. In order to call thither inhabitants to inaugurate the temple and the palace where is enthroned my majesty, I have chosen the name, I have traced the enclosure, I have named it after my name."[127]

Here, on the plain stretching away to the Tigris, within a mile of hilly summits, human hands have piled up at Sargon's behest 1,350,000 cubic meters of clay, kneaded like that so vividly described by the prophet Nahum. So vast is this mound, that we hardly know which most awakens wonder, — the number of hands required to toil in its erection, or the strange phenomenon of an artificial hill, raised in close proximity to mountains where not only rock abounded, but many a summit offered itself suitable for the site of a new capital. On this hill of clay was found, spread out in vast proportions, Sargon's royal residence, besides a small building, from its general disposition supposed to be a throne-room or audience-hall, and, to the south, one of those solid terraced pyramids of sun-dried brick, built in stages of diminishing circumference, and doubtless serving, as in Chaldæa, for religious purposes. It seems to have had seven stages, corresponding to the seven heavenly bodies, — the sun, moon, and five

planets, — whose holy number was worshipped from a similar pyramid at Ecbatana, and from others in Chaldæa. Four of these stories alone remained at Khorsabad, each of them 6.10 meters (20 feet) in height. These were found to have been painted in different colors on a layer of stucco; the varied hues, doubtless, having been emblematical of the celestial bodies. From the summit of this gay pyramid, thus raised more than 24 meters (80 feet) above the plain, it is probable that astronomical observations were made, for the priests were astronomers as well; the religious systems of ancient Chaldæa, and its daughter land, Assyria, having been thoroughly interpenetrated with the worship of the heavenly bodies, and especially the stars. There can be no doubt that these pyramids were looked upon as sacred buildings, — no other structures having been found corresponding to temples, — and that their summits were crowned by small shrines or altars, which may have had sacred images. In art character these Assyrian temples fall infinitely short of the structures raised to their gods by both Egyptians and Greeks.

Turning from this ancient tower of Babel ("gate of God"), to the royal palace itself, we find that fourteen grand halls and many smaller apartments, covering four hectares (nearly ten acres) of land, and connected by numerous doorways, united to form the Seraglio, the smaller ones, doubtless, occupied by the monarch himself and his immediate attendants, and the larger corresponding to state apartments of modern palaces.

At the southern corner of the building we come upon a whole complex of courts and rooms, the safe retreat of Sargon's wives and children. Spacious and gorgeously decorated courts within this harem offered pleasure-grounds for their ladyships; but only two exits communicated with the outer world, and these well guarded by small chambers, doubtless for attendant eunuchs. A vast court formed the core of the remaining part of the palace. On the side towards the harem were storehouses, as was evident from their build, and their contents when discovered. On the other side were stables, kitchens, and outbuildings of various kinds. Numerous passages piercing the walls connected the two parts of the palace.

At the foot of this regal dwelling M. Place found Sargon's city, surrounded by high walls furnished with towers. Place calculated that the walls originally towered up twenty-three meters, a height greater than that of houses facing modern city avenues, and had a still greater width (twenty-four meters). Piercing them were three ornamental gateways, and four of less ambitious finish, but all so spacious and complex in build as to call to mind the importance of the city-gate in the story of Abraham and of Boaz and Ruth.[128]

All these walls, whether of palace or surrounding the city, and varying from two to twenty-four meters in thickness, were built of sun-dried brick. Kiln-baked brick, indeed, made the vaulted ceilings, and covered the floors; but otherwise the structures were all of this crumbling, crude material. Being

thus perishable, as well as uncomely, the clay was not left exposed; but, throughout the vast buildings, a lining was found to cover the walls from top to bottom. In many parts, as in the ladies' retired apartments, as well as in the magazines, stables, and kitchens, subject to hard usage, a simple stucco made of lime was applied for this purpose, such as is still used in the Orient. Sometimes, as in the bed-chambers of the harem, the stucco was painted with arabesques, animals, and human beings.

But the gates, frequented by crowds, and where royalty passed in and out, as well as the state apartments, where daily was to be seen the pomp of a great sovereign, required other and more durable decoration. As at Nimroud, so here were, consequently, placed alabaster monoliths of colossal size; while slabs of alabaster, but twenty centimeters thick, lined the royal courts and chambers to the height of three meters. Above them, the wall and vaulted ceiling were hidden by enamelled brick and painted stucco.

Being of so soft a material, these monoliths and slabs offered a tempting field for the sculptor in displaying the deeds of a powerful monarch. It is not strange, then, that twenty-six pairs of portal-bulls, each weighing 140,000 kilogrammes (over 3,000 cwt.), were found at various gateways, and that 6,000 square meters of relief lined the palace. All this magnificence was, moreover, the work of less than six years; for Sargon commenced building his city 711 B.C., and died 705 B.C. His son, Sennacherib, not occupying the palace, the neglected building must soon have crumbled to a hopeless ruin, and the sculptures have only been preserved by the fallen clay masses. A part of these sculptures may now be seen in the Louvre and the British Museum; a part have long since dissolved in the Tigris, where they sank in a storm during removal; and still more remain among the ruins at Khorsabad.

What principle guided the sculptor at Khorsabad in adorning some gateways with bulls, while he simply ran sculptured slabs around others, is not in every case clear; although, with regard to the city gates, it is evident that those where horses and chariots passed in and out were finished in the simpler manner.

One of these ornamented gates, according to the inscription, the "gate of the south," was found by M. Place intact, its discovery throwing a flood of light upon Assyrian sculpture in its relation to architecture. On either side of the doorway stood, like sentinels, human-headed bulls, facing the stranger approaching the city (Fig. 46); and within winged genii adorned each side of the passage. The arch above appeared to spring from the mitred heads of the bulls, and the heavy clay vault to ride on their outstretched wings and the heads of their strange winged companions. The latter, while following the movement of the bulls, turned full front face to one passing through the gateway. Brilliantly enamelled bricks, in which yellow and blue predominated, faced this arch, and represented winged beings holding cones alternating with rosettes. But

in reality these bulls and winged beings did not bear the arch above, which was carried by the immensely thick wall against which these forms were adjusted merely as decoration. Owing to the addition of a fifth leg, as at Nimroud, these bulls from the side seemed most inappropriately to be walking out from under their load, while from the front they seemed standing motionless. These portal-figures at Khorsabad are less varied than those at Nimroud, and were conjectured by M. Place to be portraits of Sargon himself. But recent study of the language has shown that the colossal lions at the entrance of the royal palaces represent the god Nergal, "whose non-Semitic name, *Nē-eru-gal*, characterizes him as the governor of the great city or the empire of death." [129]

The main difference between these bulls at Khorsabad and the older ones at Nimroud is their far greater size, their horned tiaras being likewise taller and more imposing. We are not a little surprised to find, that from the pointed bovine ears are suspended ear-rings of graceful shape. The carefully scrolled mustache and ringlets, the symmetrical plumage, and amusingly regular veins and muscles of these dandy-bulls, witness throughout to the ruling passion of the Assyrian sculptor to reduce every detail, however incongruously, to ornament.

Fig. 46. Gate of the South in the City-wall at Khorsabad.

These huge city guardians at the "gate of the south" were found by Place without a feather broken. Color still shone freshly on eyes and eye-brows, which were pencilled with black, giving a calm expression of life. Could we imagine them once more standing beneath the gayly-colored arches, and surrounded by all the gaudy splendor of Oriental royalty, then we should be better able to conceive the true impression of these emphatically decorative sculptures. Several of the palace-gates were even more luxuriously decorated by the combination of four bulls (Fig. 47). Where, as in the outer wall of the palace, facing the city, and in one of its great courts, these gates were near together, a colossal bearded being (perhaps Izdhubar) filled up the space between the haunches of the outer bulls, his face and shoulders looking out in full front view, but his feet standing in profile. Although holding in his suffocating grasp a struggling lion, Izdhubar's hair, beard, drapery, and ear-rings are faultlessly regular.

Before the doorways of the harem, which were faced with brilliantly enamelled brick, statues were found, apparently taking the place of bulls. Of these

statues eight were discovered, heavy in composition and execution, but were all lost in the Tigris. Arms holding a vase were attached to the body, the feet were completely covered by the cumbrous garment around them, and hair fell from the mitred head in so shapeless a mass as to blot out the lines of neck and shoulder.[130] It is possible that the fragile alabaster may be somewhat responsible for the lack of the statuesque in these figures; and yet the same failings are apparent in a seated figure of much harder stone from Kalah-Shergat, to be seen in the British Museum: a great contrast to the severely sculptural character of Egyptian statuary is here to be noticed.

One curious feature of portal decoration in the harem was a colossal imitation of a palm-tree, consisting of wood incrusted with bronze. A piece of cedar-wood nine meters long, and as large around as a man's body, was found sheathed in bits of bronze, which overlapped like the sheaths of a palm-tree; and a fragment of gold discovered near by, which is now in the Louvre, indicates a costly gilding. Here we have another witness, like the Balawat gates, to the use of metal incrustation in Assyria.

In the interior of the Seraglio continuous reliefs, as at Nimroud, adorned the walls, which, if placed in a line, would have extended for two kilometers; but their inscriptions, unlike those of the earlier sculptures, were banished to the back of the slabs. Numerous terra-cottas, resembling an arm and a closed hand, were discovered, a few of them still remaining in the wall. These M. Place conjectured to have been arranged along the top of the slabs, so as to give the effect of hands holding them in place, as we may imagine hands holding carpets. George Smith, however, believed these hands to be simply talismans against evil. It is possible that both ideas may have been united by this people, so prone to turn the forms of their religious art into decoration. It has with much reason been conjectured, that these sculptured slabs themselves were a development out of those embroidered and woven hangings which served as protection and decoration of the walls in ancient Babylon; and hence these alabaster reliefs have been graphically called "petrified hangings."[131]

The whole idea of the reliefs of the palace, to use Place's fine figure, is that of an epic celebrating the glories of the monarch builder. As in written poems the epic opens with an invocation to superior beings; so here sacred effigies occupy the threshold, after which the narrative proceeds with true Oriental garrulousness, flattering to the prince and people.

The scenes on first entering were devoted to royal pomp. In the larger courts, one of which was lined with one hundred and twenty meters of relief, the colossal king and attendants, towering up nine feet to the top of the slabs, walk in single file. Like the portal figures, these reliefs, when compared with the smaller, more delicately finished work at Nimroud, show a growing taste for immensity and imposing size. The terrible Sargon in elaborate robes

continually re-appears, calmly receiving the homage of his subjects, who follow one another with the stolid dignity of royal receptions in the Orient of to-day. One attendant holds over the monarch a fan : another bears his weapons. The figures in front stand with folded hands ; and vase-bearers hold their vessels on the tips of thumb and fingers, with the affected dignity of modern Orientals. When the king is performing sacred rites, his assistants are winged figures with horned caps ; but the religious element in Khorsabad is far less pronounced than at Nimroud.

Quite different scenes cover the walls of the smaller chambers. We see depicted battle and hunting scenes in double, treble, and sometimes fourfold, rows of reliefs, in which large numbers of small figures of various nationalities are represented in much the same style as in those at Nimroud (Fig. 48). In these scenes the history is clearly a one-sided national glorification. So anxious is the sculptor to impress us with the invincible prowess of the Assyrians, that he never allows us the fascination of uncertainty in watching a deadly conflict,

Fig. 47. Palace Gateway. Khorsabad.

or gives us a gleam of hope for the enemy. Prisoners are being carried off, and booty is being appropriated. Spreading out before us inhuman tortures, now the victor impales the victims before our eyes ; now holds up their ghastly heads, or gives their bodies as carrion to vultures. On one slab we see Sargon holding two prisoners by cords hooked into their lips, calling to mind the threat made to Pharaoh (Ezek. xxix. 4), "I will put hooks into thy jaws." And yet all this is done in carvings which show such guileless ignorance of perspective, and such gross faults in drawing and composition, that what was intended to be horrible becomes rather amusing.

It is refreshing to turn from these battle-scenes to those more attractive ones in which Sargon, "a mighty hunter," like Nimrod of old, frees the land from dangerous beasts. How great the passion of the Assyrian monarchs for the hunt appears from an inscription in which Tiglath Pileser tells us, that one hundred and twenty lions were slain by him on foot, and that eight hundred more fell before his weapons, as he and his men rode in their chariots. These

representations of animals on the slabs are admirable. The horses and lions are better drawn than those of Nimroud, and show a keen eye for nature in the sculptor.

Besides these, we see on the walls convivial scenes. Eunuchs dip wine out of graceful basins with still more graceful vases, ending in lions' heads, and pass the beverage to feasters seated on elaborate thrones.

As at Nimroud, these sculptures were touched up with color, the background and nude being left the natural tone; but the hair and features, the jewels, weapons, and sandals, received black, red, and blue, as the case required. Much of the color faded on exposure, but was brilliant when first discovered. How graphic now seems the description of these images by Ezekiel, as portrayed on the walls with vermilion, girded with girdles, and altogether too seductive for his own people, the Hebrews!

The last period of Assyrian history included the reigns of several powerful monarchs, — Sargon's son Sennacherib (705–681 B.C.), who was followed by Esarhaddon (681–668 B.C.), Assur-bani-pal (668–626 B.C.), and Assur-ebil-ili (625–605 B.C.), — each of whom was a builder, and consequently a patron of the sculptor's art. At the close of this brilliant century, Assyria's power succumbed to that of its younger, more vigorous rival, Persia. Nineveh, the capital, was now completely destroyed; and its palaces, consumed by fire, were left to rapid decay.

The ruins which harbor the principal monuments of this last period in Assyria were found at Koyunjik, opposite modern Mosul, and at Nimroud. On the former site, that of ancient Nineveh, were spread out the regal structures of Sennacherib and his grandson, Assur-bani-pal. At Nimroud were the palace of Esarhaddon, adorned with sculptures from an older building by Tiglath Pileser; and the unpretending palace of Assur-ebil-ili, the last-known Assyrian monument.

From all these buildings, excavated at different times by Layard, Rawlinson, Rassam, and Smith, many sculptures have been removed, and are now in the British Museum. Those from Koyunjik, ancient Nineveh, showed the wasting effects of fire; many slabs having reached England in three or four hundred fragments, which were afterwards re-adjusted. The material of these later monuments continues, in Sennacherib's buildings, to be coarse, soft alabaster; but in the palace of Assur-bani-pal it is supplanted by a hard limestone, in which, on account of its compact grain, sculptural details could be more vigorously expressed.

While in general the subjects treated remain about the same, — the pomp, wars, victories, chase, and religious services of the king, always burdening the sculptor's fancy, — still, within this range, acceptable variations are introduced, and a livelier, more elegant form of recounting history is evident. In Sen-

nacherib's palace, for instance, we see building going on ; colossal bulls being transported ; high-stepping horses, the pride of the royal equerry, so full of mettle as scarcely to be held by their diminutive hostlers. There is, moreover, a nearer approach to nature than in the sculptures of the older time. The ponderous portal figure is seen no longer with five legs, but walks on four. In relief, the solemn procession in single file disappears : the simple arrangement of the battle-scenes in tiers yields to more complicated and elaborate compositions, in which hundreds of small but energetic figures cover the whole slab, marching, fighting, or attacking fortresses. Details of river, mountain, bush, or morass are also added to make the story clearer. Were it not for the stiff and faulty drawing, our sympathies might be aroused for the lands and people overrun by these multitudes. But in looking at the human figures, whether king, common soldier, or wounded prisoner, we find that the sculptor has gone

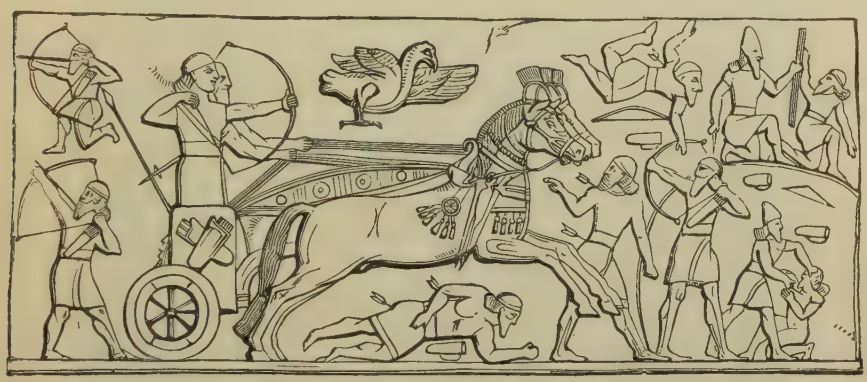

Fig. 48. Battle-scene from Nimroud.

but little beyond his predecessors. The same lack of true movement is evident, and the same conventional rendering of muscles and the nude, which seem a reminiscence rather than a reproduction of life. It is possible that this summariness of treatment should be laid at the door of the workmen, who only carried out their master's designs. In a fragmentary clay relief, representing the king in combat with a lion, now in the British Museum, we seem to have an original from a master-hand. In it the arms and legs of the king are represented with a keen sense of nature, and startling freshness of observation. And yet this same relief shows the old traditional rendering of the drapery, hiding and not following the form.

In Assur-bani-pal's palace we meet the king, lounging under a bower of vines, attended by servants, and a figure conjectured to be his wife, which, if true, is the only case of the representation of an Assyrian lady.[131a] Nothing, however, in form or feature, shows conclusively that this is a female figure. The monarch seems to be enjoying his festive cup, in spite of the ghastly heads dangling from the branches above. This relief is another striking illustration

of the subordination of every thing else to ornament. The garments are richly embroidered; and over the king is thrown a costly spread, from which dangle heavy tassels. The laden table, or altar, and the cone-shaped object, are those occurring in scenes of a religious character, and seem to indicate that the sculptor tried to represent some solemn ceremony. The rich ornamental details seen on the figures extend to the lounge and other objects. The legs of the couch rest on crouching lions, facing outwards; lions in pairs leap at each other along the whole front of the lower support of the lounge; above, strange half-figures, separated by a cone, are apparently inlaid into the upper part, all doubtless imitations of ivory and metal incrustations in use in the furniture of Assyrian palaces.

And yet, with all this enthusiasm for ornament, there is little progress in

Fig. 49. Head of an Assyrian Chariot-horse, from Assur-bani-pal's Palace. Koyunjik. British Museum.

the human forms. The braceleted hand is no more correctly drawn than in older sculptures. The lying figure is drowned in the flood of meaningless stuffs. The draped forms of the attendants, who hold over the feasters the usual fan, are expressed with no truer rendering of nature than in older carvings.

But these later sculptures are unsurpassed in their representations of the brute creation, as may be seen in the slabs in the British Museum. The angry steeds attached to Assur-bani-pal's chariot, with ears laid back, distended jaws, and protruding eye-sockets, are given in admirable profile, and show us the horse to have been a familiar and favorite object in Assyrian art, in that respect strongly contrasted to the art of Egypt (Fig. 49). A group from Assur-bani-pal's hunting series shows with what power the sculptor gave the canine form (Fig. 50). The keeper can hardly hold these fierce brutes, whose well-shaped heads and strong forms are strained in the effort to make a vehement

plunge. That dogs of such huge dimensions actually wandered about Assyrian palaces appears from the impress of a paw, as large as a man's hand, left in the clay at Khorsabad.

In few groups is the fierceness of these brutes better expressed in a compact composition than in that slab from Assur-bani-pal's palace, where a wild

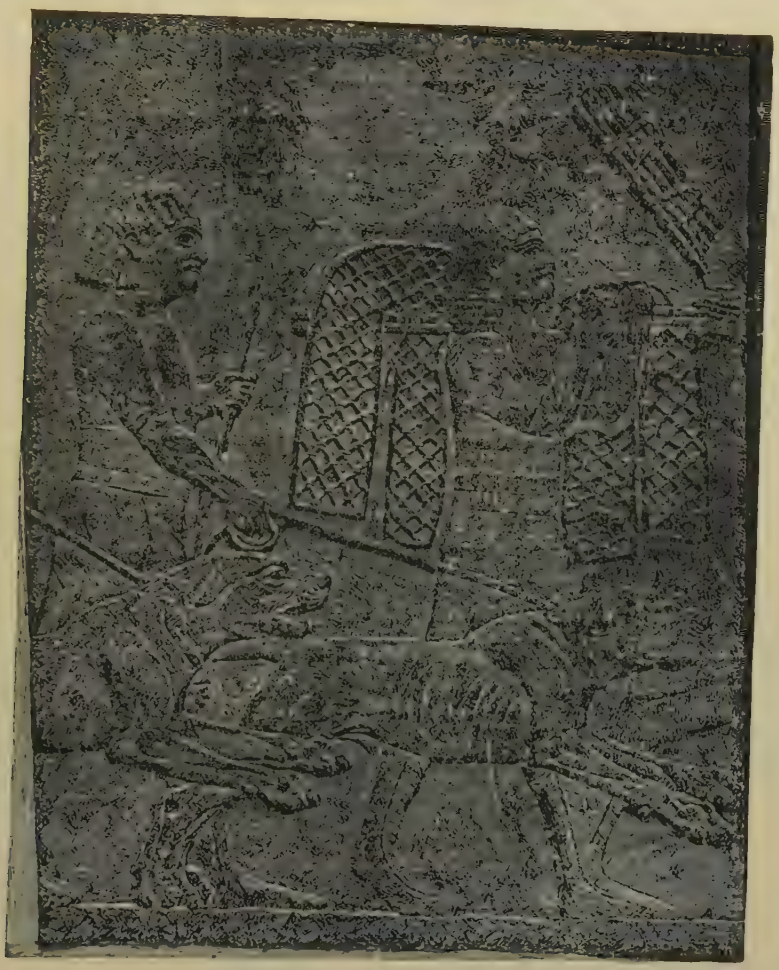

Fig. 50. Hunting-scene, from Koyunjik. British Museum.

ass (Fig. 51) falls under the attack of four of these powerful hunting-dogs. In the pose, and even the face, of their victim, we see the anguish of the moment, — a speaking contrast to the fierceness of his persecutors.

In reliefs with lions, the Assyrian appears to have reached the acme of his skill; so that the lion has well been called the "hero of Assyrian art." How faithfully the details of the hunt, and how tragically the animal's fate, are depicted on the walls of Assur-bani-pal's palace! We see the beast creep cautiously from the cage, opened by the keeper, into the park; we watch him turn

fiercely on the monarch, who, single-handed or from his chariot, now attacks him; we see him fall, pierced by many arrows, witness his dying agony, and finally see the powerful dead form borne away, to be placed at the monarch's feet. What could surpass such scenes as the one where the enraged lioness, pierced by the fatal arrows, drags after her her hind-legs, paralyzed by approaching death (Fig. 52); or that other where the mitred monarch, before an altar-like table and sacred cone, pours a libation over his victims of the chase (Fig. 53)? The grandeur of the lions' heads, here arranged in perspective at the feet of the monarch, may challenge the world in vividness of artistic power. Nothing could be more astonishing, however, than the contrast between these majestic brute-forms and the figure of the king, in which the sculptor's power is exhausted in the elaboration of ornament, and details of woven stuffs.

The representation by preference, in Assyria, of these more terrible beasts, such as the snorting war-horse, fierce dog, and fiercer lion, seem, moreover, in

P. Meurer X. A. Berlin.

Fig. 51. Dogs pulling down a Wild Ass. Koyunjik. British Museum.

keeping with the character of a people whose art scarcely ever rises above the expression of brute force, its main interest centring in the doings of a powerful brutal people, whose ponderous physiques are given without any shades of difference. The size and weight of the iron instruments, discovered by Place in Sargon's palace, which are altogether too heavy for modern natives to wield, add still another witness to their physical power.

How great the contrast between this art of Assyria and that of Egypt, where temple and tomb form the centre! In Assyria the temple is but an appendage of the palace: of tombs there are no traces. Hence the presumption that the Assyrians buried their dead in some far-off holy land. Such to them was their parent land, Chaldæa, where immense fields of the dead, still unexplored, stretch far out into the desert. The tenacity of the Oriental to such sacred customs is vividly illustrated by the caravans, still to be seen, year after year, laden with bones of rich and poor, passing even from the remoter northern provinces of Persia, to far-off Kurbela, in Southern Mesopotamia, for burial.

Living royalty, doubtless possessing much of a religious character, was the

all-absorbing theme of the Assyrian sculptor, not, however, expressed in stupendous and eternal statues, or in an intemperate spreading of relief all over the vast surfaces of the temples, but in slabs of medium size, more or less directly imitations of carpet-hangings. This modest size prevented the Assyrian sculptor from some of the discrepancies of Egyptian art. He was not tempted to give his monarch the disproportionate size of the Pharaoh in Egyptian reliefs, where the huge chief, Gulliver-like, overshadows his Liliputian followers, and thus renders harmony in composition an impossibility. But, on the other hand, how unworthy of the prominence it received in Assyria,

Fig. 52. Dying Lioness.

was all this elaboration of stone embroidery, — these fringes, borders, and scrupulous toilettes, — especially as attended by neglect of the human form, and the reduction of the muscles to an ornamental scheme! In Egypt, on the other hand, the human form was kept pre-eminent, and treated with a severely sculptural touch.

A certain vigor is, indeed, expressed in Assyrian faces in relief: the eye is partially given in true profile by deeply cutting in the inner corner; and the more natural curve of the upper lid is contrasted to the flat, almond-shaped eye of Egyptian relief. The chest and shoulders are given a more natural profile; but strange blunders are often visible, as in one relief, where the right and left hand of an archer exchange places.

A striking evidence of the lower level of Assyrian art is the nearly total

absence of individuality in the faces, especially when compared with the mastery of the animal form. The king is distinguished only by richer robes and head-dress, the god by his symbolical wings or other emblems, foreigners by different attire from that of native Assyrians.

The chief distinction, however, between Egyptian and Assyrian art, lies in their style; that is, their interpretation of natural objects according to generalized ideal form, which in Egypt is of nobler quality. With all their natural gifts, and admirable skill in the representation of animals, the chief productions of the Assyrians are the expressions of a style which required incongruous combinations of the most foreign elements, awakening a smile of pity for men

Fig. 63. Assur-bani-pal pouring out a Libation on Slain Lions. Koyunjik. British Museum.

who could create such puerilities. In the Nile valley, the animals in connection with the architecture never bear any thing, but, like the grand sphinxes or lions, recline in dignified repose before the pylons, or, like the sacred apes, sit around the base of the obelisk, or on the top of the cornice. In Assyria, on the other hand, the winged bull and yawning lion appear to be carrying a massive arch, even though represented as at the same time walking out vigorously from under it. Even the sacred sphinx, when transplanted to the Tigris, is burdened with a pillar. In Egyptian statuary, the lion, like the famous beasts of the British Museum, from Gebel Barkal (Fig. 26), is nobly conventionalized in all the dignity of the Egyptian style. Bold, strong surfaces at once emphasize the grand repose of the king of beasts, and express all the terrible possibilities slumbering in his majestic form; thus impressing

far more than the fierce rage of the Nimroud lions, as seen in their gaping jaws, threatening teeth, and excited pose (Fig. 43).

The incredible duration of Egyptian civilization enables us to watch the course of its art through numerous stages of rise, progress, decline, and revival, until its final decay. The sculptures of Assyria are, on the other hand, of comparatively short duration; and their great interest for us lies in the fact, that these elaborate stone embroideries, these graceful ornaments on weapon and utensil, and these gross but luxurious forms, should communicate their influence by the channels of trade and conquest to Persia and the distant shores of the Mediterranean, influencing the art-forms of coming and more gifted nations.

CHAPTER VII.

PERSIA.

Historical Sketch. — Ignorance of Early Persian Sculptures. — Remains at Pasargadæ. — So-called Cyrus Tomb. — Remains at Behistan. — Eclectic Character of Persian Art. — Persepolis. — Description of Ruins. — Relief of King strangling Monster. — Other Reliefs. — Elaborate Representations of Thrones. — Rock Tombs of Persepolis. — Tomb of Darius. — No Growth after Artaxerxes Ochus. — Feebleness of Art from Time of Sassanid Rule.

The ancient political life of Central and Western Asia was a changing drama, in which nations passed through the vicissitudes of conquerors and conquered, the victors in many cases adopting to a greater or less extent the art of the conquered people. Assyria overcame Media, only to sink before it; and Media in turn fell before the more vigorous sister-people, the Persians, a hardy mountain race, whose energetic rulers carried their sceptre to remote parts of the world, and maintained for two centuries and a half an important place among civilized nations. The deeds of Cyrus (559–529 B.C.) and Cambyses (529–521 B.C.), the conquering expeditions of Darius and Xerxes (521–465 B.C.), sufficiently illustrate the importance of ancient Persia as a political power during the years of its strength. But although the events of this history are familiar to us, and brilliant accounts are on record of Ecbatana, the capital of ancient Media, as well as of Pasargadæ, Persepolis, and Susa, the great cities of the Persian monarchs, still our knowledge of sculpture in these lands is but fragmentary.[132]

Of the early steps of this sculpture, we have no witnesses. The ruins of Ecbatana still await excavation. The most important remains of the later sculptural art of ancient Persia are the well-known ruins at Pasargadæ and Persepolis, and the relief still to be seen at Behistan, in the mountains of Koordistan.

In the neighborhood of modern Murghab stand the ruins of Pasargadæ, the home of Cyrus and his powerful house. Here are left standing a few shattered pillars and a piece of wall, which once were parts of a palace. On this wall appears a strangely sculptured human figure with four colossal wings, somewhat like those seen in Assyrian carvings (Fig. 54). The head is crowned by a head-dress, similar to those worn by the Pharaohs of Egypt; a horn seems to twist around the ear; and a long, fringed garment, like Assyrian robes, drops

to the feet unbroken by folds. An inscription above the figure reads, "I am Cyrus the king, the Achæmenid;" and it would be possible to refer this strange figure to that king without hesitation, were it not for the Egyptian head-dress, the crown of Egypt being first attained by Cyrus's successor, Cambyses. But, whoever this being represents, we see foreign features, chiefly Assyrian, are prominent in this earliest known sample of Persian sculpture.

At Behistan, on the great high-road from Babylon, through the Koordish defiles to the east, is a relief of more developed character.[133] In the precipitous mountain side, and more than fifty meters above the road, this gigantic relief is carved, seven meters and a half in length, a work of marvellous boldness and difficulty. Here a king treads with one foot on a fallen enemy, and

Fig. 54. Most ancient known Persian Relief. Pasargadæ.

Fig. 55. King on Throne, with Attendant. Portal Relief. Persepolis.

raises his hand towards a row of nine approaching prisoners. Behind him are two attendants; and above floats a winged human-headed disk, like that often seen accompanying Assyrian kings. A rope binds the prisoners together by their necks, their hands are fastened behind them, and their bent posture gives them an expression of great distress. Their different nationalities are indicated by costumes such as are still to be seen in those parts of the Orient. From the accompanying inscription, we learn that the great renovator of the kingdom, and re-establisher of the religion of Zoroaster, Darius Hystaspes, here triumphs over rebels, the most dangerous one, the impostor known in history as the "false Smerdis," now lying with outstretched arms under the monarch's feet. The date of this remarkable sculpture is therefore placed by Rawlinson at about 516 B.C.; when, after quelling rebellions in different parts of his kingdom, Darius enjoyed a short peace. While, in general, the order and arrange-

ment remind us of Assyrian reliefs, still we note much in the style of this sculpture that is different. Especially in the garments of the king and attendants, there is an attempt at rendering the folds of full, flowing drapery, which is well illustrated by a figure from Persepolis (Fig. 55), but is never found in Assyrian sculpture. Although the hair is carefully curled, and the beard well laid; yet that reduction of every detail to ornament, carried in Assyria to an absurd extreme, has here given place to greater simplicity and naturalness.

It has been questioned whether these excellences are due to a spontaneous development among the Persians. It is more probable that they are the result of earlier Greek influence from Asia Minor, and that, as the Persians never arose above eclecticism in their art, they were greatly influenced by this rapidly growing Greek art, with which they must have come into close and direct contact after the conquest of Lydia. That Darius copied the Græco-Lydian coinage

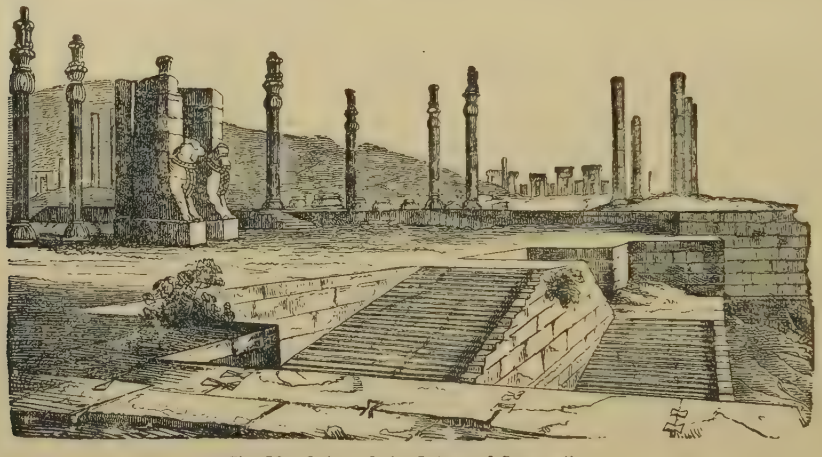

Fig. 56. Ruins of the Palace of Persepolis.

is a good proof of the influence of Greek culture at this early day upon Persia.

On the mountain-fringed plain of Merdascht are the monuments which teach us most about the ancient Persian sculptors. There, on a broad plain of natural rock, once made more complete with masonry, stand the ruined palaces of Persepolis, now called Takhti-Djemschid, throne of Djemschid, or, sometimes, Tchihil-minai (forty columns) (Fig. 56). On this plateau, accessible on one side by a majestic stairway, are still to be seen ruins of stately buildings, all constructed during the short but brilliant reigns of Darius and Xerxes.

Ascending the stairway, we should come upon a stately portal structure guarded in front by bulls of natural shape, and within by human-headed winged ones, suggesting at once Assyrian portal-figures, but varying from them in detail. The wings of the human-headed monster arch upward; and the front legs of all project, giving them a more unquiet look than those of Assyria. Columns with strange sculptured capitals go with these bulls to make up the entrance to the dwelling of the kings. To the right of this portal lie the

different palaces, large and small, and, still farther on, another fragmentary bull-portal. In all these palaces, however, we should find that only the approach by the grand steps, and the passage-ways leading to the interior, were decorated with sculptures. There is a moderation in the use of sculptural adornment here which is grateful to the eye, and in better taste than the lavishness of Assyrian palaces. Great labor was spent upon the facings of the double stairway, not, however, appearing in the cut. Guards, arranged in military order, carry their weapons, as though standing on perpetual watch at the palace entrance. Bearers of tribute are also seen toiling up the sides of the steps, or marching along the wall facing the landings. They bring with them choice vases and rings, or lead along their small horses harnessed to curiously wheeled chariots. A fierce combat between a lion and bull fills up the two corners of the landing; and the remainder is filled by long blocks of inscriptions, well divided off, and guarded by watchmen in long, attentive rows. It is noteworthy, that nowhere, as in Assyrian monuments, do the inscriptions interfere with the carvings. The palace-walls, doubtless built of sun-dried bricks, have long since gone to ruin; but the casings of doors and windows, cut from the dark rock of the neighboring mountains, still stand, as well as many fragmentary pillars with their elaborate capitals. Lining each side of the doorways, but not continuing beyond them, are sculptural decorations, in which we find a few scenes continually repeated. At the outer passages, guards appropriately stand on watch, holding long lances: at other entrances the king himself is repeated, fighting a lion, a bull, or a scorpion-tailed, eagle-clawed monster, whom the monarch holds by the hair of the head while plunging a short dagger into his entrails (Fig. 57). This composition seems an enlargement of combats repeatedly seen on small Chaldæan cylinders; the details of drapery and head-dress alone being varied to suit the new nationality, the garments falling in folds approaching nature. Beardless youths appear at a few entrances, bringing a towel, a square basket, and that conical-shaped

Fig. 57. King slaying Monster. Portal Relief. Persepolis.

object figuring so often in Assyrian monuments. Frequently the king is carved in the passage-way, robed in rich folds, daintily carrying a lotos, and protected often by two smaller attendants, one holding an elaborate umbrella, the other a handkerchief or the fly-flap, likewise seen in Assyrian sculptures. Sometimes the attendant simply carries a lotos-bud (Fig. 55). Usually these reliefs of the doorways do not cover the surface of the wall, but have a large vacant space below the strange Egyptian cornice at the top. This partial application of sculpture is, however, varied by one far more complete at the

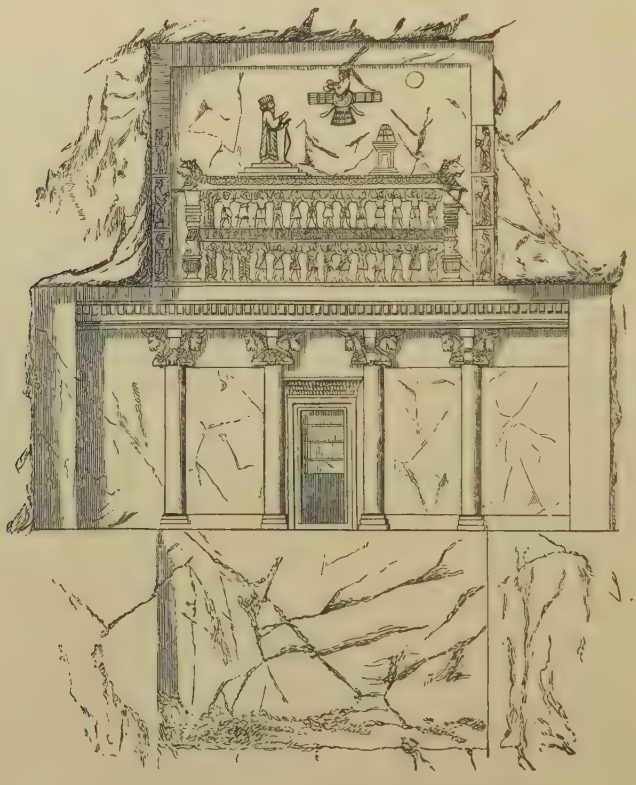

Fig. 68. Façade of the Tomb of Darius. Murghab.

four grand entrances of the "Great Hall of Xerxes." Here the whole side is occupied by a representation of the king on his lofty throne. In one case the seat rests on the outstretched hands of several tiers of tributary people, representing the lands given to the king by the god. In another case the throne-seat rests on rows of guards in different costumes. These thrones seem derived from less elaborate ones, met with in Assyrian monuments; and this motive of bearing the throne may doubtless be traced back to actual customs in the Orient, where large hangings were held up by servants around a holy place during certain ceremonial services.[134] The tenacity of these old customs is illustrated by a scene which took place in Southampton in 1856, when

the Queen of Oude visited England. In order to shield her majesty from the profane gaze of the curious English public, a double row of eunuchs formed, and, with the immobility of statues, held outstretched gorgeous shawls and carpets until the ladies had safely passed from their closed carriages. Above the throne at Persepolis, we see an elaborate tasselled canopy, its front decorated with a straight line of lions and bulls. The human-headed, winged Assyrian disk floats above the king; but it is clad with the Persian head-dress, — has become the Persians' Feroher.

In the mountain side at Persepolis are several royal tombs carved into the rock, their façades decorated in relief with thrones similar to the one described above. Here, on the tomb of Darius, the king stands, and worships the spirit of light — Ormuzd — before an altar where fire burns (Fig. 58). This scene, so worthy to appear over the entrance to the tomb, is supported by those strange sculptured capitals, only met with in Persian architecture, where two bulls or lions kneel as if forced to bear the weight above them, their fronts alone protruding from under the heavy weight. Subject-peoples hold up the platform on which the monarch stands engaged in worship.

Looking at what exists of ancient Persian sculpture, we find, besides these strange capitals, almost nothing which may be called strictly Persian. The subjects treated by sculptors are strikingly like those in Assyria, although far less warlike and bloody. It is possible, however, that we know but a small part of what the Persian sculptor produced, and are, therefore, not justified in forming a final opinion as to his abilities. After having yielded to influences from all sides, art seems, at last, to have come to a standstill; the sculptures added by Artaxerxes Ochus (362–338 B.C.) being exactly the same as those of the time of Xerxes, more than a hundred years earlier, as will appear on comparing Stolze's plates in Nöldeke's "Persepolis."

After the subjection of the Persians to Alexander, their artistic activities seem to have been exhausted. At a very late date, under the new Sassanid rule (240 A.D.), Persia regains her political glory, but her numerous sculptures now carved on mountain side in vast reliefs have lost all nobility: the compositions are confused, and the figures excessively inane, reminding one strongly of the flabby forms of modern Persian painting. The sole interest for us in these late works is of a purely historical kind, their puerile barbarism being only an illustration of national and artistic deterioration.

CHAPTER VIII.

PHŒNICIA AND ITS DEPENDENCIES.

Phœnicia. — Its Religion. — Goddess Mylitta. — Astarte. — The Phœnicians. — Spread of Trade and Position in Art. — Renan's Discoveries. — Imitations of Egypt and Assyria. — Tomb at Amrith. — Arados Relief. — Phœnician Griffin. — The Minor Arts. — Ivory Relief at Nimroud. — Sites where Phœnician Wares were Found. — Silver Bowl from Palestrina. — Chiusi Bowl. — Lack of Progress. — Cyprus. — Occupied by Phœnicians and Greeks. — Influence of Egypt and Assyria. — Mingling of Worship of Baal and Astarte with Greek Gods. — Discovery of Remains. — Rudeness of Material used for Statuary. — Lack of Bronze Figures. — Metallic Bowls. — Silver Bowl in Metropolitan Museum. — Frequency of Portrait Statues. — Representations of Deity. — Egyptian Types. — Heracles. — Figure combining Forms of Man, Lion, and Bird. — Frequency of Female Figures. — Their Character. — Funereal Monuments. — General Character of Cypriote Art. — Cypriote Type. — Age of Cypriote Statuary.

As Babylonian art with its Assyrian and Persian heirs held sway in the interior of Asia; so still another and peculiar branch of this hoary brotherhood appeared in the West, on the shores of the Mediterranean. Here the Phœnicians had their home; their principal cities, Sidon, Tyre, Byblos, Marathos, and Arados, rising on promontories jutting out into the sea, or on islands nestling by the shore. The Phœnicians are thought to have settled in their territory between Lebanon and the Mediterranean as early as 2500 B.C., and, according to various traditions, were Semitic tribes who had wandered thither from that home of early civilization, the lowlands bordering the shores of the Persian Gulf.

Their religion seems to have been the offspring of Babylon, but of more elaborated character. They worshipped a sun-god, whose power was sometimes destructive, and sometimes beneficent. As Baal Melkart, he was especially honored in Tyre; through his repeated labors and journeyings, he was supposed to free the world from evil: and the ideal of a wandering hero was developed, which should doubtless furnish the Greeks with many features, applied by them to their Heracles.

But, as with most Semitic deities, there was a female half to Baal, evidently a variation on the Babylonian Mylitta. She was known in different parts by different names, — Baaltis, Derketo, Atargatis, — and was the goddess of fruitfulness, her rites being those of the shocking Mylitta cult of Babylon. Maidens served her with their bodies; and the ram, dove, and fish, animals of intense sexual life and productiveness, were sacred to her. At Hierapolis, the figure of

Atargatis had a dove on its head: at Askalon, Derketo was half-female, half-fish, in her form. Of her many loves, the most celebrated was Tammuz, whom the Greeks made Adonis. For him, when slain, her Syrian worshippers mourned with loud wailings; and, when he lived again, his coming to life was celebrated with equal excess.

The other side of this goddess's character, standing for the destructive elements in nature, was worshipped under the name Astarte, a stern virgin, bent on war, and associated with the moon. To this goddess human offerings were made; youths and maidens being sacrificed to her, as they were to her male counterpart, Moloch. As the Syrians interpreted the worship of the goddess of fruitfulness according to their conception of her character, by giving full license to lust; so they interpreted the contrary character of Astarte, by killing out all natural feeling, the most acceptable offering to her being emasculation on the part of her priests and devotees.

Besides uniting thus in one deity these opposite characteristics, in which sexual and ascetic elements were pronounced, the Phœnicians also combined in one of their deities the male and female natures in a being of androgynous character. At Carthage, Dido Astarte was to be seen with Melkart's beard; and, at certain feasts of Baal, the priests and worshippers of the androgynous god appeared in reddish transparent garments of women; while the women, in male attire, carried swords and lances.[135] This strange religion, carried by the Phœnicians wherever they went, was, moreover, mingled with a most appalling cruelty and bloodshed, altogether strange to the religions of the Aryan race, as mirrored in its earliest existing sacred books, the Rig-Veda of the Hindoos in India, and the Avesta of the Parsees in Iran. With such barbarous conceptions of their deities on the part of the Phœnicians, it is not strange that they never succeeded in giving their idols grace and beauty, and that these always remained hideous symbols.

The land of the Phœnicians was small, a mere ribbon of rock and soil, girding the base of Lebanon, and washed by the restless sea. Although fertile, this territory was so limited in extent, that the cultivation of the soil alone could not support the dense and growing population, who were therefore compelled to resort to commerce, both by sea and land. Phœnician civilization became, in consequence, eminently commercial in character, a fact which is of prime importance in considering the art of this people, especially in its relations to that of the other nations of antiquity. At first we meet them as an adventurous fisher-folk, — the name of their oldest city, Sidon, signifying "fishery," — and see them gathering in the shells lining their coasts, from which they extracted a liquid of unrivalled brilliancy for dyeing purposes.[135a] But, besides possessing such wealth in the sea, their land was rich in metals and timber; its cedars were sought far and wide; and, at a very early date, we learn of this people travelling with their wares to distant lands, and bringing back

foreign products, to be distributed, in turn, to a still wider public. Babylonia, Assyria, and Egypt required oil and wine for their population; metals, skins, and finely dyed wools, for their home manufacture; and timber for building ships, rafts, and even houses. At first the Phœnicians seem to have been the mediators of this traffic only among the neighboring countries on the Euphrates and Nile; but in time their trade spread to the coast-lands and islands of the Mediterranean and Red Seas, as well as of the Indian Ocean. In oldest Bible story, Abraham has dealings with these ancient barterers, buying of them his slaves.[136] At a later day King Solomon built for them caravansaries, in order to facilitate their wealth-bringing traffic. The laden caravan toiling across the Syrian desert, between the cities of Mesopotamia and the Phœnician seacoast, seems to have been no uncommon sight, even before 1600 B.C., by which time the weights and measures of Babylon had been adopted by these Phœnician traders. From the far East, we learn, they brought Babylonian weavings and embroidered garments, as well as fine ointments, frankincense, myrrh, and precious stones.[137] For the varied merchandise of Egypt, — linens, papyrus, glass-wares, cut stones, ornaments, and medicines, — the Phœnicians likewise found a ready market. How early their Egyptian traffic commenced, we cannot tell: but Seti I. felled cedars on Lebanon about 1400 B.C.; and it is probable, that long before, while the Asiatic Hyksos had control of Egypt, the sea-faring Phœnicians had dealings with the people of the Nile. As early as 1100 B.C. their ships had ventured in the west to Cyprus, Rhodes, Crete, the Kyclades, and even to the coasts of Greece and Italy. These crafty sailor-merchants took with them brilliantly dyed stuffs, tempting articles of personal adornment, as well as figures of their gods; but the great staple of their trade was the unhappy slave, whom they obtained either by strategy or force, thus winning for themselves a most unenviable reputation among the nations of the Mediterranean. At first their many-oared and gayly-sailed ships seem to have carried on only an itinerant trade, the wily tradesmen from afar spreading out on the shores their wares, to tempt the inhabitants of the seacoasts, or, as the "Odyssey" tells us, cruising about for a short time among the Kyclades, driving sharp barter until their cargo was complete, and then setting sail.[138] But in time, as their commerce increased, permanent trading-stations and industrial centres were doubtless required, which should serve as corresponding houses with the Phœnician cities, and as a protection to their growing trade. Out of these colonies, which sprang up especially where mines were to be worked, and shells were to be found, there sometimes grew cities like Carthage, which retained the distinctive character of the mother-land, and vied with it in importance. Such Phœnician settlements existed in Cyprus, Melos, Thera, Samothrake, and Euboia; and on the mainland of Greece, Thebes, Corinth, Marathon, and many other places, had intimate connection with this ancient Semitic people.

From existing monuments and the records of history, it is evident that the familiarity of the Phœnicians with products of Egypt and Babylon exercised great influence on their art. Thus Solomon's temple, the work of Phœnicians, seems to have been in its plan Egyptian, but Assyrian in plastic decoration.[139] Moreover, their extensive trade could not fail to develop the industrial arts. Solomon ordered rare objects of Hiram, king of Tyre, and gave hire to his servants, who executed them according to all that Hiram appointed.[140] Had we records of the business relations of this ancient people, we should doubtless find, that for other lands likewise they made art-objects for sale.

The excavations of M. Renan on Phœnician soil yielded very few sculptured monuments, but in all these the influence of foreign art was evident. Egyptian forms were most frequently met with, such as the winged disk, decorating the entrance to ruined temples, and the sarcophagi in the form of the Egyptian mummy-cases.[141] These latter are covered by a slab in imitation of the mummy in its shroud, out of which the head, and occasionally the hands, appear. A number of these Phœnician sarcophagi were discovered on various sites, and are now in the Louvre. One is executed in the stone of the country; but the remainder are in marble, which must have been imported for the purpose. Sarcophagi of the same style have been discovered on many different sites where Phœnicians settled, as in Cyprus, Sicily, Malta, and Corsica. One, discovered at Palermo, was painted in imitation of cloth, a strange and meaningless addition to stone, but evidently intended to imitate the mummy-wraps of Egypt. The rendering of the faces on these sarcophagi varies; but the far greater part show the influence of Greek art, and consequently must belong to a comparatively late date, as is also indicated by the style of the graves where they were discovered.

Half-lions in coarse native stone, which decorated a grave at Amrith, the ancient Marathos, show a remote resemblance to Assyrian motives, but are so rudely blocked out, and left so unfinished, that it is difficult to judge of their artistic affinities (Fig. 59).

On the island of Arados, off the Phœnician coast, M. Renan discovered a very characteristic and interesting subject, a part of which is given in Fig. 60. Here, carved in very low relief, are two winged griffins, standing, one on each side of a sacred tree, and tasting, as it seems, of its fruit. This tree is made up entirely of motives borrowed from Egypt; and its spreading part is repeated in symmetrical regularity above this griffin relief, in imitation, as it were, of rich hangings. The forms of these griffins, as Furtwängler's comparison has shown, are the same as those decorating utensils and ornaments on Egyptian monuments of as early an age as that of Thothmes III.[142] From the hieroglyphics, however, accompanying such representations in Egypt, it seems clear that the vessels ornamented with this griffin with closed beak were the work of Phœnicians imported into Egypt. These griffins re-appear

in the same form and pose on the silver bowls found in Cyprus, and the fact that we have them in stone from Phœnicia itself seems to make certain their Phœnician origin. The combination of a bird-form resembling peacock and crane with a lion is skilful, and the decorative effect produced agreeable: still, their elements are not fully moulded into an organic whole, and the pre-eminently decorative character is almost too prominent. The significance of these Phœnician griffins lies in the fact, that they are the patterns found copied in very old wares on Greek soil, and there improved upon in later

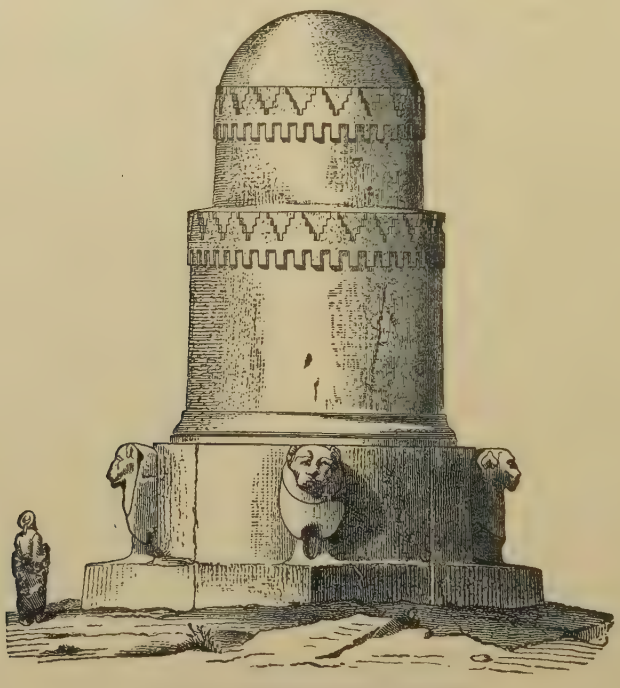

Fig. 59. Lion-tomb at Amrith (restored)

works, until this original inspiration is cast entirely in the shade by that to which it gave birth.

The great significance of Phœnician art lies, not in the scanty sculptures preserved to us, but in a world of minor art, which recent excavation has opened up, showing the intensely mongrel character of Phœnician fancy, ready to borrow wherever it went, and, unlike Egyptian art, impressed by every new tide of influence. These objects — humble scraps of ivory carvings, which once decorated some choice utensil; bronze and silver bowls; standards for lights, calling to mind the golden candlesticks of the Jewish temple; curious shaped bottles for unguents; large bronze caldrons, and ostrich eggs — are all carved with strange devices, in which Egyptian elements are found incongruously mixed up with Assyrian motives, and are all rendered in a lax and puffy manner, quite different from the severer treatment of either genuine

Egyptian or Assyrian work. Such objects were found in the ruins of Nimroud in Assyria in large quantities, and are now in the British Museum. A few fragments of ivory carving, once evidently used for incrusting some coarser material, doubtless pieces of wooden furniture (Fig. 61), are strongly Egyptian in subject and form, but lack altogether the vigor and decision so admirable in genuine Egyptian works. This mode of using ivory will call to mind at once the thrones, etc., made for the Jews by the Phœnicians, and described in the Bible.[143] On Italian soil very many products of this peculiar mongrel art, in one case accompanied by a Phœnician inscription, have been found in the older graves, dating, as Helbig has shown, from the seventh century B.C.[144] Thus, in the celebrated Regulini Galassi tomb at Cervetri, the so-called Grotta d'Iside at Vulci, in tombs at Veio, Palestrina, Poggio alla Sala, Sovana, and from the plain near Salerno, ivory carvings, bronze incrustations, and bowls of silver and meaner metal, have been discovered in large quantities.[145]

Fig. 60. Relief with Griffins from Arados. Louvre.

These bowls of silver and bronze now form a large family, nineteen of them being known.[146] A group of them was found at Palestrina in 1876, and the fact that one bore Phœnician inscriptions establishes the theory that their peculiar art is Phœnician. The technique is a simple one; the figures being beaten out in the pliable metal so as to be slightly raised, their surface finished by the graver's tool.

One of these bowls in silver discovered at Palestrina, but now in the Museo Kircheriano at Rome, and beautifully preserved, well illustrates the technique and mongrel forms of this art (Fig. 62). In the centre is a scene where the long, thin forms, the costumes and hair arrangement, of conqueror and conquered, call to mind the scenes on Egyptian reliefs; the hairy dogs biting the heels of the unhappy fallen, adding an element of brutal fierceness to the conflict. Outside of this scene prance well-framed horses, used in a strictly decorative scheme; each high-stepping steed being the exact repetition of his neighbor, excepting where a part of a member is carelessly omitted. Above them, arranged with like regularity, fly birds. But the outer row presents the most of interest. Here the main part of the circle is occupied with the hunt of long-horned deer and huge monkeys. We first see hunters, who

wear the Assyrian pointed cap, and are protected by an umbrella, start out in chariots from a fortification with battlements. Out of the first chariot the hunter has dismounted, and, kneeling, shoots at a frightened deer just leaping off of the curious mountain in front. Before a second mighty hunter on the mountain summit, a second deer flies; while, beyond, the hostler feeds the wearied horses, and a fourth hunter cuts up the prey suspended from a tree. In all this scene, there is no sign of religious symbolism or protecting deity. But behind the last-named hunter follows clearly a religious rite. Here an altar burns; over it hovers the winged disk of Egyptian art; before it is a standard, bearing, no doubt, a vase of liquid offering; and in front sits a worshipper, — one of those grandees protected by the umbrella, familiar to us from Assyrian reliefs. A mountain, from the side of which a mammoth mask spouts water, and on the summit of which a deer quietly grazes, and a hare leaps, separates this scene from the tumult that follows. There a curious winged being holds in its protecting arms the royal chariot (similar in form to that occurring in Assyria), safely out of reach of the huge, hairy beast below, who seems to be hurling a stone. The next chariot has run down one of these beasts, and another is stamped upon by a hunter. Another hunter seems to be aiming at the large bird, in form like the sacred hawk of Egypt, floating above. Around the whole scene a scaly serpent coils its length. Here we have, then, older Assyrian and Egyptian elements heterogeneously thrown together; but, of these, neither the full, puffy style of the one, nor the severely stern style of the other, seem followed in this mimicking art.

On Greek soil also, but more sparingly, and on a few of the islands, objects of a kindred character have been found. So the ancient tombs at Menidi and Spata in Attica, the sacred *altis* at Olympia, the island of Rhodes, and, more than all, Cyprus, have yielded objects which are decidedly Phœnician in type.[147]

These varied objects, especially in Italy and the islands, have been found frequently with genuine Egyptian works, such as small *shabti*, inscribed scarabs, vases, and the like, showing that where the Phœnicians carried their own wares, whether from their cities, Tyre and Sidon, in the mother-land, or from her proud colonies, such as Carthage, there they introduced likewise the work of other countries. These latter are of greatest importance, by way of comparison, in deciding the age of the Phœnician works with which they are found.

But, besides the objects of whose Phœnician or Egyptian origin there can be no doubt, there are very many which seem imitations only of such Phœnician samples, often rude variations on them, and recognizable from their material, peculiar to the country where they are found; from their subjects, foreign to Phœnician wares; and frequently from a greater crudity of style.[148]

Such an object was found at Chiusi, a highly interesting but very puzzling bit of ivory carving, with mythical subjects so purely Greek that it is difficult to imagine it the product of Phœnician carving, even though the style undoubtedly resembles Phœnician work.[149] Here are to be seen male and female centaurs, Odysseus under the ram as being carried out from Polyphemos' cave, as well as his adventure with the sirens, — all themes sung first by the epic poets of Ionia. Although found in Chiusi in Etruria, there is little doubt that this remarkable carving is an imported article. Some authorities hold the opinion, that it is the work of very early Ionian carvers, who, although imitating the style of the Phœnicians, from whom they had received the ivory, gave expression to their own national myths. Comparison and further discoveries in Asia-Minor soil will, no doubt, give us the key to this most interesting problem.

In the few well-certified and widely scattered extant Phœnician monuments, it is impossible to trace any development or steady growth. The scanty remains possess little intrinsic significance; and their main interest lies in the fact, that through the Phœnicians, the art-forms, and especially the technique, of older civilizations, were communicated by trade to the younger and artistically more gifted people of other lands.

Fig. 61. Relief in Ivory from Nimroud. British Museum.

Turning from the Phœnician coast westward, we find that Phœnician art, scattered through the Mediterranean coast-lands, everywhere shows, as in Phœnicia itself, a lack of vigor and originality, being mainly a feeble reflex of that with which it came in contact. Such remains have been found in Sardinia, Sicily, and elsewhere; but nowhere do they seem more abundant than in Cyprus, whose position near the Phœnician coast must have strengthened its relationship to the mother-land.

The mountain ranges of Cyprus must have early offered a tempting goal to the Phœnicians, who, looking from the slopes of Lebanon across the sea, could descry their purple lines skirting the horizon. The dense forests and copper mines, so rich as to give the island its name, could not fail to tempt these conquerors; and we learn, that, as early as the middle of the thirteenth century B.C.,[150] they settled Cyprus, to hold it until the Greeks should come in the ninth century to share its possession. From that time the two nationalities seem to have occupied the island in common, exercising a reciprocal influence. The influence of Egypt and Assyria must also have been felt in Cyprus, since the island at times paid tribute to these great powers. When the Thothmes and Rameses conquered Syria, it is evident from hieroglyphics, that Cyprus also came into political connection with the Nile valley. Later, when Assyria gained the ascendency, Cypriote princes paid tribute to the Assyrian

Sargon and Sennacherib. The former, who reigned from 722–705 B.C., set up in the conquered island a portrait monument of himself, carved in low relief on a slab of dark stone, and accompanied by peculiar explanatory arrow-head inscriptions. This relic of Sargon's power in Cyprus was brought to Germany by Ross, and may now be seen in the Berlin Museum. The continued intermixture of so many races, as well as the varying political fortunes of the island, may doubtless, in part, explain the unpleasant mongrel character of nearly every thing Cypriote, even down to a late date, whether it be in art or religion.

According to Greek myth, Belos, the Phœnician Baal, conquered the island; and at Kition, in Cyprus, by the Shemites called Chittim, his worship seems to have prevailed. At Amathus were worshipped Astarte and Tammuz, to become in time the Greek Aphrodite and Adonis; although it was especially at Paphos that the worship of the Oriental Astarte merged into that of the Greek Aphrodite. The lion-strangler and sun-god of Phœnician faith, Melkart, became often the Greek Heracles; and possibly out of the monstrous Moloch grew some phases of the Zeus and Cronos myths. But out of this tangled Cypriote mythology, and the accounts by the ancients of the shocking rites there prevailing, we gain little satisfactory light for an understanding of the sculptured monuments.

Attention was first drawn to Cypriote sculptures by the German archæologist, Ross, who about 1840 brought to Berlin many figures and heads in terra-cotta and stone, collected in a hasty trip through the island, and like those afterwards discovered on different sites, or otherwise collected in great numbers by the British consul Lang and the brothers Cesnola. Unfortunately no exact records of the discovery of the remains now in New York appear to have been kept; what was found in temple and tomb not having been held scrupulously apart, nor the localities accurately given. Restorations, carried out at different times, have increased the confusion already existing, and rendered still more difficult a correct judgment of the majority of these monuments.[150a]

The lack of a suitable material in which to express plastic forms, doubtless affected seriously the art of the island, adding its share to the difficulties of race, etc., with which the provincial school had to contend. Marble, so admirably fitted for sculpture, is not found on the island, the few marbles discovered doubtless having been imported. The coarse, soft limestone which abounds is of so crumbling a grain as to be unsuited for fine carving; and its porousness makes it a ready prey to moisture and breakage. In consequence, the surface of statues is rarely found well finished or uninjured. To this inferior character of the stone may doubtless also be attributed much of the stiffness, and lack of motion, prevalent in Cypriote statuary, even when belonging to an advanced age. Traces of color are found on many of these remains; but, as in the ma-

jority of cases this has disappeared, it is impossible to judge what principles guided the artists in their choice of hues.

Although the island was rich in metal, and bowls of silver, and jewellery of gold, have been brought to light; yet bronze figures or their fragments are scarcely ever met with. This circumstance seems to prove that the art of

Fig. 62. Silver Bowl discovered at Palestrina. Rome.

bronze casting was less practised in Cyprus than in Etruria, a land whose art offers many resemblances to these Cypriote remains, especially in its lack of style.

The metallic bowls have all the characteristics of what is believed to be Phœnician strongly pronounced (p. 115), and have been found scattered far beyond the limits of Cyprus, where they were probably executed. They have been found in Italy and Greece, and are thought to belong to the seventh and sixth cen-

turies B.C.[151] Bowls of this class in the Louvre, the Metropolitan Museum, Athens, and in different Italian collections, show a strange mixture of Egyptian and Assyrian motives, in combination with more natural forms, which are, however, thrown heterogeneously together. A deeper meaning drawn from Phœnician mythology is not likely to exist in these objects; and we are struck by the freedom with which foreign sacred symbols are arbitrarily borrowed, combined, and applied for purposes of decoration.

A silver bowl in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, said to have been discovered at Curium, in Cyprus, with a design in concentric circles, well illustrates this ruling tendency. In the centre is a winged figure stabbing a lion, — a subject frequently met with on Assyrian and Babylonian seals, but here varied by the addition of colossal wings, which are likewise Assyrian in origin. About this scene float two birds, clearly taken from Egyptian art. Surrounding this centre-piece, motives from nature, a horse browsing, two bulls bucking, and a cow suckling her calf, are combined with others, clearly Egyptian, such as a reclining sphinx wearing the royal *pshent*, and a kneeling Egyptian archer attacking a lion. This mixture of forms is still more apparent in the outer circle of this elaborate bowl. Here a sacred tree, made up of Egyptian motives, is the centre of many different scenes. At one time Isis, strangely enough wearing huge wings, holds up the lotos-blossom towards the tree; again, two winged sphinxes, half rampant, seem to be smelling of its half-blown buds; still again, griffins pick at its spreading summit, or horned goats mount it on either side, calling to mind similar scenes on the borders of Assyrian robes. In one row is a genuine Egyptian scene: a king, swinging high his weapon, threatens to strike off the many heads of his fallen enemies, whose scalp-locks he holds in his hand; while hawk-headed Horus stands by, and encourages him in the act. Although the devices are curious, and the mastery of the material is commendable, the metal being made to obey the silversmiths' tools, both in the original hammering out of the surface to represent the raised figures, and in the final painstaking finish; yet how unsatisfactory this transparently eclectic art, to those seeking for creations moulded by an originating fancy!

Turning our attention to statuary from Cyprus, we find, in looking over the large monuments, that portrait figures occupy the foreground, representations of gods and heroes being usually small and comparatively few. These portrait figures, one of which is represented according to Doell's publication (Fig. 63), doubtless represent worshippers, who always quietly stand, and frequently bear some gift by which to win the favor of deity. These worshippers bearing gifts are a peculiarly Semitic motive, rarely met with in purely Hellenic art.[152] It is certainly interesting to notice, that this feature continually asserts itself in Cypriote art; the presentation of a portrait statue with its gift always being a favorite mode of approaching deity among the conservative

islanders, even after they had become thoroughly acquainted with the Greek modes and spirit. Such portrait statues make up the larger part of the Cypriote statuary in the Metropolitan Museum in New York, whether crude and barbarous, or more advanced in style.

In addition, Cypriote art offers a few representations of deity. Among these, we see a human figure with a ram's head, which, like the hawk-headed deities, point to Egypt as a land from which the Cypriotes borrowed. Heracles, so important in original Phœnician myth as Melkart, is also met with in large as well as small figures. In one colossal statue, discovered at Amathus, and now in Constantinople, this semi-Oriental hero clasps to his side a lion of disproportionately small size.[153]

Fig. 63. Portrait Statue of Cypriote Worshipper.

There is in the Metropolitan Museum, No. 156 (Fig. 64), a most unique combination, worthy of notice, which is said to have been untouched by modern restoration, and doubtless had to the Cypriotes of old a religious significance now impossible to divine. Here we see, carved apparently from a single block of coarse limestone, a bearded man, with wings starting from his chest, and a true lion, this monument not exceeding seventy-six centimeters (two and one-half feet) in height. The man wears what seems to be the double crown of Egypt, and stands back to back to the lion, who looks in the opposite direction, with ears erect, and showing his grim teeth. This fabulous combination seems remotely to suggest Assyrian portal monsters, but has Egyptian additions, and native Cypriote features.

Female figures in Cypriote art are very frequent, often holding with the right hand a blossom to the breast, and with the left raising the drapery. By many, this frequently recurring female figure is thought to represent Aphrodite; but by others it is supposed to be simply a worshipper.[154] Certain well-developed female heads, wearing high mural crowns, may represent the genius of some city; but the crown doubtless points to the fact, that the idea of this goddess was borrowed from Asia Minor, where similar mural coronets appear in very ancient rock sculptures of Cappadokia; a similar head adornment being likewise seen on coins with the effigy of the Ephesian Artemis.

Monuments, whose purpose is unquestionably funereal, have also been found in large numbers. Of these the most important are sarcophagi. Some are servile imitations of the Egyptian mummy-case, like those found in Phœnicia, and its other colonies. More interesting, however, are the sarcophagi in imitation of a long building. The lid has the shape of a sloping roof, with a pediment at either end, on whose corners sphinxes or lions recline. Reliefs adorn the sides; having reference, doubtless, to rites in honor of the dead, or representing duties concerned with the departed.

In mustering now this array of sculptures, we find that the statue carved fully in the round was never acclimatized in Cyprus; the backs of all the figures being left flat, and in the rough. The spirit which permitted this neglect, as well as the superficial treatment of the body as compared with the head, is far different from that which appears in even the oldest extant Greek statues, such as the so-called Apollo from Bœotia (p. 213), and the one from Tenea. In the latter, the backs are as fully modelled as the front, and the body more carefully studied even than the face.

Fig. 64. Man, Lion, and Bird Monster found in Cyprus. New York.

Cypriote statuary may be roughly divided into two great classes, — the ruder and more primitive corresponding, apparently, to the predominance of Phœnician elements in the island; and the more developed, to the influence of the Greeks, who, however, never succeeded in remoulding the old into any thing better than a very second-rate provincial art. Many of the cruder statues, which may, in general, be termed Phœnician, wear garments which are evidently copied from Egypt, such as the peculiar *klaft*, or head-dress, the broad breast-collar, and kilt worn about the hips, its front frequently ornamented with asps, which on the Nile indicated royalty, but here are not readily explained. Still another close imitation of Egypt is to be noticed in the skin worn by several figures, and common in Egypt for priests. The summariness of treatment in all these crude statues, the sketchiness in rendering form, hair, beard, and clothing, as well as the advancement of the left foot in those not heavily draped, likewise call directly to mind Egyptian motives, and make it evident that these islanders were strongly under the influence of the hoary civilization of the Nile, without attaining in their works any of its dignity, or severe artistic spirit.

Other figures wear a strange conical cap, which at first sight calls to mind helmets seen on Assyrian reliefs. Many of these caps are, however, clearly imitations of knitted stuffs, and hence cannot be accoutrements of war, but, doubtless, a head-dress of the country, such as is said still to be worn in Cyprus. The beards of these figures in conical caps, and their long, plain drapery, have also been likened to Assyrian sculpture; but the resemblance is

remote.[155] There is throughout a marked neglect of those decorative details which, as we have seen, were essentials to the Assyrian sculptors.

In all these crude figures, the native sculptor seems to be struggling to render a peculiar type, although hampered by conventionality and his crude material. This "Cypriote type" is marked by a retreating forehead, projecting nose, large, protruding eyes, a pointed chin and beard, and a small, peaked mouth, whose corners seem drawn up in a perpetual smile, partly by reason of the pronounced cheek-bones. In statues where the improving Greek influence is perceptible, the face becomes milder, but seldom gains any true beauty or vigor of feature; and the form, although somewhat more carefully rendered, seems, as with the Etruscan artist, always to be considered a very secondary matter.[155a] The drapery, indeed, receives a few parallel folds; and the attempt to render its surface is evident: but, on comparison with genuine Greek drapery, that of Cyprus is a feeble mimicry; and, even in statues of very late date, the representation of the Roman toga is a caricature of that dignified and graceful garment.

The question as to the age of Cypriote statues is open to much discussion. Those having Egyptian garments have been conjecturally placed as far back as between 1600 and 1000 B.C., when Egypt controlled the East: those supposed to be clothed in Assyrian style are assigned by some to the period between 1000 and 500 B.C., when Assyria and Babylon held sway. The remainder fall into the period extending from 500 B.C., when Greek customs came to prevail, down to the fall of the Roman empire. A comparison of the more primitive statues with one another and with Egyptian monuments does not, however, confirm this broad chronology; and it seems far more probable, that even what has an Egyptian tinge belongs to a late date, the style of the head-dress being like that worn by Egyptians in Psammetichos' time, and not earlier. To the Athenians of Æschylos' time, twenty-five years after the close of the Persian war, when a Pheidias and a Myron were working in Athens, the word "Cypriote" seems to have stood for what was Egyptian in appearance, as may be gathered from a short passage in Æschylos.[156] This hint at the stiffness and ungainliness of the Cypriote style at that late date confirms the theory, that Cypriote sculptures are not of a hoary antiquity, but the works of a comparatively late and backward school. The discovery at Salamis, by Ohnefalsch-Richter, of objects, apparently of great antiquity, in juxtaposition with coins of the Roman age, shows clearly that the reproduction of ancient forms was there kept up to latest times.[157]

CHAPTER IX.

THE EARLIEST MONUMENTS IN ASIA MINOR.

Asia Minor. — Its Inhabitants. — Religion. — Earliest Art. — Affinities with that of Babylonia and Egypt. — Smaller Objects found. — Oldest Monuments with Hieroglyphics. — Cappadokia. — Ruins of Boghaz Keui. — Ruins at Euyuk. — Ruins at Ghiaour Kalessi. — Ruins at Karabel. — Figures called Egyptian by Herodotos. — Carvings on Mount Sipylos. — Ancient Niobe. — Figure discovered by Mr. Ramsay. — Hittite Art found at Ghurun, Alexandretta, on the Southern Coast, and Inland. — Distinctive Characteristics of this Art. — Conjectures of Sayce. — Phrygian Sculptures in Asia Minor. — Lions at Ayazeen.

The mountainous table-lands of Asia Minor have been from time immemorial the arena where nations have come and gone. The monuments left by these ancient civilizations, besides their intrinsic interest, are important as throwing light on the courses pursued by Oriental culture, as, passing through various modifications, it travelled from the valley of the Tigris to the Greek world.

The peninsula is crossed on the south by the snowy range of the Tauros; the rocky and abrupt southern shores being broken by poor harbors, and interspersed with small, fruitful plains. The central table-lands, sloping gradually to the north, form the watershed for the largest rivers, — the Halys and Sangarios, — which find their outlet along the almost unbroken coasts of the Euxine. On the west the shores are beautifully varied: precipitous and forbidding cliffs alternate with well-sheltered bays, and visions of mysterious highlands in the heart of the land meet the eye. Along the shore nestle fruitful islands; and farther out in the western waters are visible the Kyclades, tempting stepping-stones for primitive seafarers to and from the shores of Greece beyond.

Tradition vaguely tells us, that Phrygians, Cappadokians, Mysians, Lydians, and Carians occupied the land. The main part of these tribes doubtless belonged to the Aryan race, who had wandered from Central Asia. The Phrygians were certainly near of kin to the Greeks: from the Carians the Greeks borrowed their peculiar helmet and weapons, adopting many elements from their religion as well.[158] Clinging to the western coast was a fringe of Greek settlements, consisting of Dorians, Ionians, and Æolians. According to one view, the progenitors of these Greeks in Asia Minor originally came

directly from the centre of Asia.[159] Another theory, leaning on the Greek tradition that these tribes wandered from Hellas to Asia Minor, maintains that one branch of the Aryan race came from its primeval seats in Asia around by the north of the Black Sea, and passed by way of Epeiros into Greece proper, where it spread, and took possession. The land becoming populous, and younger, more vigorous tribes appearing on the spot, adventurous spirits started out, and, going from island to island, at last reached the Asia-Minor coast, from which they crowded back the original dwellers, but received many civilizing elements to spread back in time to Greece itself. There are signs from very early times of such a lively interchange between Asia Minor and Greece, for along these Asiatic shores Hellenic institutions were first developed. Homeric verse was born upon these shores, and here Greek cities flourished long before Athens took any part in history.

Of the earliest history of Asia Minor, we have only vague tradition; but of its most ancient art a few mysterious monuments exist. Of these, more are continually coming to light; and the eager search now being made in that little-explored land is meeting its reward.

The earliest religions of Asia Minor bear, in many of their features, a close resemblance to those of Babylon and Phœnicia, but have others which seem peculiar to the new land, and its impulsive peoples. In Phrygia the great deity is Amma, or Kybele as the Greeks called her, the nurturing mother of all, whose priests went to the greatest extremes of orgiastic frenzy, — even to emasculation. With this goddess the Artemis of oldest times must have had many qualities in common; both being personifications of the living, fertile principle in nature, and far different from our conception of the Hellenic huntress Artemis. Accompanying Kybele is Atys, the Phrygian Adonis, who dies, is passionately mourned for, but comes to life again. In Cappadokia the moon-goddess of war was an important divinity, who was served in rites like those met with in Syria; her priestesses, it is said, being clad in armor, like men.[160] This strange custom in Asia Minor was, perhaps, the kernel for the Amazon myth of the Greeks, but so beautiful and original in its later form, as hardly to be traceable to this beginning. The Lydian religion also showed points of resemblance to the Orient. The Lydians served a sun-god called Sandon, whose cult was associated with that of the goddess Kybele. Their Heracles, in Omphale's clothes, seems to be an echo of the androgynous god of the Syrians, a conception altogether foreign to the Aryan race. The many names and myths of Oriental color in Asia Minor had led to the conjecture, that Assyria early held sway, even as far west as Lydia: but an Assyrian inscription teaches us otherwise; for in it an Assyrian king of as late a time as the seventh century B.C. declares that Lydia was a country unknown to his ancestors.[161] Other than direct Assyrian influences must, then, be sought for as the bearers of Oriental culture into Asia Minor.

The oldest monuments discovered on the soil of Asia Minor are numerous massive walls and fortresses, corresponding in character and workmanship to the cyclopean structures of Greece and Italy, besides extensive palaces in Cappadokia, Oriental in plan, but thoroughly original in build, with massive stone foundations and walls.[162] The tombs, likewise of cyclopean structure, cut in the rocks, and having false entrances and pediments, which seem to offer the rudiments afterwards developed in Greek architecture into a perfect whole, are also peculiar to this soil.[163] There are, besides, very ancient tumuli, evidently the patterns of those in Eastern Greece, and themselves copies from the oldest graves in the neighborhood of ancient Babylon. Again, there are numerous sculptures carved in the mountain side, sometimes lining a rock-cut chamber, sometimes adorning the front of a grave, or towering above the road-side. Many of these are exceedingly primitive, but accompanied by mysterious hieroglyphics.

Besides these massive witnesses to the very early art in Asia Minor, small objects have been found. Thus, gold ornaments decorated with calves' heads, and curious human heads wearing the Egyptian head-dress, have recently been discovered in Lydia, and correspond to similar jewels found on the island of Rhodes, at Megara in Greece, and in Etruscan graves.[164] Lydian coins, the first that were struck, also throw some light on the forms and subjects used by the very ancient artists in Asia Minor.[165] How much more secluded valleys and forsaken mountain sides still secrete, is a question which the bold and self-denying explorer alone can answer.

Considering more closely the sculptures in Asia Minor, we find that the oldest seem to be those with strange hieroglyphics executed in relief against a background, instead of being sunken into it, as usual in Egyptian hieroglyphics and Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions. The widely scattered members of this family of sculptures, whose common resemblance was first recognized by Professor Sayce, may be followed to Carchemish, Aleppo, and Hamath, in Northern Syria: but their hieroglyphics have, as yet, refused to disclose their secrets; the single bilingual inscription in which they are grouped with cuneiform inscriptions being very short, and of questioned genuineness.[166] These oldest monuments seem to lie along the great routes leading from the south and east through the peninsula northward and north-westward to Sardis and the shores of the Ægean Sea, and have some resemblance to the art of far-off Southern Mesopotamia.[167] The great centre of this peculiar art is in the heart of Asia Minor in Cappadokia. At Boghaz Keui — probably the Pteria[168] of classic times — and at Euyuk, both situated on the eastern bank of the Halys, in the line of the high-road from Sardis to Armenia, extensive sculptural, as well as architectural, ruins show the works of this civilization, of whose existence until within a few years we had only faint intimations. The ruins at Boghaz Keui were first visited by Texier, but were more thoroughly explored by Perrot and

the French archæological expedition sent out to ancient Galatia in 1862. At this place, from the river's bank rise the massive ruins of a building with thirty chambers, courts, and corridors, arranged about a central space, calling to mind the plan of Babylonian and Assyrian palaces, but, unlike them, not raised on clay mounds, but on a terrace of cyclopean masonry, ascended by steps. At some distance from these palace-ruins are sculptural remains, far more independent in character, and having a peculiarly national type. These are cut in the living rock of a rectangular court, itself hewn out of the mountain side. Around this rock-chamber, whose floor when seen by Perrot was a bed of turf studded with flowers, there walk two stone processions, commencing with diminutive figures, scarcely seventy-five centimeters high, and ending in two forms over two meters high, the principal members of the *cortége*. Although the material in which these strange processions of over sixty figures are cut is a hard, crystalline limestone, and notwithstanding the coating of stucco once laid over them, still preserved in places, these sculptures are now seriously damaged. This stucco incrustation, doubtless originally enlivened by varied colors, has now a yellowish tone.

Fig. 65. Part of Rock-hewn Procession at Boghaz Keui. Cappadokia.

In these stone figures a religious ceremony is doubtless represented. Some of the figures are evidently gods or spirits, having supernatural emblems, such as wings and animals' heads, or accompanied by symbolical animals and hills on which they ride (Fig. 65). Good casts of these sculptures, poorly represented in the cut, have recently arrived in the Berlin Museum. In the centre of one procession is a colossal bearded figure, wearing a tall, pointed head-dress, tip-tilted shoes, and short tunic, garments peculiar to this family of sculptures, and probably the national costume. He walks on the necks of two smaller figures, who may be captives, and approaches a companion of equal size. The latter wears a mural crown, and long, flowing dress, which seem to be female distinctions. The lion she rides steps on four diminutive mountains, a representation familiar to us from Babylonian cylinders, and showing her to be a goddess. A male figure follows her, like the first, in tip-tilted shoes, tiara, and short tunic, riding on an animal which walks on hills. Close in his wake follow two females in trailing garments and with mural crowns, standing above the heads and spread

wings of a double-headed eagle, which probably characterizes these figures also as goddesses. This bird appears also on the ruined monolith forming one of the gate-posts of the palace at Euyuk, and we are well acquainted with it as the heraldic device on many European coins and standards. To trace the manner in which this familiar emblem, originating in these hoary rock-sculptures of Cappadokia, has come down to us, is most interesting.[169] It was adopted by the Seljukian sultans on taking possession of Cappadokia and Lycaonia in the eleventh century A.D., and was taken from them by the Crusaders, to be carried into Europe. The first bronze coin with the double-headed eagle upon it was struck by the Sultan Malik-es-Salah Mahmud in 1217 A.D., and the symbol first appeared on the arms of the German emperor in 1345. Following the large bearded god and his immediate associates at Boghaz Keui is a procession of twelve warriors marching in close ranks, with the usual male dress: following the goddesses come thirteen females in long, trailing garments.

Extensive and remarkable sculptures, varying in important details from these at Boghaz Keui, were discovered by Perrot at Euyuk, a few miles farther north on the Halys. Here are also extensive palace-ruins, one gateway of which, in block granite, is preserved, as well as the reliefs which flank it. The granite door-posts are carved in the likeness of standing sphinxes; and traces of others were found without the gate, and leading up to it.[170] The existing sphinxes, although evidently suggested by those of Egypt, do not crouch, but stand, like Assyrian "cherubim," at the gate. The hair, instead of having the straight ends of the Egyptian *klaft*, takes a decidedly decorative curve on each side; the ear, which in Egypt is high above the eye, is here on the same level; and an elaborate necklace, never met with in Egyptian sphinxes in the round, here clasps the neck.

In the reliefs without the gate, ceremonial figures, like those at Boghaz Keui, are engaged before an altar; others lead animals for offering; the building of the palace itself seems to be depicted; a snake-charmer, holding a guitar, stands with a serpent curled around his body; and another figure at his side holds a long-tailed monkey. In all these reliefs, there is the same thickness of proportions, the same inferiority of the human to the animal form, seen at Boghaz Keui. A somewhat greater skill, however, in handling the stone, and in making the relief represent what the sculptor desired, is noticeable in these Euyuk sculptures, which may, therefore, belong to a somewhat later date.

To the west of those Cappadokian ruins, and on the road to Sardis, are others at Ghiaour Kalessi, nine hours south of ancient Ankyra in Phrygia. Here two colossal warriors, about 2.74 meters (9 feet) high (Fig. 66), and girt with long swords, are carved in the mountain rock, against which still lean the cyclopean walls of an ancient fortress with masonry, like that at Boghaz Keui. These huge warriors, one of whom is bearded, have all the peculiarities of garments and weapons which characterize the sculptured processions at

Boghaz Keui, and the ancient palace-builders at Euyuk. Here may be seen, likewise, the same forward bend of the body, roundness and thickness of form, together with the peculiar treatment of the relief, the surfaces of which are flatly treated, although at the edges retiring abruptly to the background; features which seem to indicate a striving to pass from low to high relief.

Better known, though less imposing than these two Phrygian warriors, are their fellows at Karabel, about twenty-five miles inland from Smyrna, beyond Sardis, on the road connecting it with the Ægean Sea. Nearly twenty-four hundred years ago they were described by Herodotos as two figures carved in the rocks by the side of the roads that ran from Smyrna to Sardis, and from Ephesos to Phocaia. One of them, he says, has hieroglyphics across the

Fig. 66. Warriors hewn in the Rock, and Cyclopean Walls, at Ghiaour Kalessi. Phrygia.

chest, and holds a spear in the right hand.[171] Even in Herodotos' time, these figures were enigmatical to the Ionians; and the travelled historian makes the conjecture, that they represent the great Egyptian conqueror Sesostris, of whose exploits he had heard much while in Egypt.

One of these ancient stone warriors, so puzzling to the old historian, has been known to moderns for nearly fifty years. It is more than life-size, and is carved out in a niche in the rocks, 42.70 meters (140 feet) above the path. The other, but a few yards distant, carved in a niche, and cut out of a single huge bowlder, was only discovered within a few years; as the modern path runs along the uncut back of the stone buried in bushes. As traces of the ancient road have been detected at the base of the carved side of this monolith, it is more than likely that this second figure is the one described in detail by Herodotos, and not the other, which was high overhead. A nearer study of these ancient road-keepers shows that Herodotos was mistaken in thinking them Egyptian. Not only is the costume of the figures different from that worn by Egyptians, but the style of these thick-set and massive forms is also unlike that of Egypt. The prevalent low reliefs on the Nile are strongly

contrasted to these figures, whose edges rise almost perpendicularly from the background. Still more do the hieroglyphics argue against an Egyptian origin of these monuments; they being entirely incomprehensible to the Egyptologist, but duplicates of those at Boghaz Keui in Cappadokia, and at Carchemish and Hamath in Northern Syria.

On the north slope of Mount Sipylos, near ancient Magnesia, is another rock-cut image, usually called Niobe, which for ages has busied the imagination of men. In Homeric verse, we seem to hear such a figure described in the lines, —

> "And now forever 'mid the rocks
> And desert hills of Sipylos,
> Although she be transformed to stone, she broods
> O'er the woes inflicted by the gods."

And there are passages in Sophocles' Antigone which seem like a "half-understood reminiscence" of this statue on Sipylos. Ancient travellers, who made pilgrimages to this shrine, give more accurate accounts, which may be compared with those of moderns.[172] Pausanias describes a Niobe which he saw in climbing Sipylos, and which, when looked at close at hand, seemed but a precipitous rock, presenting no likeness to a female form. At some distance, however, it seemed a woman bent over and weeping. Again, he tells us of a figure of Kybele, the oldest image of that goddess, carved in Sipylos by Proteas, son of Tantalos. Whether his Niobe and Kybele are one and the same, or whether he describes in his Niobe an image yet to be discovered, are still questions. The female figure here carved in a niche in the rock is about five meters (16 feet) high, and is cut out squarely, with only one or two details in the relief. It is, to use Mr. Ramsay's words, "the product of an art so unskilful and so crude, the limestone out of which it is cut is so liable to decay, that it has to be mentally restored to some extent before it can be understood; but, the nearer one approaches to it, the more clear does it become, that the image of a human being is here represented." Greek tradition made the figure weep, and recent travellers have claimed that they saw the water trickling from it; but Mr. Ramsay, who saw it twice in the rain, noticed that the water flowed quite clear of the figure, not even touching the knees. This makes it doubtful whether it can be the Niobe described by Pausanias; and that it corresponds better to a figure of Kybele is evident from the fact that its pose is that met with in the Babylonian representations of the kindred goddess. A woman is here seated on a throne, with hands upon the breast. About the position of the feet, there has been much discussion; but they seem to rest on two mountains, like those on which the great gods, or the animals which support them, stand at Boghaz Keui. The worship of Kybele prevailed in Asia Minor: the cities of Magnesia and Smyrna swore by her, and many sites in Greece itself held her sacred. It seems, then, that, in

this rock-cut Sipylos figure, the Babylonian goddess stands before us on her half-way journey from her old home in Southern Mesopotamia to Greece, a silent witness to Oriental influence on the Western World. Hieroglyphics discovered by Mr. Dennis on the rock by her side allow us to link this hoary figure with the sculptures of Boghaz Keui and Karabel, and show clearly that it is one of that family of monuments extending from Cappadokia, over Phrygia and Lydia, down to the Ægean Sea.[173]

A like figure, discovered by Mr. Ramsay, near the Phrygian tomb of Midas, adds one more link to this chain, but is likewise too seriously injured to discern its peculiar features. Other monuments of this ancient art have been found in Southern Asia Minor: thus, to the south of Boghaz Keui, near Ghurun and Marash, on the road from the Halys to Northern Mesopotamia, are to be seen similar hieroglyphics. Still farther south, among the mountains inland from Alexandretta, extensive rock-sculptures, probably belonging to the same family, are to be seen, and along the southern coast between Samas and Kannidelli, at Korycos in ancient Kilikia, and farther inland among the mountains of Lycaonia at Ibreez and Trahtin in the neighborhood of silver-mines.[174]

Although these monuments have resemblances to the art of Southern Mesopotamia, as seen in their strange symbols, the figures riding on animals or on hills, etc., recurring on Babylonian cylinders; yet their enduring character as carved in the mountain sides, in contrast to the perishable art on the Tigris, as well as their peculiar costumes, and mingling of high and low relief, show national and independent traits.

The deep mystery hanging about the people who created this art could not fail to awaken the ingenuity of scholars seeking its solution. As Carchemish was an ancient centre of Hittite power, Professor Sayce has associated the monuments there found with that ancient people; and finding similar hieroglyphics and sculptures in Boghaz Keui, Karabel, and Kilikia, he has sought to trace that people still farther, on the supposition that they once held a large part of Asia Minor. Egyptian monuments indicate that the Hittites, called Kheta, were at the height of their power in the time of Rameses II., and that with them the Egyptians struggled for twenty years. Professor Sayce consequently conjectures, that the Hittites must have held Asia Minor not long after that time, which would be about the twelfth century B.C. He imagines that they then executed the monuments we have been discussing, borrowing from their predecessors, the Babylonians, and learning from the Egyptians with whom they had come in collision.[174a]

On this supposition, that the Hittites once held Lydia and Western Asia Minor, it would readily happen that the ancestors of the Greeks became acquainted with Babylonian civilization through them, and not directly through the Assyrians, as has been often conjectured. As no tradition, however,

supports this tempting theory, that Hittites ever ruled in Cappadokia and Lydia, the decipherment of the hieroglyphics will probably alone decide who the mysterious people were, who, in Asia Minor, communicated to the Greeks their knowledge of Babylonia.

Besides these very early sculptures with hieroglyphics, others have recently been discovered in Phrygia which seem to be a later branch of the same family, so similar is their style and treatment. Among the more interesting of these remains is a tomb discovered by Mr. Ramsay in 1881, near the modern village of Ayazeen, bearing in its decoration a most striking resemblance to the Lion Gate of Mykene.[175] On a perpendicular cliff, running along the face of a hill, a cube of rock projects, in the front of which is a small door in the usual position in these Phrygian rock-graves, about 6.10 meters (20 feet) above the ground. Over this doorway is carved an obelisk, and on each side a rampant lion with its paws on the top of the door, its head in full profile, and its gaping jaws and projecting tongue facing the obelisk (Fig. 67). The colossal beasts, each about 5.18 meters (17 feet) high, were overgrown with moss; so that no detail of the sculpture, except eye and ear, was visible. Their tails are long, and what to Mr. Ramsay appeared to be a cub lies under each one. The fundamental idea of these lions, guarding the entrance of the grave, seems to be the same as that of the Mykene lions (p. 154); although they are vastly inferior to the latter in artistic merit, the heads being disproportionately large. The great interest of this monument lies in the fact, that it is the earliest of eight tombs in Phrygia, in all of which this subject re-appears; thus indicating clearly, that the pattern of the Mykene lions must have come from Asia Minor.

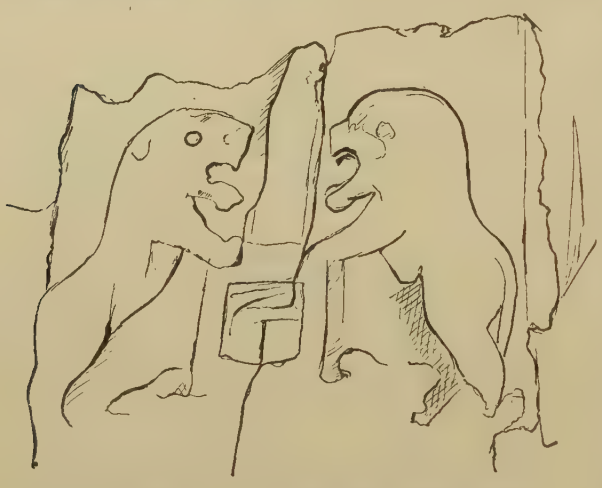

Fig. 67. Relief of Lions on Tomb near Ayazeen. Phrygia.

Near by was a broken fragment of another tomb, a lion's head, and part of a human arm thrusting a weapon. This may have been the Oriental group, well known from Babylonian gems, of a human being slaying a lion. The most remarkable feature is the lion's head, measuring from nose to back of head 2.29 meters (7½ feet), and, although conventional in detail, full of fierce expression. The whole surface is carefully worked out in flat detail, although the edges of the relief sink down rapidly fifteen centimeters to the background. This approach to high-relief calls to mind the so-called Hittite

monuments, but the whole execution of this fine head is far superior. There is also a clear attempt to produce a truly sculptural effect, far in advance of the Assyrian portal-figures, in which we find high and low relief in unpleasant juxtaposition.

Mr. Ramsay also discovered a strange procession of eight figures, having one traditional type, besides other mysterious figures.

In these monuments of Asia Minor, with their Oriental and independent motives, we have, then, a witness to the continuous tradition in art, extending from the Babylonian plains of prehistoric times down through the great courses of trade, migration, and conquest, till it reached the Greek world. We stand now on the border-land of that great civilization, which, while learning from the past, should, through the power of its inborn spirit, remould the old types, and create a new world of beautiful forms.

EARLIEST ART ON GREEK SOIL.

CHAPTER X.

PRE-HOMERIC AND HOMERIC ART.

Geographical Character of Greece. — Its Earliest Inhabitants. — The Pelasgians. — Earliest Religion of Greece. — Aryan and Semitic Elements. — Imageless Worship. — Crude Idols. — Mythical Artists. Daidalos. — Oldest Monuments. — Mykene Tombs. — Other Tombs. — Their Contents. — Distinct Artistic Elements. — "Island Stones." — Geometrical Decoration. — "Red-clay Ware." — Native Art. — Art traceable to Asia Minor. — Union of Elements. — Oriental Influence. — Ornament with Lions. — Ornament showing Phœnician Influence. — Decorations at Orchomenos. — Mykene Sword-blades. — Party-colored Gold. — Supposed Egyptian Influence. — Independent Characteristics. — Lion Gate at Mykene. — Homeric Descriptions of Art Objects. — Achilles' Shield. — Heracles' Shield. — Statues of Gods mentioned in Homer. — Value placed upon Phœnician Ware. — Influence of Poetry on Art. — Formation of Artistic Types.

THE strongly pronounced features of land and clime could not fail to leave their deep impress on the inhabitants of Greece. History bears witness to the often imperceptible but none the less powerful influence of natural causes in the development of national character. We have seen, that the unchanging uniformity of the Egyptian landscape, and the ever-recurring phenomena of the Nile valley, deeply affected the national and social life of Egypt. So, too, the broad, alluvial plains of Mesopotamia, a tempting ground for contending empires, and the home of abject multitudes, inevitably gave a cast to the form that civilization there assumed. And thus it was in more favored Greece, blest with an endless variety of natural advantages, which could not fail to mirror themselves in the character of its population.

The peninsula, projecting far into the sea, is, in a certain sense, isolated from the surrounding countries. Its western coast is little broken, but deep bays and gulfs indent its eastern shores. To the south and east numerous islands dot the neighboring sea, stepping-stones, as it were, to the opposite coasts, and tempting the primitive inhabitants of Greece to a seafaring, adventurous life. The land is not topographically a monotonous whole, but is broken up by mountains and fertile valleys into separate cantons, communicating more readily by sea than by land: thus Attica is surrounded on three sides by water, and separated from Bœotia by mountain ranges; thus Argolis nestles between the sea and Gulf of Corinth, and the mountain cantons of the Peloponnesos seem by nature assigned the part they were to play in history. With such a natural conformation, these states could not fail to give birth to more or less

peculiar shades of culture. Moreover, the nature of the land was hostile to effeminacy. The friction of contending tribes tended to develop a martial spirit. Continuous and intelligent labor was required to obtain from the soil an existence, and thus the Greek was shielded from the danger of sinking into luxurious apathy and soft indulgence. So the peasant poet Hesiod sings, —

"Work, Perses, that hunger remain far from thee, and the beautifully wreathed Demeter be friendly to thee; for the diligent are loved by the immortals."

The varied beauties of their land must have worked with a magical power on the imagination of this people. They saw in each valley, and on each mountain, storm alternating with sunshine: they saw the blue arms of the sea breaking into every retired bay, and the rugged lines of mountain and cliff set off by the quiet horizon of the distant waters, interrupted only by silvery islands. No wonder that their fancy, stirred by such scenes, should have enlivened the beauties of nature with creations of the imagination equally beautiful. Here no tropic heat or arctic cold warped and dwarfed the full development of man; and the moderation of the clime preserved the imagination from revelling in the wildly voluptuous dreamland of the Hindoo, or in the weird, shadowy, and monstrous fantasies of the foggy and inhospitable North.

Thanks to its central geographical position, Greece was most favorably situated for becoming the focus whither flowed all the streams of ancient civilization. Surrounded by the hoary lands of antiquity, and its own sister-colonies scattered along the shores of the Mediterranean and on the islands, we find, from time immemorial, the Greeks, by means of migration, trade, and warfare, being brought into contact with reviving influences from without, remoulding their myth, religion, and art, so that no germs of ancient life were wanting in bringing to perfect fruition the rich plant of Hellenic culture.

The Greeks fondly believed themselves to be autochthons of the soil, the earth-born children of Hellas. But, in truth, their remote ancestry had wandered from distant regions into this favored land. The unerring analogy of language and myth has shown, that on the far-off table-lands of Central Asia dwelt the parent-stock of the great Aryan, or Indo-Germanic, race.[176] Descending from their primeval seats, its different branches spread into the valleys of the Indus, took possession of Iran, and wandered westward into Europe. To these latter belong the so-called Pelasgians, a portion of whom became the ancestors of the Greeks; certain races in time taking a more prominent place under the names Dorians, Æolians, and Ionians. The migration of the Dorians southward probably resulted in the crowding out of parts of some of the tribes who were forced to seek new homes on the islands and in Asia Minor.

Actual history of those remote ages does not exist; for the poetic fancy of the Greeks wove out of their heroic past, as it were, one beautiful poem. It is

only by the coincidence of names, traditional rites, and conceptions, and the study of the preserved monuments, that a few kernels of fact have been rescued.

In the religion of these races the higher, more spiritual elements are traceable to their old Aryan ancestry, with whom light was the power that brings life and strength. It was pure and good, and the gods of light were the beneficent protectors of mankind: they fought the storm-clouds and spirits of darkness, and punished man for deeds of darkness. Accordingly, among the Greeks their peculiar gods, Zeus and Apollo, had in character much in common with Vedic and Zend-Avesta mythology. So, also, minor spirits first received their character from the inhospitable steppes of Central Asia, where storm-clouds battled, and locust-swarms darkened the sky; and these beings seem to have been retained, but ennobled and individualized, by the Greeks. The wild horse, roving in herds, swift as the wind, or fleeting cloud, stimulated the Aryan fantasy to take him as a chosen symbol in art and religion;[177] and so, too, in Greek mythology and art, the centaur, the satyr, the winged Pegasos, Iris, the Erinys, and the black Demeter of Phigaleia, have at base the equine idea.[178]

The Pelasgians, according to tradition, worshipped at Dodona one highest god, Zeus, but without images. Moreover, they brought offerings and prayed to many "nameless gods." Hesiod tells of thirty thousand immortal watchmen of Zeus, wandering through the earth, doing his bidding; and it seems most probable, that in the people's fancy the poet's great ethical host, these "nameless gods," were polydemoniacal powers lower in grade than Zeus, and inherited from an Aryan ancestry, but giving rise in time to gods of a higher standing.[179] As these received names, they doubtless became Hermes, Poseidon, the Dioscuri, Hera, Hestia, Themis, the Charites (Graces), etc. Even Apollo and Athena must have been later and beautifully individualized members of this great host; but Aphrodite, we know, was a stranger, imported from thoroughly foreign shores and peoples. It is, moreover, a significant fact, that, in the earliest extant monuments, not Zeus, but his symbols alone, such as the double-headed axe, appear, as well as the animals of daily use dedicated to him, especially the horse, and beings of composite character, doubtless representing those numerous lesser powers dreaded by man.

Besides the distinctively Aryan elements in the early religious conceptions of Greece, there are others of a Semitic cast. Many such flow from the strictly physical conception of nature as generative, and are connected with rites of extreme asceticism and bloody human sacrifice on the one hand, and unbounded licentiousness on the other. The worship and attributes of Kybele, of the Ephesian Artemis, and the Cypriote Aphrodite, may be traced back to the Eastern goddess of fructification, and, doubtless, became known to the Greeks through Phœnician traders and settlers, as well as through their neighbors in Asia Minor. Many heroes, such as Adonis and Melikertes, were

ready-made heroes, imported directly to Greece, whom the Greeks adopted. These Aryan and Semitic elements were, however, in time purified and ennobled by the Greeks; the Aphrodite (Astarte) of the Phœnicians became the incorporation of all loveliness; and the armed priestesses of the East were transformed into the poetically attractive Amazons.

Around the beginnings of plastic art in Greece hang the clouds of legendary obscurity. Even in Homeric song the earliest inhabitants of the land are giants of an older day, and the sculptors and cunning artificers of the past are the gods themselves, — a tradition prevalent among the Greeks down to later times. Tradition tells us, that, before human shape was given to the gods, an older era passed when symbols, such as a tree, an uncut stone, or an unhewn log, were set up and worshipped. Even long after Greek temples had been peopled with beautiful forms, these sacred relics were regarded as peculiarly holy. The thirty pillars at Pharai were regarded as statues of so many gods. In a temple at Kyzicos was reverenced a triangular pillar, which Athena herself had presented as the first work of art. Even at Delphi, Apollo's most sacred shrine, a pointed column continued to be his holiest symbol. At Samos, Hera was represented by a board; and Athena, at Lindos, by a rough beam. The continuance of such primitive forms down to a late day, alongside of more perfect ones, is an important means by which the stream of art may be traced up to its sources.

About the personality and characteristics of the artists of those very remote ages, the gay web of myth has been so closely spun, that it is well-nigh impossible to trace any sure threads through its fantastic texture. Generic names of strange demoniacal and superhuman beings, the Kyclops, the Dactyli, and Telchines, seem, however, to point to Asia Minor and the islands as the earliest seats of artistic activity and development. The Kyclops came from Lykia to Argolis, there to build the massive walls of Tiryns and Mykene. The Dactyli (skilful fingers) worked principally for Rhea Kybele, the great goddess of Phrygia, that land whose mountains were rich in metal, and whose river-sands glittered with gold.[180] They are met with on the coasts also, working on the Trojan plain and at Miletos. They pass to the islands, appearing on Rhodes, Cyprus, and Crete, as well as on the mainland of Europe. The Telchines, those magician artists, so near of kin to the Dactyli that the names of some are interchangeable, are fabled to have been the discoverers of iron, and seem to have belonged to Crete, Rhodes, and Lykia.[181] They appear also in Sikyon in Greece itself. They combined the character of sorcerers, priests, and artists, who incurred the vengeance of Apollo, and were slain by that god. They are even reported to have fashioned the forms of the gods, and their activity seems to indicate some improvement in working in metal which may possibly be connected with the first traditions received from the Orient.[182]

Besides these nebulous constellations, one name is so often mentioned, that the temptation has been to consider it as standing for an historical artist. This is Daidalos, the traditional contemporary of King Minos of Crete, builder of the labyrinth at Cnossos, creator of most varied works of art, descendant and friend of gods and heroes, and founder of Cretan and Athenian art. Most varied works were ascribed to him, while all agree that the material in which he worked was wood. Indeed, he is said to have invented the instruments for working it, — the saw, axe, borer, and glue.[183] The name Daidalos seems, besides, to be symbolical of progress. He was said to have loosed the limbs of the gods, and to have opened their eyes, which, according to pious myth, had been closed on acts of human wantonness. Orpheus had, by the magic strains of his lyre, miraculously tamed the brute creation : but Daidalos accomplished the still greater wonder of giving life to the wooden block ; so that, as the old writers say, his statues "must needs be bound, lest they walk." It is said that he represented the mighty Heracles so that the hero was deceived by his own likeness. Seeing the image in the night, he believed it to be alive, and flung a stone at it. But these legends show how thoroughly mythical is the character of Daidalos. Such he was, even to the Homeric poets ; since in the Iliad we read, "And there famed Hephaistos also made a dance, — a maze like that which Daidalos once contrived for fair-haired Ariadne."[184] In fact, the very name "artist" stands clearly for a class rather than for an individual : to this name are also attributed extensive architectural works, not only in the Greek islands, Italy and Sicily, but also in far-off Sardinia, and even Egypt. Later generations kept, as a sacred trust, in their temples, small wooden statues, which they reverently showed, as the work of Daidalos' hand, to the traveller Pausanias, who lived about 160 A.D. To him they seemed strange and uncouth, — the very beginnings of art ; but in veneration for objects of worship so very ancient, he says, that "there is a certain inspiration of the god which pervades them."[185]

Happily we are not left to vague myths alone for our knowledge of art activity in those remote pre-Homeric and Homeric ages, long before the appearance of attested historical characters. Around the few isolated monuments, standing out alone in the midst of that nebulous past, may now be grouped numerous often less pretentious remains, discovered within the last twenty years in Asia Minor, the islands, and Greece itself. Thus the celebrated Lion Gate of Mykene, and its equally mysterious neighbors, the so-called Treasuries of the ancients, may be looked upon as parts of one great, although complicated whole, whose connecting-links, thanks to discoveries, at last join on to the artistic traditions of a later and better-known day. In these remains we have the humble seed out of which should spring, little by little, the glorious plant known in its perfection as Greek art, one strong branch of which was sculpture. This branch is, however, so intimately connected with the root and

trunk, that, at the outset at least, the treatment of sculpture cannot be divorced from that of the other arts.

These ancient monuments, now so varied and numerous that it is well-nigh impossible to sum them up in a short space, comprise cyclopean fortifications and tombs with carved entrances; sculptured tombstones; countless trinkets in gold, ivory, and glass paste; weapons of plain and of rare workmanship; utensils, vases, and the like, of coarsest clay, and of finest gold and bronze wrought out in artistic forms; besides engraved stones, soft and hard, — these small objects being laid away for the most part with the dead, in tombs which vary with locality and age.

The greater part of these very ancient graves with remarkable contents have been discovered in Argolis: but they are also scattered along the whole east coast of Greece, facing the islands and Asia Minor; and it is most probable, that, when these latter have been satisfactorily excavated, other tombs will come to light. Objects similar to the contents of these graves are found in numbers on many of the islands, especially Thera, Rhodes, Crete, and Melos.

Fig 68. Stele discovered at Mykene.

The crudest in form of these graves in Greece are five excavated by Schliemann in 1876, on the acropolis of Mykene, and a sixth, discovered by the Greek Archæological Society in 1877, all still glistening with their precious contents, and accompanied by most primitive sculptural tombstones, or stele, one of which appears in Fig. 68.[186] That these tombs of Mykene have a greater antiquity than the encircling cyclopean walls, the well-planned fortifications of a powerful dynasty, is evident from their primitive build, — a plain shaft sunken into the ground, in the midst of a circular wall, — as well as from the fact, that the cyclopean walls, on reaching this circle, deviate from a regular line, and make a curve parallel to the space around the graves, thus clearly indicating the earlier existence of the latter.[187] These tombs seem to have been intended, not for single individuals, but for a common resting-place of generations; and it is evident that the grave was opened afresh with each new burial, which may explain the intermixture of the objects laid away.

But more conveniently built for such successive burials, and far more imposing in architectural *ensemble*, are those tombs having a dome-like roof, and containing a circular grave-chamber (*tholos*), like the so-called Treasury of Atreus, a plan and section of which is given in Fig. 69. The roofing is formed by layers of stone, projecting one beyond the other, until they meet in the top, giving

a beehive shape to the building. The doorway is often somewhat ornamented, and always opens into a long, narrow, roofless passage-way (*dromos*), which was safely closed up with a mass of *débris* after each burial. The most celebrated of these dome-shaped tombs, the Treasury of Atreus, has a vault 14.64 meters (48 feet) high, and a highly decorated entrance. Within, this spacious apart-

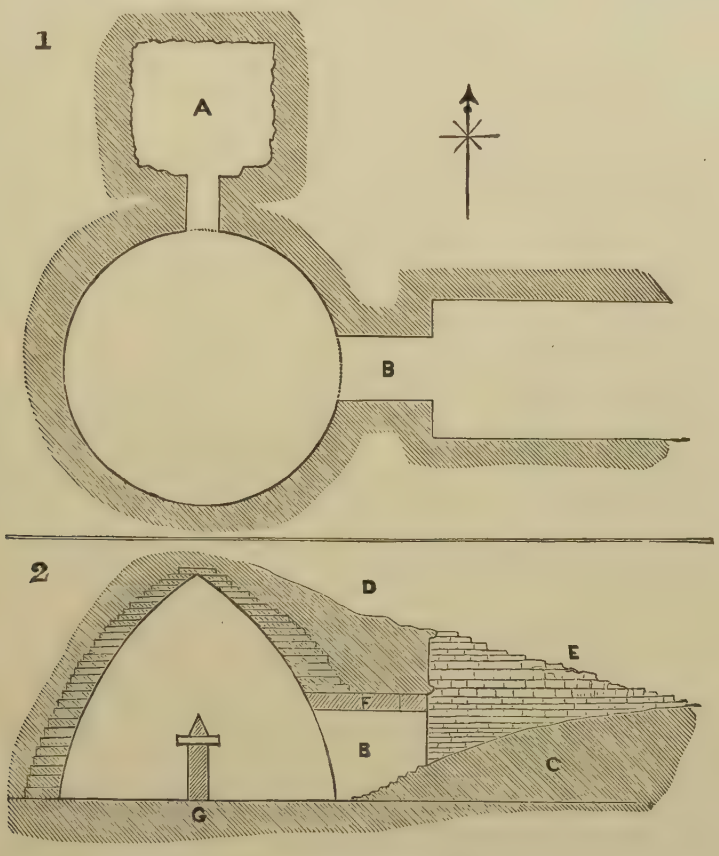

Fig. 69. Plan and Section of the so-called Treasury of Atreus at Mykene (restored).

1. Plan of the Treasury of Atreus: A, rock-cut chamber; B, doorway; C, *dromos*.
2. Section of the above: B, doorway; C, *dromos* filled up with earth; D, slope of the ground; E, wall on north side of approach; F, lintel-stone; G, door to rock-cut chamber.

ment was partially lined with plates of metal; and at the portal, which had a crowning triangular space, stood strange columns, which, as recent research has shown, contrary to former opinion, tapered toward the base.[188] These columns, thus resembling closely the one separating the lions of the "Lion Gate" at Mykene, are, however, much more elaborate, having both curious shaft and capital, which was formerly considered the base, covered with spirals and other designs carved into the stone (Fig. 70). Three other similar dome-shaped tombs, but less rich, near Mykene, are yet unexplored; another near the neighboring

Temple of Hera was opened up in 1878.[189] In 1879 a similar building at Menidi in Attica, which, happily, had not been ransacked, was most thoroughly and carefully excavated under the direction of Lolling, and yielded many small objects in gold, ivory, gems, etc.[190] In 1881 additional light came through Schliemann's excavations at Orchomenos in Bœotia, of a similar, but more elaborate structure. Here were discovered numerous fragments of metallic plates, as well as the nails which fastened these linings to the stone; and, in addition, a square chamber off from the majestic *tholos*, which had a flat roof of greenish calcareous schist, carved in elaborate combined patterns of spirals and what seem lotos-buds, surrounded by a border of rosettes.[191]

At Spata, near Hymettos, other tombs were brought to light in 1877, carved into the living rock, where an attempt seemed to be made to imitate the dome. Happily, many most interesting fragments of ivory carvings and the like were found here also.[192] The rock-tombs at Nauplia, on the slopes of Mount Palamidi, excavated in 1879, were much less richly furnished, and had evidently been despoiled of their more precious contents.[193]

To the ancients of historic times, these structures, with their massive masonry, glittering gold, and precious contents, were a mystery. Strabo calls the grottos at Nauplia the work of the mythic Kyclopes; and, according to Pausanias, the ancient Greeks regarded the colossal structures at Mykene and Orchomenos as the Treasuries of Atreus and Minyas, mythic kings of their heroic age.[194] But the discovery of many skeletons in these structures which had never been opened, as at Menidi, shows most conclusively, that these were the burial-places of many generations, and that the jewellery served to adorn the dead, and the vessels to contain food, drink, and sweet-smelling perfumes; besides, much else was found necessary to make comfortable these last dwelling-places. That all these buildings and the most of their contents are, moreover, the products of a long and slowly developing civilization which flourished before the Homeric age, is now well-nigh conclusively proved.[195]

But how puzzling the contents of these graves, how strange the devices met with, how astonishing the amount of gold, especially at Mykene, and of carved ivory at Spata and Menidi! Better to understand their varied artistic character and relationship to later art, let us cast a hasty glance at the contents of the Mykene graves now collected in the Polytechnicon at Athens, and then, following Milchöfer's masterly guidance, trace the most apparent affinities between the different objects and those found elsewhere.

In the Mykene graves, primitive golden masks, amusingly realistic in their rendering of the form, were placed on the faces of the deceased, thus following a very prevalent tendency among mankind.[196] The chests of the dead were covered with a breastplate of the same rich material, decorated with designs natural to malleable metal, such as spirals, winding lines, points, and imitated nail-heads. Broad diadems and girdles, all of gold, growing narrower at the

ends, and covered with similar forms, encircled the heads and bodies. The arrangement of the hair must have been most elaborate, as the bands and ribbons of gold seem to indicate. Many hundreds of single and double buttons, carved in wood, or sometimes in alabaster, and coated with thin gold through which the design appeared, were scattered about the bodies. These buttons were, doubtless, set in rows on to the garments, and on to long wooden sword-handles. There were, besides, spangles of gold to be sewed to the garments; clasps and pins, with designs of deer, lions, sphinxes, griffins, eagles, polyps, cuttle-fish, etc. Chains and hangings of thinnest gold-foil were hung about the bodies, while above and around them bits of gold were scattered in profusion. There were also found solid finger-rings, and large, bead-like objects of gold, evidently parts of necklaces, into which lively scenes were skilfully cut.[197] Besides, there were genuine engraved gems, perhaps intended to be mounted on a swivel-ring, or form parts of a necklace, and serve as amulets. Sword

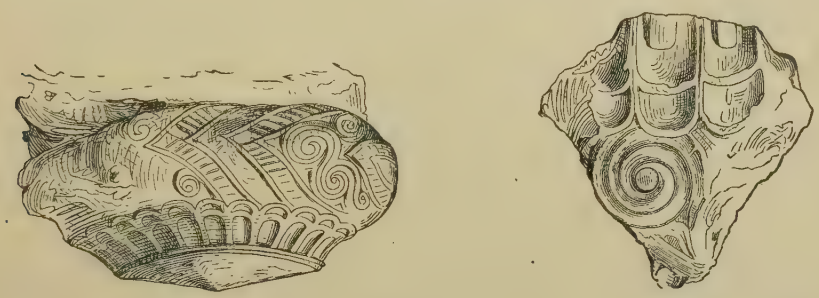

Fig. 70. Sculptured Capital and Fragment of Column from the so-called Treasury of Atreus. Mykene.

blades and hilts richly decorated, as well as scabbards and vessels of gold, silver, and bronze, some of which are in very exquisite workmanship, were also found. In the fourth grave, there were twenty silver vessels, thirty-two copper caldrons, and one hundred and forty-six swords, large and small. Some of the latter, at last cleaned, have revealed most elaborate workmanship, and quaint, but agreeable, designs. An ostrich-egg, having dolphins of alabaster fastened on to it, was found in one grave; and a few sporadic objects in crystal, amber, ivory, and glass paste, were scattered throughout the graves. Ivory and glass paste are, however, rare at Mykene, but very common in the later tombs of Menidi and Spata. One remarkable object which has attracted much attention, is a steer's head of silver, with hollow, gilded horns.[198] The mouth, ears, and eyes were also gilded; but, of this gilding, only the layer of copper over which it was applied now remains. A graceful rosette is attached to the forehead, and a ring fastened to the neck indicates that this head was intended to be suspended. From its similarity to objects brought by foreigners — probably Phœnicians — to an Egyptian king, as represented in a grave at Thebes, it may possibly be the work of this people, but as yet is not fully explained.

There were also found very many objects of cruder material, fragments of vases in clay, either unglazed and in dull colors, or having a brilliant finish. They are painted with geometrical designs, in which straight and broken lines and circles with tangents play a most prominent part: man, and the animals necessary to him, such as horses and deer, likewise occur in crude and equally geometrical shapes.[199] Much of this pottery is decorated with subjects taken from sea-life, such as polyps, shells, nautilus, sepia, fish, and waves, as well as long-necked water-birds. There is occasionally an intermixture of naturalistic leaves, and the like; while now and then a motive has strayed among them which must have come from the Orient, such as the close-beaked griffin, the lotos-bud, and palm-leaf. The importance of these rude wares lies in the close resemblance of their decoration to that of the gold and other wares found at Mykene; indicating that all these objects belong to one common art-family, which has only within the last ten years been revealed to us. Moreover, the occurrence of nautical subjects on these oldest vases is of the greatest importance in locating their origin, which is thus traceable to a maritime people living on many of the islands of the Ægean, especially Thera, Melos, Rhodes, and Crete, where such vases have been found, and whence they must have been exported in great numbers to Mykene.[200]

Summoning up before us these varied and peculiar products of a most remote antiquity, is there any thing which bids fair to give birth to that unique art of later days called Greek, so essentially independent in its character of foreign types? or should we see in this perplexing group a conglomerate of elements borrowed entirely from the older Orient? In this bewildering array of gold, silver, ivory, bronze, and gems from Mykene, other parts of Greece, and the islands, Milchhöfer has been able to trace several distinct elements, and show, that while receiving from the Orient, and gold-lands of Asia Minor, a most decided impulse, there was, nevertheless, on the islands a peculiar artistic capacity, which, absorbing into itself foreign elements, was able to combine and improve them, and thus produce an art different from that of its older neighbors, and full of inner life, out of which should in time to come be developed the creations of a perfect Greek art.[201] Among these islands, Rhodes, Melos, and Thera, no doubt, played a part; but Milchöfer believes that Crete took the lead. Tradition makes this island the home of Minos, the first Greek ruler, and of Daidalos, the first Greek artist; and many myths, connected especially with Zeus, are traceable to this spot. These shadowy data, however, for the early importance of Crete and its art, still await confirmation by excavations.[202]

Among these monuments of earliest times, first and foremost is a large class of engraved gems, humble, unpretending "island stones," as they are now generally called, found in largest numbers on Crete. They are discovered also on the other islands, and the mainland of Greece, especially in the Peloponn-

nesos, but are apparently foreign to Asia Minor.[203] Professor Newton, realizing the importance of these stones long years before others heeded them, collected a very large number, now to be seen in the British Museum. Similar stones were purchased by the Berlin Museum in 1880; and many others are scattered through other collections, or are still floating about in trade. These gems are either in soft stone, principally steatite, or in hard stones, such as sard, agate, jasper, or chalcedony, the latter kind showing the most advanced art. They are all pierced, as though to be strung. The two principal shapes are those of a flattened round pebble such as would be found along the seashore, and of a plum-pit. Other varieties, including three or four sided prisms, or round balls, are rare, and evidently of later date, but show the same family of designs. A few of the more advanced show subjects borrowed from the Orient, such as the lion, sphinx, griffin, etc.; but the greater part have scenes which might be taken from daily life on the islands or the European continent, and are naturalistic in character; others have purely geometrical decoration.

Fig. 71. Engraved Gem with Symbolical Representation. Provenience unknown.

Fig. 72. Engraved Gem with Vase-bearing Figure, possibly Iris. Crete.

Fig. 73. Engraved Gem with one of the Earliest Representations of the Tortured Prometheus. Crete.

The animals native to Europe — cattle, goats, deer, roe, dogs, long-necked birds, doves, and eagles — are most common; but polyps, ships, war-scenes, and the excited hunt, also appear. It is worthy of notice, that these subjects are not composed into the space with the mechanical symmetry so characteristic of Oriental art, but seem to fill it out naturally.[203a] Thus, is a deer made to occupy a tiny gem, a lance pierces it; and its limp but crude members, "a living episode, as it were, of the hunt," fall naturally into the confined space. The same is true of more complicated war or hunting scenes, as represented by one of the Mykene gold rings (No. 334, Schliemann), the technique of which resembles these stones.

The horse, moreover, plays a most important part in these gems, and appears in such combinations with bird, lion, and locust, that these must have a deeper symbolical meaning than the majority of subjects. One of these monsters, appearing frequently, carries a heavy burden, in one case (Fig. 71) clearly a dead steer or goat. Again, it bears a vessel, seemingly for carrying water (Fig. 72). This latter figure has been ingeniously connected with Hesiod's description of Iris, who bore water from the Styx in a golden

vessel to the gods, preparatory to the great oath.[204] It is, moreover, a most significant fact, that neither in Egypt nor in Assyria, where art is so full of animal-headed beings, do horse-headed gods or spirits appear, a conclusive reason for believing these winged equine monsters to be of other than Semitic or Egyptian origin. Indications are strong, that they are the product of Aryan fancy. To arrive at their significance, Milchöfer has questioned the earliest myths of the Greeks, in which the horse plays so important a part; and he believes, that in these gems are embodied in artistic form such mythical conceptions. Such are the legends of Boreas, the Harpy Podarge, Erinys, and even Iris, as well as of the winged Arion, Pegasos, the horses of the Dioscuri, and the like, all of which are traceable to an Aryan source. Similar conceptions appear in the Rig-Veda, and in the Hindoo religion, its offspring, but are foreign both to the Semitic Orient and to Egypt, where the horse plays no part in religious formulas. The Chimaira also, that monster combination of lion and goat, which likewise is nowhere met with in Oriental art, is here traceable in the very process of formation.[205] But perhaps most interesting is the fact, that the myth of Prometheus, among the oldest of the Greek religion, and traceable directly through language to its Aryan source, is also expressed on these gems.[206] In one most crude representation the offending hero stands, being attacked by a huge eagle: and in another (Fig. 73) he sits with arms fastened behind him; while the bird, the messenger of Zeus, swoops down to inflict upon him the penalty for stealing the fire. This bound Prometheus offers an artistic motive, clearly traceable in later art, as seen on a bronze relief found at Olympia (Fig. 98).

Like the art of these gems are those products of metal technique, and of work in clay, found in Greece, gathered under the head of "geometric decoration," in which the circle and its tangent are most essential elements. Not only the same style of ornamentation, full of corners and straight lines, prevails in them, but also the same types of animals and men. While the aspiring gem-cutter and his fellow, the goldsmith, seem to take up new and naturalistic motives, and in time develop them into pleasing compositions, as seen on the gold rings and sword-blades from Mykene, the much humbler potter was evidently far more conservative, and, indeed, became stereotyped in subjects and rendering, as is evident in the case of that famous family of vases called the "Dipylon vases" from the site of their first discovery, and well represented in Athens in the Varvakion (Fig. 74).

There are, besides, crude red-clay vases stamped with most primitive reliefs, discovered especially in Rhodes, but also in Crete, and even in Bœotia, and having affinities with the "island stones." One of their peculiarities is the frequent representation of the centaur, that particularly Greek monster.[207]

A wall of insurmountable difficulties rises before the investigator seeking to distinguish exactly who may have been the people who gave birth to this

most interesting art. The general term Pelasgian, by which is understood the earliest dwellers in Greece and the islands, who were, doubtless, of Aryan stock, may, perhaps, best be assumed to designate them; but it is to be hoped, that further investigation on this line may throw new light upon this problematical theme.

But besides this lively naturalistic art, expressing itself originally by crudely graving out its subjects on humble stones, and which for convenience may be termed Pelasgic, there appear, among the treasures preserved to us, other streams, with which it came in contact and intermingled. One of these

Fig. 74. Vase of the Dipylon Class. Taking the Body to the Burial, Mourning, and Procession of Chariots, represented in the Geometrical Style. Athens.

manifests itself in its peculiar and ruling ornamental tendency. Curving spirals and countless disks are the main element, indicating an origin in working in metal. A very large part of the Mykene treasure, with its spirals and winding lines, calls forcibly to mind the imitation of applied wire; while the small round disks, and puffed-out, oval-shaped ornaments, closely resemble shapes which would naturally be beaten out in malleable metal with the hammer. There are, besides, a few designs which seem influenced by cutting in wood, braided work, and woven stuffs. One great peculiarity of this whole family of decoration is, that the forms are not reproduced mechanically from dead moulds, but depend upon freehand drawing and carving, as is also the case with the "island gems." The technique of this art, and its combinations of luxurious winding lines, are probably traceable for their origin to Asia Minor, that land so rich in metals, and settled by peoples belonging to the

Aryan race, who were consequently near of kin to the early inhabitants of Greece. It is certainly not mere accident that the famous decorations of the tomb of Midas in Phrygia, as well as the gold-ware discovered by Schliemann at Hissarlik, on the coast of Asia Minor, have some of the elements so marked in this class of Mykene treasure: hence they have suggested for it the term Phrygian. In the Midas tomb (Fig. 75) this metallic spiral has passed over into stone; but in the Hissarlik gold, now in Berlin, we see it in its genuine primitive stage, where the wire spiral is not yet imitated in the metal surface, but still actually applied to it. In the crude Mykene tombstones we have most interesting samples of the influence of these spirals on working in stone, as well as of the union with these metallic spirals of subjects peculiar to the engraved gems. Thus, on one of these tombstones (Fig. 68) we are reminded of the gems and their kindred gold rings by a scene in which a man riding in a chariot is apparently chasing another, who carries a short sword; while above and all around this scene are spirals scattered over the stone.

But still other influences than those originating in the gold-lands of Asia Minor must very early have had a share in developing the artistic fancy and skill of the people of the Archipelago. These were the Oriental elements, both Semitic and Egyptian, which must have come in largely through the Phœnicians, and which appear either in genuine imported wares or in imitations not easily distinguishable from them. These Oriental motives are Semitic gods and their symbols, plants peculiar to the South, such as the palm-leaf, lotos and papyrus buds. Thus, for example, as to the Oriental origin of the form of the nude Astarte (Fig. 76), with hands to breasts, doves on her head and shoulders, there can be no doubt, nor as to the curious figure of a female with a striped garment in the midst of a luxurious but most symmetrical lotos ornament; since similar figures appear repeatedly on Assyrian cylinders. On one island gem we recognize at once that peculiar being which must have been imported from far-off Chaldæa, in the fish-monster attacked by an active, struggling hero, who is, doubtless, the prototype of the Greek Heracles.[208] One striking peculiarity of this Oriental branch is, that moulds for pressing into and casting are the means by which the objects are produced, showing a more mechanical method than is evident in the pure Pelasgic or Phrygian families. The original types of griffins, sphinxes, and perhaps lions, are from the Orient; but the way in which they are combined and applied does not necessarily point *directly* thither. Many Mykene ornaments have two animals united into a composition resembling heraldic devices. There were found at least seven representations of rampant panther-like creatures, placed on each side of some symbol, a motive found on earliest Lykian coins, the Phrygian tombs discovered by Mr. Ramsay, and some "island stones." Five double eagles call to mind those on the rocks of Cappadokia, although somewhat less conventionalized. This striking coincidence between many motives in Greece and the earliest known to us from Asia

Minor, is in harmony with the Greek tradition which traces to Lykia such fabulous monsters as Typhon, Echidna, Sphinx, and Griffin, whose prototypes must, however, have been received from the remoter Orient.

In Mykene, *direct* Phœnician influence seems scarcely evident; but it is marked in the later tombs at Menidi and Spata. In these latter places, ivory, so much an article of Phœnician traffic, was found abundantly, but most probably had been reduced to artistic shapes in Asia Minor, the islands, and other parts of Greece itself. An instance of this is that slab of ivory from Spata, bearing an Oriental subject, a lion devouring a bull, rendered in a crude but

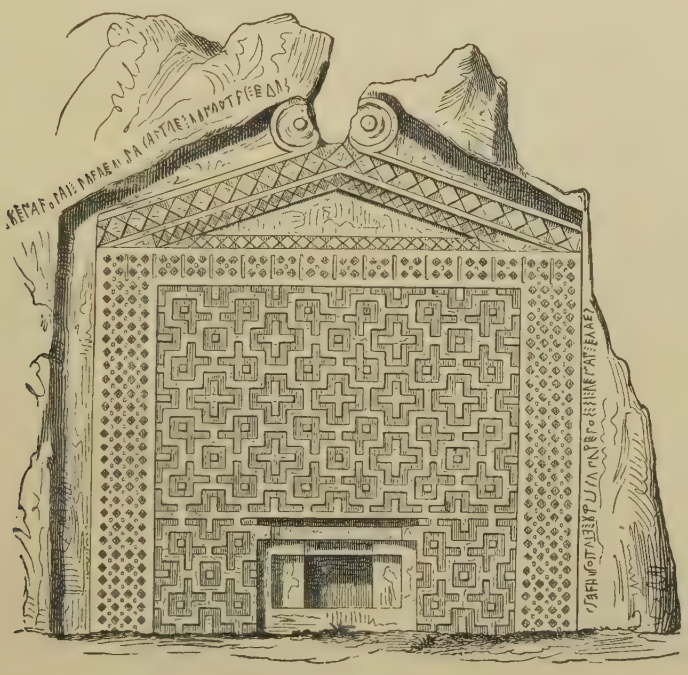

Fig. 75. Façade of the Midas Tomb. Phrygia.

lively manner (Fig. 77). The cunning displayed in piecing together these thin slabs of ivory is so great, that even to-day the junctures are hardly visible. This skill is also seen on a sword-handle found at Menidi, on which are carved two lions standing on a base. Although unfortunately lacking the upper part, these bear resemblance to the rampant lions of the Mykene gate. At Orchomenos foreign influence is most evident in the carving on the elegant ceiling of the chamber adjoining the great *tholos* (Fig. 78). Here regularly repeated spirals, and designs of plants very like the lotos, immediately suggest an imitation of woven textures, in which the patterns are necessarily constantly repeated, as well as hint the peculiar technique of working in metal. Around the edge of this design a row of rosettes gives an agreeable finish. This complicated design gains its greatest interest, however, from its striking resem-

blance to the painted ceiling of an Egyptian tomb of the Eighteenth Dynasty at Thebes (Fig. 79). What may have been the influences at work which brought these designs employed in Egypt over into the very heart of Greece? Did the ancient carver have before him a piece of foreign tapestry, or other reminiscence? or did he work with a mind full of memories of the Nile-land? The fact that this design was found in Bœotia, which, according to tradition, was early visited by Phœnicians, warrants us in tracing their mediating influence in these most intensely interesting decorations.

We have, then, it would seem, three well-marked classes of objects from this very ancient time, — the Pelasgic, represented by the gems, and technique of carving out, as well as by angular and geometrical lines; the Phrygian, by the system of decoration dependent upon the nature of metal, freehand also in its execution, and luxurious in its line; and the Oriental, mechanical in its execution, and conventional in its types. But there are, besides, many objects

Fig. 76. Oriental Goddess in Pressed Gold. Discovered at Mykene. Athens.

Fig. 77. Slab of Carved Ivory found at Spata. Athens.

where these different streams meet; and on many of the more advanced objects, preserved to us from this very early age, these different elements have become so organically united, as to form a perfect and agreeable whole.

Certainly that peculiar civilization must have attained a high stage of development which could produce such sword-blades as that now in Copenhagen, found on Thera,[209] and the eight other blades, its companions, from the primitive tombs of the Mykene acropolis, and now among the choicest treasures of the Polytechnicon at Athens. Long after their discovery, a thick coating of oxide was removed, revealing exquisite work and pleasing devices, which at once raise our admiration to the point of enthusiasm. These eight blades, according to Köhler's examination, vary in the manner of their execution; but one of their common peculiarities consists in the production of most pleasing effects by the use of gold of divers colors. Sometimes they are a single piece of bronze, with slightly raised decoration: sometimes the blade has thin plates of gold inlaid on its sides, not over a millimeter thick, in which graceful spiral ornamentation is engraved, like that of the Phrygian style. Others have

inlaid bronze plates, which were coated with a molten metallic mass of dark, shining color, into which is introduced an ornamentation of thin gold-foil, enlivened by graven lines and divers-colored gold, undoubtedly thus tinted artificially.[210] On one of these unique blades (Fig. 80), warriors are in combat with lions. Two lions are already in flight, one looking back and growling, as he leaves behind him the lances and arrows of the enemy. The third lion, sorely wounded, has turned upon the hunters, and, having stricken one down, awakens our fears for the fate of the others. One hunter, protected by a strangely shaped shield, hurls a lance from behind it; another, with a different shield hanging from his back, likewise flings his weapon; a fourth cowers, and shoots his bow; and the fifth, a figure larger than the rest, and filling up the widest part of the blade, joins no less vigorously in the attack. The intense action of these wasp-like hunters and fleeing lions gives an animation to the tragic scene which is increased by the uncertainty of the issue. Here in this limited space, so beautifully occupied and so full of intense suggestiveness, we have a true poem, far different from any thing we know of in the schematic or straggling compositions of Egyptian or Oriental art, but very like the scenes on the "island stones;" and the same is true of the scenes decorating the remaining swords.[211] On the opposite side of the blade, lions are pursuing gazelles. In these figures, as in those on another blade where three lions chase one another over hills, about the manes and paws, the gold is of a deep red; in other parts of a whitish-gray tint, or of its own golden hue. On another sword, wild horses, or perhaps asses, chase one another in frightened haste; and lions fall upon fleeing deer. On another we see a flowing, winding river, with its fish quietly swimming, the papyrus nodding over it, and panther-like animals pursuing ducks along its banks, evidently a scene suggested by the Nile, but very different in spirit and composition from any Egyptian representation of the great river. In the lighter gold, which represents the river, graven lines are filled out with darker metal, to represent the fish. Even drops of blood on the necks of the birds are given by red gold; and various colored gold distinguishes stamens, pistils, and stalks, producing a pleasingly contrasted effect.[212]

Whatever influence Egyptian technique may have had upon the artists who produced these rare works, the details of subject, costume, and composition are so like the gems found only on the islands and in Greece, as to make it most probable that they belong to the same great class of art-objects, the products of a vivid fancy, moulding what it had received from other times and lands into shapes of its own, and thus developing on the islands of the Ægean, in these humble gems, blades, utensils, and pottery, those germs out of which should be unfolded in time the full flower of Greek art.

Still later in the chain of this long development, but not different in character, seem to be the colossal sculptured lions of the cyclopean fortifi-

cations at Mykene, and the richly decorated façade of the so-called Treasury of Atreus.

These fortifications at Mykene, and at the neighboring "well-walled Tiryns" of Homeric verse, and these imposing tombs, are clearly the products of a very highly developed civilization, and of a time when the power must have been concentrated in the hands of a despotic dynasty, such as the house of Atreus is pictured to have been. Well-laid-out roads, gigantic bridges, walls, and gates, protected by casemates in the ramparts, reveal the well-planned and skilful military engineering of the age, as has been so admirably shown by Capt. Steffen.[213] The acropolis of Mykene, surrounded by abrupt and gloomy gorges, rises from the smiling plain of Argos, whence may be seen the islands glimmering in the distance. The Greek legend was, that the Tantalid Pelops came over from his Lydian fatherland to Greece, there to found a new kingdom, thus giving his name to the Peloponnesos. By his fabulous wealth, he succeeded in

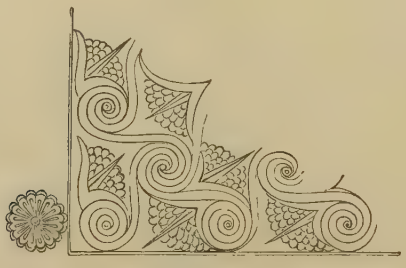

Fig. 78. Part of Sculptured Ceiling in Rock-cut Chamber of Great Tomb at Orchomenos.

Fig. 79. Part of Painted Ceiling of Tomb in Thebes Egypt.

winning the poor inhabitants of the land, and in founding the new dynasty of the Achaians, which numbered Atreus, Thyestes, and Agamemnon among its last members. Mykene itself was said to have been founded by the mythic Perseus; and Pausanias declared, that these very walls were built by the Lykian Kyclops, who were also the builders of the walls of Tiryns for Proitos.[214] Girding the summit are those massive cyclopean walls of polygonal stone, which Pausanias enthusiastically asserts vie with the pyramids as architectural wonders; while modern travellers have expressed hardly less admiration.

Over the lintel of a well-protected gateway in these massive walls, is the celebrated relief of the lions which has given name and fame to this portal, as the Lion Gate of Mykene. Here we see (Fig. 81), standing with their fore-paws on the elevated base of a curious column, two lions. As is indicated by the muscles of the neck, the ruined heads once projected from the rest, and doubtless yawned upon those approaching, like grim sentinels. The whole idea of these monsters forcibly resembles that of the tomb-guardians of Phrygia (p. 132), but is far more artistic and architectonic in its composition.

There is much naturalness in the details, as seen about the folds in the neck,

and in the leanness of the loins, like that of beasts in their wild state. The whole impression, however, is that of an intentional deviation from nature. The compact form of the lion has here become long and slender; the short paws are extended beyond their natural proportions; and the powerful, bushy tail is reduced to a meagre size. By this means the carving is wisely limited to an important and confined space, and does not run wild over the whole building, as at Boghaz Keui (p. 127). Moreover, the details of the relief are kept within a given plane, and are far in advance of the primitive Mykene tombstones (p. 142), where a sense of adaptation to architectonic law was, as we have seen, utterly lacking.

In these lions we have probably one of the last great achievements of the Heroic age. With the disturbances caused by the wanderings of the Dorians and other tribes, the golden dynasties of Mykene must have fallen, and with them the source of such great monumental works. Consequently we are left again to minor objects in which to trace artistic activity. It is most probable, that soon the Phœnicians came in greater numbers, flooding the market with their cheap wares, such as glass pastes and the like. Possibly the older national elements had thus a less favorable opportunity to express themselves, until long after, when order within had been established, and riches had in time been accumulated by a flourishing colonization.

Turning from the monuments testifying to the earliest development of art on Greek soil, let us seek for indications given us by the Homeric poems as to the art of their day.

Fig. 80. Sword-blade with Figures inlaid in Gold. Discovered in Mykene. Athens.

The epics the "Iliad" and "Odyssey" are generally admitted to be the creations of the Asiatic and insular Ionians of the ninth and eighth centuries B.C.[215] They are reminiscences of an heroic ancestry; but the works of art mentioned by the poets are, doubtless, what they saw about them every day, transferred by them to an earlier time, and applied to scenes of Trojan myth. In the description of art-objects, the weapons and utensils with which they were familiar naturally occupied the poets' minds. On Achilles' strong arm they put a shield similar to what they had doubtless seen themselves, and describe Phœnician cups like those from which they themselves may have drunk. That the poets' descriptions are not mere imagination is strengthened by the testimony of objects now brought to light in excavations. Does the poet speak of ancient Tiryns as "strong walled," the antiquarian points to its Titanic masonry, still standing. Does he put into the mouth of Telemachos at a banquet in the palace of Menelaos these words, —

> "See, son of Nestor, my belovèd friend,
> In all these echoing rooms the sheen of copper;"

And does he tell of Alkinoös' palace, where, —

> "On every side beneath
> The lofty roof of the magnanimous king,
> A glory shone, as of the sun or moon;"
> "There from the threshold on each side were walls
> Of copper leading towards the inner rooms,"[215a] —

we find his descriptions verified in the so-called Treasuries of Mykene and Orchomenos, where the bronze nails that once served to attach plates of copper still remain in the walls, and fragments of the latter are found in the ruins. The gold and silver mastiffs guarding the entrance to Alkinoös' palace call to mind the Mykene lions and the kindred figures of inner Asia. And when the slender forms of boys are described,[216] —

> "In gold upon the shapely altar,
> With blazing torches in their hands, to light
> At eve the palace guests," —

we must believe that the minstrel had seen something suggestive of such fancies as he wandered from one splendid court to another. Objects like Odysseus' golden clasp, "a work of rare design, a hound that held in his forepaws a spotted fawn struggling before his mouth;" or like Heracles' "formidable baldric, on whose band of gold were sculptured marvels, forms of bears, wild boars, grim lions, battles, skirmishings, and death by wounds and slaughter," — seem to live before us in the finely executed weapons and engraved gems now discovered.

But most full and glowing is the account of Achilles' shield,[217] forged by Hephaistos' strong arm, "of impenetrable copper and tin, and precious gold and silver," "its edge clasped with a triple border white and bright. A silver belt hung from it, and its circles were five." This imaginary shield has given rise to endless conjecture.[218] Even Roman fancy busied itself with its reproduction, as is shown by a marble shield discovered in Rome in 1882, having reliefs and seventy-five lines of the "Iliad" inscribed on the marble belt run-

Fig. 81. Lion Gate at Mykene.

ning across it. In Homeric verse several shields are described like that of Achilles, having concentric circles; and many ancient shields from Etruscan graves in Italy have the same general plan.[219]

Immediately around the central boss was a ring, in which were "two cities fair, and full of men," the one picturing peace, the other war: —

> "In one were marriages and feasts:
> Around the other sat two hosts
> In shining armor, bent to lay it waste. The youths
> Marched on with Ares and with Pallas at their head,

Both wrought in gold with golden garments on,
Stately and large in form, and over all,
Conspicuous in bright armor, as became
The gods: the rest were of humbler size."

The strange demons, Ker and Eris, mingled also in the crowd. In the following ring, —

"He sculptured a broad, fallow field
Of soft, rich black mould, thrice ploughed, and over which
Walked many a ploughsman."
"All dark behind the plough
The ridges lay, a marvel to the sight,
Like real furrows, though engraved in gold.
There, too, the artist placed a field, which lay
Deep in ripe wheat: with sickles in their hands,
The laborers reaped it."

And there —

"The servants, underneath an oak,
Prepared a feast apart."
"A vineyard also on the shield he graved,
Beautiful, all of gold, and heavily
Laden with grapes. Black were the clusters all.
The vines were stayed on rows of silver stakes.
A trench of cyanus round it drew he, and a hedge
Of tin round that."
"Young maids and striplings of a tender age
Bore the sweet fruit in baskets."
"Here also the artist wrought a herd of beeves,
High-horned, and sculptured all in gold and tin:
They issued lowing from their stalls, to seek
Their pasture, by a murmuring stream that ran
Rapidly through the reeds. . . .
"Two lions, seizing on a bull
Among the foremost cattle, dragged him off,
Fearfully bellowing."
"There also did the famed strong-armed god engrave
A fair, broad pasture in a pleasant glade,
Full of white sheep, and stalls and cottages,
And many a shepherd's fold with sheltering roof."

In the outer ring, —

"The famed strong-armed also wrought
A dance, — a maze like that which Daidalos,
In the broad vale of Cnossos, once contrived
For fair-haired Ariadne. Blooming youths
And lovely maidens tripping to light airs,
Held fast each other's wrists."

And finally, —

> "Last on the border of that glorious shield,
> He graved in all its strength the ocean stream." [220]

The varying color of these decorations, as the black earth and white sheep, as well as the details, like grapes, which could have been produced only by inlaid work of divers-colored metal, recall the sword-blades (p. 155) and a silver cup of the Mykene graves, and suggest the possibility that the ancient poet may have had before his mind such exquisite work, corresponding, both in technique and lively subject, far more closely to this brilliant description than do the coarser, more monotonous, Cypriote silver bowls, once all we had which could serve to illustrate this shield. The subjects of the poet's description are, moreover, far less fantastic than the fabulous heraldic monsters, and monotonous figures of Egyptian and Assyrian gods, standing in still rows on the majority of Phœnician bowls.

The spirit of the art on this Homeric weapon is that of a primitive people delighting in pictures of familiar scenes, mythological characters being most rare. But a shield of Heracles is described in Hesiod (about 800 B.C.), which seems to show a slight advance upon the realistic subjects of Achilles' shield; since mythological scenes are frequently introduced. The surface of Heracles' shield is composed of concentric circles, which were, however, alternately broad and narrow. Thus the space seems to be more decidedly marked off, and the composition rendered clearer. In the centre was the snake-bound head of Phobos, son of the war-god; around it scenes from daily life, wild beasts seizing cattle, swimming dolphins, representations of the four seasons, Apollo, the Muses, Perseus, the Lapithæ, and other mythological scenes.[221] Thus the greater clearness of composition, and the happy mingling of myth with common scenes, indicate an advance in poetical conception on the earlier work. Moreover, the method of working metal on this shield — silver figures in dresses of gold, silver centaurs with pine-trees of gold for staves in their hands — calls to mind the work of the smith-god, Hephaistos, on Achilles' shield, as described by the Homeric poets. The appearance of many-hued figures on the Mykene sword-blades, as well as the peculiar subjects on the "red ware" vases from Rhodes, find here also their analogy, and have been shown by Milchhöfer to belong to the great parent-stock of Greek art, enriched by influences from Asia Minor.[222]

The pleasing counterpoise of parts, shown by Brunn to exist on these poetic shields, seems, moreover, a prophecy of that love of order and artistic symmetry met with continually in Greek art of a later time, but quite foreign, so far as we know, to the spirit of genuine Oriental work, whether Egyptian, Assyrian, or Phœnician.

But twice do the Homeric poets allude to representations of the gods.

One of these was the Athena, upon whose lap the Trojan women laid a robe, "many hued," and "glistening like a star."[223] Judging from the garments which covered it, we may conclude that it was one of those primitive objects of worship, clothed to give them lifelikeness. No notice of large statues, independent of the architecture and sculptured in the round, can be traced in the poetic creations of the "Iliad" or "Odyssey." The torch-bearing youths, the gold and silver mastiffs, were clearly decorative, if not purely fantastic.

How highly Phœnician products were prized by the early Ionians, is evident from many passages. A richly embroidered garment, the handiwork of Sidon's damsels, was considered the most beautiful of all, and, as such, offered to the goddess. The wrought silver cup, "the prize of swiftness" at Patroclos' funeral, "that in beauty far excelled all others known," was from "the cunning hands of Sidonian artists," and was brought over the dark seas "to the Greek harbor" by "the men of Phœnicia." Menelaos, when about to make a gift, "a cup wrought all of silver, save its brim of gold," calls it the "choicest and most precious of all that was in his house," adding, that it was given him by the king of Sidon.

But that the Greek artist in that day had a character of his own, seems apparent from the poet's distinction between foreign and native wares. Was this simply on account of the helplessness of infant Hellenic art? or did it even then show signs of a higher, more ideal type? The few monuments rescued from that earlier age, which we have in part considered, and the enthusiastic descriptions of poetry, strengthen the belief that a spirit was already awakened which should guide the hands of this younger people to imitate and then excel the older craftsmen, and should teach them to mould forms of higher import and truer beauty.

While the artist was thus still struggling with traditions and technique, poetry was giving birth to new creations, and was purifying and elevating the imagination of the people. The Homeric poets were revealing a world of mythology and beautiful imagery, thoroughly Greek in character. Their vivid language described scenes so graphically, and material forms with such naturalness, that they became plastic, standing out with statuesque power. The grand and heroic deeds of men were elevated into the region of the godlike; and, on the other hand, the conceptions of supernatural themes received such distinctness, that they seemed to become a part of human life. Thus was formed a heroic mythology. The poet was giving the gods shapes, not monstrous like those of the Oriental deities, but humanly perfect, so that Herodotos could say that Homer and Hesiod had created for the Greeks their gods.[224] With these men, followed by the later poets, innumerable ideals were brought into existence, around which rich fancy and description threw their charms: thus abundant material was prepared, from which the artist of the future, sculptor or painter, could draw his inspiration.

But it is becoming more and more evident, that there were also slowly forming a number of artistic types, which were adapted to the different myths, not exactly as they were sung by the poets, but as they were current among the people. Thus certain schemes, originating, it would seem, in daily life, came to be used for mythic subjects, applied sometimes to one story or character, and sometimes to another. Thus, a typical kneeling figure is sometimes Heracles fighting with a dragon, and sometimes Achilles in the Troïlos adventure. These types developed at so early an age have, however, as yet been little studied; and it is probable, that from the old reliefs on the vases called "red ware," as well as on those called "*bucchero nero*," many secrets concerning them remain to be revealed.

CHAPTER XI.

ART AMONG THE GREEK PEOPLES DURING THE EIGHTH AND SEVENTH CENTURIES B.C.

The Greek Cities and Islands. — Corinthian Wares. — Colonization and Trade. — Coining. — Political Changes. — Early Religion of Greece. — Influence of Poetry. — The Gods. — Artistic Growth. — Altar Worship. — Significance of Votive Offerings. — Ancient Rites. — Their Influence. — Fabrication of Utensils. — Passage over from Oriental Forms. — Incrustation. — Bronze Relief from Olympia. — Oldest Images. — Terra-cottas. — Individualization of the Different Gods. — Literary Accounts. — Kypselos Chest. — Its Evidence of Advance. — Analogous Works. — No Images of Gods mentioned. — Artists mentioned. — Dibutades. — Glaucos. — Improvements in Bronze Working. — Beginnings of Working in Marble.

As early as the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., a fringe of thoroughly Greek cities skirted the coasts of Asia Minor, principal among which were Kyme, Ephesos, Miletos, Erythrai, Phocaia, and Colophon. Of the Greek settlements on the islands, those of Samos, Chios, Naxos, and Paros early gained great importance; so also on Euboia, off the coast of Attica, Chalkis, — early settled by Ionians from the East, and famous for its valuable copper-mines, — as well as the neighboring Eretria, became influential centres of trade. Nor should we forget the island Delos, birthplace of Apollo, and from time immemorial sacred to the god of light. Thither came worshippers from distant Ionia, Greece itself, and from the surrounding Kyclades, grouped, as it were, in choral throng around the rocky cliff.

Crete, that most ancient focus of civilization, geographically so situated as to receive impulses from all sides, and then to radiate them, was even to the Homeric poets a hoary land. Although, in the political history of the centuries following these poets, it seems to play a less important part, there is every reason to believe that the artistic activities developed on that island continued to work, exerting their influence, not only on the Peloponnesos, but also distant Italy.[225]

In Greece itself, Corinth, conveniently situated on the sea, rose to prosperity and wealth long before Athens took any position in history. Crude painted tablets discovered at Corinth, votive offerings hung on the trees in Poseidon's holy grove, and now to be seen in Berlin, give us a picture of this time.[226] On these objects are portrayed, in most primitive style, agricultural, hunting, and war scenes, ship-building, sailing, gymnastic exercises, mining, the

smelting of metals, and the fabrication of vases. In the neighborhood of the spot where these tablets were found, the white clay of which they were made is still to be seen; and the now deserted shafts they depict, witness to the importance of metal in ancient Corinth.

As early as 785 B.C., Ionian colonists from Miletos, taking with them their religion and culture, settled on the shores of the Black Sea. About fifty years later, still others took possession of the peninsula, rich in mines, to the north of Greece; and a century still later others founded Kyrene, in Northern Africa. About the same time a new Greece was established along the shores of Sicily and Southern Italy by colonists from the Asiatic coast, soon followed by others from Chalkis and the mainland of Greece, probably bringing those metal fabrics found so abundantly in Etruria, and now recognized as the works and types of the early Greeks, and not of the Etruscans.[227]

Trade, that most important factor in developing the material resources of a land, was not at first carried on in the Greek world by the convenient system of a well-regulated and officially stamped coinage. Rings of gold, pellets, and small obelisks of metal adjusted to fixed weights, but probably without any stamp to guarantee them, were, it seems, first used.[228] The addition of the official stamp creating coinage, and thus greatly facilitating trade, was probably made by the wealthy Lydians during the latter half of the seventh century B.C., a time when they ruled Western Asia Minor up to the very gates of the Greek cities on the seashore. The metal which they used was not gold or silver, but electrum, a mixture of the two, found in the bed of the Pactolos, and other rivers of Asia Minor, and considered by the Greeks to be an independent metal. Two standards are traceable in this early Lydian coinage, — one following the Babylonian silver standard, and the other the Phœnician; the former, doubtless, having wandered to Lydia by land, and the latter by sea.[229] This invention was at once adopted by the enterprising Ionian cities of the neighborhood; and most probably these Ionians it was who improved upon the crude Lydian method, substituting for primitive punches engraved dies, bearing an emblem of the temple or city issuing them, and in time an inscription, and the mark of the magistrate under whom they were minted. Among the Ionian cities, Phocaia is said to have first issued coins; but the invention was not long confined to the Asia-Minor shores. It must rapidly have spread to Greece, where, according to story, Pheidon of Argos was the first to coin money on Ægina.[230] Euboia and Corinth must have issued coin at about the same time; the rising Athens soon followed their example, the custom rapidly spreading to the distant colonies: and thus, by a wide-spread colonization, and improved means of trade, riches could be accumulated. From this primitive coinage has sprung a world of art, which, beautiful in itself, has also proved invaluable in throwing light upon the larger works of sculpture.

In state the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. were formative in their

character. In the remoter antiquity the rule of kings seems to have prevailed; but in the wealthy cities of Asia Minor, and in Greece itself in all the states except Sparta, royalty gave way to the oligarchical rule of the few; and codes of laws were framed accordingly. But in most of the Greek cities the rule of the few was, by the seventh century B.C., in turn overthrown by men who, emancipating themselves from the aristocracy, espoused the cause of the commonalty, and through their aid secured the government in their own hands. In Corinth, for example, the tyrant Kypselos, about 657 B.C., won the day over the jealous aristocracy, and by this means came to play an important part. The exodus which followed resulted in the immigration into Etruria of many workers in clay, who left their impression on the art of that land.

In looking at the early religion of the Greeks, we find, that though it was undoubtedly associated with a binding ritual, yet the powerful priesthood, the iron-bound formulas, the extravagant mysteries and superstitions, of Chaldæa and Egypt were wanting. This greater moderation is a common feature of the Aryan races in antiquity. Among the dwellers of the Punjab the invocation of the spirits, or spoken prayer, held an important place; and, among the Aryans of Iran, the mysterious power of the songs of the fire-priest was of equal weight. So, with the oldest Greeks, the good hymns of the singer, invoking deity, were equal to the offering itself; and the profession of singer passed from father to son. But even these sacred singers did not bring the offering themselves. Each head of a household sacrificed for himself and his family, the chief for the tribe, and the nobleman for his retainers. Thus priest and people were one, as it were; and even after extensive temples and large property were set apart to the gods, and a large body of temple attendants became necessary, still the separation between priests and people never seems to have asserted itself as prominently as in other lands. There are, moreover, signs that the singers purified and exalted the coarser fancies of the people, and that the monstrous conceptions of a primitive age were ennobled into purer ideals, which, in time, should have their reflex influence on the masses. Thus, in the Homeric poems, as well as those of Hesiod, there is an evident omission of the monstrous and revolting, where mention is made of the Harpies, the Graiai, and Gorgon.[231] During these centuries the Homeric epics came to be sung everywhere by wandering minstrels, the people becoming familiar with their rich imagery. Other poets following sang in the Thebais, the Ethiopis, and the graceful Kypria, deeds of gods and heroes in clearly human shape. Now lyric verse, with its deeper feeling, slowly budded, and spread its fragrance, in time supplementing the more purely external creations of the *epos*. In the popular estimation the gods seem to have become, not the representatives of blind forces, nor even the extravagant products of untutored fancy, but beings full of life, concerned in the affairs of men, and intimately bound up with the

legends of the land, and the fortunes of its noble families. These gods were man's friends, approached with song and offerings. Conceived as not being altogether mysterious, but possessing the virtues and even frailties of humanity, they were regarded as subject to the same passions, and accessible to like persuasive influences. They take sides in the conflicts of men, are excited to anger and jealousy, or laugh at one another's infirmities.

Parallel with this stream, but more slow in its course, must have been the effort to give material shape to the conceptions of the gods, as they floated in the popular belief. Not suddenly did the artistic Greek fancy give birth to that beautiful array of ideals with which we are familiar, but slow and sure was the development up to these highest creations. That at first only the symbols and attributes of the heavenly powers, and the forms of the lower spirits (*daimons*), expressing the influence on the mind of natural forces, were represented, is well-nigh proven. We cannot follow the steps taken from these rude beginnings up to the representation in human shape of the gods themselves, but we may imagine the primitive artist's delight and satisfaction in his first rude attempts. It is a suggestive fact, that not the greatest gods, but those nearer to man, and more mediatorial in character, seem to have been the first to have been represented. Thus Apollo and Hermes, as we may see from vases, attained expression long before the mighty Zeus or majestic Hera. That, however, these different ideals did not originate in any one locality, is most evident. Rather were they a simultaneous growth in many different parts among the gifted younger Greek peoples.[232]

But the earliest worship of the Greeks, following that of their kindred, the Pelasgians, centred about open-air altars, from which the smoke of the burnt-offerings arose in grateful incense to the gods. That such imageless worship was the first, and long maintained itself in Greece, appears from the recent excavations at Olympia. For centuries Olympia was a sanctuary without temples, a great altar-seat.[233] There the numerous layers of ashes, extending far below the historical buildings, testify to this ancient sacrificial worship. In the oldest of these layers are lacking all images of the gods, although their symbols are found. These altars were not only places of sacrifice, but formed centres for the deposition of votive offerings, which seem to have been hung upon the trees, or laid upon the altars.

The significance, moreover, of very many ancient works of art throughout Greek history, only finds its explication in the custom of setting apart from every thing a portion to the gods. Not only of all that the gods had themselves bestowed, but also of the means by which such blessings were obtained, something was thankfully devoted to them.[234] They included a great range, from the richest objects of personal luxury, jewels, and raiment, down to humble utensils used in daily life. Offerings once dedicated could never be used again for profane purposes. The tithes set apart as *ex voto's* were usually

presented in the form of a work of art, instead of the actual produce of land or trade. Thus, for instance, in thanks for their multiplied flocks of goats, the Elymaians consecrated a bronze goat at Delphi.[235]

Although the sacred altar originally formed the centre where these gifts were deposited, as excavations at Olympia prove, in time separate treasuries were erected to contain them. The altars themselves have disappeared; but the finding of innumerable votive gifts, scattered in the deep layers of ashes, is one of the most interesting results of the excavations in reference to this ancient worship. In the lowest and oldest strata of ashes were found mainly tiny bronzes and terra-cottas, representations, not of deity, Zeus or Hera, but of the worshipper himself, as charioteer, rider, or warrior. Most frequently the useful animals, the horse and ox, accompanied him. These finds are especially interesting as showing us, that in Olympia, at least, the early suppliant did not offer at the shrine images of the god or his sacred animals, which would have been for Zeus the eagle. The worshipper presented instead his own image, and those of the animals necessary to daily comfort.[236] These very crude figures, found in immense numbers, are supposed to date from as early as the eighth century B.C., and may have been the origin of the later custom at Olympia, of dedicating to deity figures of the victors. The Greeks of the later day appear to have ennobled the old tendency by limiting the privilege of presenting a statue to those who were worthy of it. This custom of dedicating to deity the worshipper's own image does not seem to have been originally a Greek idea, but is traceable to the Orient. The prevailing custom in Cyprus, of representing the worshipper, was kept up long after art in Greece had mounted to higher regions. It is a fact worthy of notice, that none of these primitive riders and charioteers so abundant in Olympia are found in Attica, the home of the pre-eminently ideal art of later times, but are found in large numbers in Bœotia, Rhodes, and Cyprus.[237]

Nor did the altar ever lose its significance in the Greek religion, while the temple and its statuary were often of secondary importance. In solemn procession, as the poets picture them to us, the worshippers approached the altar with choral and responses, awakening the spirit of devotion. When they had formed around it, and the smoke of the offering ascended, then sounded the *hymnos*. About the place of sacrifice they circled in rhythmic dance, accompanying the music, and giving expression to the emotions roused by the hymns. At the festivals to the Pythian Apollo, the dance of the boys recalled the combat of the youthful god with the dragon Python. The dances were not confined to the simple movement of the feet, but called into play harmoniously the whole body in untrammelled motion. Accompanying these offerings were also competitive games and contests, in which the best and strongest took part, — time-honored festivals, by which they thought to please and honor the gods.

How early and how deeply the ancient Greeks were influenced by these

rites and impressed with their beauty, is hinted by the fragment of a Homeric hymn, thought to date from the end of the eighth century B.C.[238] In it, after referring to the many rites beloved by Phoibos, the poet sings, "But Thy heart delights most in Delos, where the Ionians, in long garments, gather with their children and worthy wives. Thinking of Thee, they rejoice in the game of boxing, in dance, and song. Whoever comes thither where the Ionians are gathered, might easily believe them immortal and unchangeable: for he would see the grace of all; and his heart would rejoice at the sight of the men, and their beautifully girded women, at their rapid ships, and rich possessions. To this comes a great spectacle, the fame of which can never die, — the Delian virgins, the handmaidens of Apollo, first singing to him a song, and remembering the joyful arrow-bearing Artemis and Leto. Then they praise the men and women of the heroic past, charming the children of men."

For the purposes of this altar-worship, numerous utensils were required, which came in time to assume finely wrought and graceful shapes. Thus, Apollo's shrine at Delphi is pictured to us, by Theopompos,[239] as adorned in earliest times, not with figures in human form, but with vases and tripods of metal; his statement being confirmed by the recent discoveries on many ancient sites. At Olympia innumerable fragments of most primitive tripods were found, the parts riveted together by nails, and decorated with those geometrical designs frequently occurring in very early art, and here classed by Furtwängler in a special family.[240] In addition, pieces of large metallic vases were brought to light, which were decorated with the heads of griffins or lions. Such large vases were sometimes hung up by these figures attached to the rim, and sometimes rested on elaborate standards, parts of which have also been preserved. From the sites where these objects were discovered, and from comparison with the earliest painted vases, their date has been fixed approximately as the eighth or seventh century B.C.[241] In many points they remind us of Phœnician wares, but are evidently improvements upon the monotonous creations of that purely imitative people. It is still undecided where they were manufactured, but possibly it may have been in Crete, or the Peloponnesos itself. We also find here, mingled with these Greek wares, unmistakable Phœnician works. Among the latter is a bowl of hybrid style, like those found on Cyprus, having the figure of the Chaldæan goddess with hands at her breasts, in combination with Egyptian gods. Another fragment is a silver relief, on which puffy, winged animals are scattered unpleasantly over the surface.[242]

The glimpse which we obtain into the art of the seventh century, through these monuments discovered at Olympia, reveals to us the Greek artist wrestling with the Oriental patterns he had about him. Furtwängler has admirably shown, by comparing the Olympia griffins (Figs. 82 and 83) with those of the Phœnicians (Fig. 60), how the Greek during the seventh century had remoulded so humble a motive as the griffin's head, a subject received originally

from the Semites. We see the prosaic Phœnician design become an independent, if not beautiful, creation. The griffin's beak is fiercely opened, his bald head crowned with large ears, and his tame wings are now changed, and made to curl boldly upward.[243]

Other fragments of bronze relief found at Olympia seem also to tell the whole story of the passage of Oriental technique and forms to Greek soil, and the development there of an organic national art, which gave expression to its own peculiar inherited types. We have spoken of the various ancient methods of metal-working, hammering into hollow moulds, stamping designs on to thin sheets, and lastly, the most artistic of all, the hammering-out of the desired composition with a free hand (*sphyrelaton*), a technique which will be seen always continued to be practised, and was carried to its highest perfection in such great works as the bronzes of Siris, now in the British Museum, one of which is to be seen in the Selections from Ancient Sculpture supplementing this work, Plate XII. That these Olympian plates of beaten metal did not exist independently, but served for the incrustation of wood, and perhaps sometimes of stone or terra-cotta, appears from the wood in several cases found still clinging to the fragments. We must imagine these metallic fragments as still covering sacred objects, in order to conceive the impression they originally made. This was the case with a large bronze relief found in Olympia (Fig. 83), ninety centimeters high, and thirty-five centimeters wide, once the cover of a standard. It is placed by Curtius in the latter half of the seventh century B.C.[244] The surface is divided into four rows of varying width. On the upper row are three eagles, — two confronting one another, and a third belonging to a second pair, but sundered from its mate. This device, although reminding of the heraldic figures of Asia Minor and the Mykene graves, shows us the noble bird more freely treated, and is tolerably successful in rendering nature. In the second row the Oriental griffins approach one another with fiercely opened jaws and curled-up wings, after the true Greek style; while the background is dotted with points suggestive of the influence of the weaver's art. These two rows of purely decorative figures are, however, subordinated to the representations of a hero and a goddess in the remaining rows. The old, meaningless, decorative style is yielding before scenes of deeper import. Thus on the third row is a favorite mythic scene among early Greek artists. A centaur is being chased by Heracles, who, according to story, hunted through the forests of the peninsula whole hordes of wild centaurs. In the true laconic style of ancient art, one tree here suggests a forest, and one single centaur implies a troop. But how crude the monster's shape! the hinder half of a horse at full speed is joined to a full human figure, limping and halting. Here Heracles wears as yet no Oriental symbols, lion's skin, and

Fig. 82. Griffin's Head in Bronze, found at Olympia. Berlin.

club, but, like any hunter, is armed simply with bow and short sword. His short breeches remind one of the lion-hunters on the Mykene swords, and his pose is similar to that of the archers there (Fig. 80). The wounded centaur is also no Oriental creation, but, doubtless, traceable for his origin, as we have seen, to the old Aryan symbolism, and has not yet been moulded by art into an agreeable homogeneous whole. Below, on the broadest row of the relief, is a goddess of strange character, probably Artemis, holding in each hand a growling lion, over whom she seems to have won the victory. The same scheme, in which birds are held, appears on some of the island gems; and there is much reason to believe, that here we have not an Oriental, but a very ancient Iranian, goddess, who, however, in this cruel and harsh type, should not hold her own, but disappear before the elevating and mollifying influence of Greek art.[245] It is a significant fact, that, after the age of archaic forms, she disappears altogether, but is met with again on later bronzes and vases.

Fig. 83. Bronze Incrustation for Standard of Sacred Vessel. Olympia.

The oldest images of the gods were believed by the Greeks to have been of wood. Often, according to oldest tradition, they fell directly from heaven to mortals, or traced their origin to mythic heroes, like Danaos and Orestes. Ancient travellers describe them as sometimes seated, sometimes standing with legs stiffly united, arms clinging to the sides, eyes tightly closed, and as carrying attributes. Such idols were looked upon as shrines in which the deity took up his abode; and the story was, that they sometimes chained down the image, lest the god take flight. A greater degree of life seems to have been given these idols by a covering of paste and glaring color: thus we learn, that Dionysos and Pan were painted red, and Athena white. Many services described by ancient writers, as well as noticed in inscriptions, show that these images were the objects of a complicated ritual: they were washed, clothed in gay apparel, and decorated with crowns, diadems, necklaces, and ear-pendants. Often, in later times, a magnificent wardrobe formed a part of the temple treasure. On the occurrence of the Panathenaic festival at Athens, the old Athena was clad anew in a *peplos* woven by Athenian women; and at Elis the same ceremony was performed for the ancient image of Hera.[246] In addition to wooden idols, there seem also to have existed

images in terra-cotta, equally primitive in their style. These figures of the gods in terra-cotta statuettes, many of which are now in Athens, are sometimes so formless, that it is difficult to trace in them the human figure.

Moreover, the different deities do not seem to have been clearly defined in the older art, as we are accustomed to find them later. Thus, in the old terra-cotta figures, all female deities alike have on the head a strange pad, which seems to be a primitive *stephane*, to indicate, perhaps, their sex. On a very old Attic vase, although we read the name Athena over against a goddess, still she is not individualized in attribute or form.[247] The *modius*, *calathos*, and mural crown, used later to distinguish the different goddesses, seem here all merged in this one primitive coronet.[248] The flower later appropriate to Aphrodite was borne by figures accompanied by the lion and other symbols: the pomegranate seems to have belonged as much to Athena and Hera as to Aphrodite. Even in the oldest terra-cotta figures of Athena in Athens, now on the Acropolis, the goddess wears under her helmet the *polos*; and the head, which, according to inscriptions, is a Hecate, receives a helmet, to become an Athena.[249] But as the local myths became more pronounced, and traditions clustered around each god, their peculiar differences were marked in form and feature; and symbols emphasized their individuality, as is strikingly illustrated in the monuments. So the Greek gods came to be more sharply defined in their thought and attributes, and the same god assumed a new garb with every new shrine and local place of worship.

From these nameless fragments of bronze tripods, standards, vases, and crude tiny images, revealing the very early artists' efforts, we may turn to the literary notices of monuments of a similar character, but enjoying a wider fame.

First in chronological order comes a monument from Corinth, that great trade-centre of early days. This work is known as the Chest of Kypselos, and was seen by Pausanias and Dio Chrysostom in the Temple of Hera, at Olympia.[250] It was said to have been consecrated in remembrance of the deliverance of the infant Kypselos, who, having been concealed in it from his foes, was thus preserved to become the future tyrant of Corinth (657–629 B.C.). The work was probably executed much earlier than the days of this Corinthian tyrant; Pausanias conjectured that the epigram upon it was by one Eumelos of Corinth, of about 760 B.C. It was of cedar, and decorated with figures of gold and ivory, and with still others carved out of the wood. Very ancient letters, difficult for Pausanias to read, accompanied the various scenes. The statement that the figures were carved out of the wood, seems to indicate that at least partial inlaying, after the manner of the Mykene swords, was the technique used, and not mere surface application of the gold and ivory. The chest appears to have stood against the temple-wall, and to have had cover, sides, and front decorated.[250a] Five parallel rows, probably of unequal width, one

above the other, consisting of mythological scenes, formed its decoration ; the legends, as on vases, being attached in difficult archaic writing. The subjects appear to have been taken from various poetic cycles following certain older types. There were scenes from the myth of Pelops and Oinomaos, the varied story of Amphiaraos, the funereal games of Pelias, and the attack of Menelaos on Helen. The singing Muses and Apollo himself were pictured there, Atlas carrying the earth, besides Ares armed, and Thetis followed by Peleus. Heracles also was to be seen, struggling with the Hydra, and, again, fighting with the centaurs, who had legs of man and horse, and some of whom had fallen. Besides were many other mythic figures, one of which was an Artemis, holding in one hand a panther, and in the other a lion, and wearing wings enigmatical to the devout Pausanias. A parallel to this Artemis may be noticed in the Olympia relief (Fig. 83), as well as to Heracles and the centaurs.

The fact that mythic scenes occupied the whole surface of this costly chest, shows that poetry was fast crowding out the mere decorative art of older times, and was throwing its halo about common and well-known types. The arrangement of the scenes, according to Pausanias' description, shows, moreover, that the whole was well planned, with that order and correspondence of parts so characteristic of later Greek art. In the parallel rows, one above the other, the centre seems to have been occupied by the most important groups, which were balanced by others at the corners. Of the forms of its gods and heroes, which must have been exceedingly rude, we may, perhaps, obtain some idea from votive tablets of terra-cotta, and sheets of pressed gold, found at Corinth, and now in the Berlin Museum, but as yet unpublished. The famous François vase in Florence, covered with the same subjects as the Kypselos chest, and accompanied by inscriptions in the early Attic alphabet, may indicate the style of these old pictures in gold and ivory, and was doubtless imported from Attica to Etruria, where it was found.[251]

A costly offering dedicated by the Samians to their goddess Hera, after a successful mercantile expedition in 632 B.C., is said to have cost one-tenth of the profits of the voyage, — six talents.[252] It is described as a colossal mixing-vessel, having around the top griffins' heads, doubtless like those which decorated the edge of vessels found at Olympia. Underneath were three immense kneeling bronze figures, which it is difficult to picture to ourselves.

Thus the shadowy records combine with recent discoveries to show, that, in those early days, a juvenile Greek art, remoulding time-honored motives, was industriously beautifying caldron, tripod, casket, and sacred utensil, but ventured little beyond this decorative field.

In literature, there is scarcely a notice of images of the gods as existing before the sixth century B.C. One such, however, seems to have been a colossal figure of beaten gold consecrated at Olympia, before Olymp. 38 (628 B.C.), by some member of the Kypselos family. The story is, that, to defray the expense

of this costly image, the wealthy Corinthians were compelled to sacrifice a large portion of their property.[253]

Of artists of this era after 700 B.C., a few historical names here and there appear, connected principally with inventions. Of these men, Pausanias and others give us but stray notices; the gay web of tradition having woven around them that veil of poetry so inseparable from Greek history. One of these early names is that of Dibutades of Sikyon, who resided and worked in Corinth, and became famous on account of improvements in moulding in clay; in fact, was even said to have discovered this art.[254] But that it had long been practised among the Greeks is clear, since even Hesiod speaks of a figure of Pandora as having been formed of clay. When, however, about the middle of the seventh century, Corinth became a flourishing emporium for earthen-ware, improvements, no doubt, were introduced; and these were ascribed to the old potter of Sikyon. He is said to have adorned the exterior of buildings with tiles in the shape of masks, and to have added color to the pale material. Were such a piece of painted terra-cotta decoration to be discovered near Corinth, light would be thrown on Dibutades' achievements, such as recent excavations have thrown on artists in Olympia and Sicily by similar works there found.[255]

Another artist, one Glaucos, said by some to have been a native of Chios, and by others of Samos, became celebrated in connection with working in metal at this early date. According to Greek tradition, he discovered the art of welding or soldering iron, thus supplanting the more primitive method of riveting together the different pieces. An iron standard by him, executed after this manner, was seen by Pausanias in Delphi.[256] It had, he says, the shape of a tower, larger at the bottom: on it stood a vase, or *lebes*, of silver, decorated with small aquatic birds and plants, and consecrated at Delphi by the Lydian king, Alyattes. Glaucos' enigmatical tower-standard is more easily understood since the late discovery of Phœnician bowls, and may be suggested by the representation of the tower-shaped standard on a silver bowl found at Palestrina (Fig. 62). The standard here supports a vessel, before which sits a figure in Assyrian garb, perhaps a king, protected by the usual umbrella; an interesting fact, proving that the fashion of some of the Greek temple furniture, at that early day, was probably borrowed from the Orient; while the aquatic birds and plants seem a direct product of the earlier native art of the islands (see p. 146).

Working in metals was to be still more improved upon by Rhoicos and Theodoros of Samos, who, according to the self-satisfied Greek tradition, invented casting in bronze. On the neighboring island of Chios, the use of marble is said to have been introduced by Melas, who lived as early as 660 B.C., and ushers us into the age when sculpture in marble, under the influence of the gifted Ionians, should enter upon its glorious career.

ARCHAIC GREEK SCULPTURE.

FROM ABOUT 600 B.C. TO ABOUT 450 B.C.

CHAPTER XII.

BEGINNINGS AND GROWTH OF SCULPTURE IN MARBLE DURING THE SIXTH CENTURY B.C.: ASIA MINOR AND THE ISLANDS.

Introductory Historical Sketch. — Increase of Temple Structures. — Marble, Bronze, and Chryselephantine Statuary. — Athletes. — The Ionians. — Decline of Asia Minor. — Colonization. — Changes in Society. — Characteristics of Art. — Geographical Division. — Ionian Art in Asia Minor and the Islands. — Artists. — Bathycles' Throne. — Bion of Clazomenai. — Endoios. — Monuments from Asia Minor. — Statues at Branchidæ. — Temple Sculptures at Ephesos. — Sculpture at Assos. — Lykian Sculpture. — Harpy Monument. — Character of its Art. — The Islands. — Naxian and Parian Marble. — Artists. — Statues by Naxian Artists. — Statue found on Delos, dedicated to Artemis. — Characteristics of these Naxian Works. — Colossus at Delos. — Small Bronze from Naxos. — Bronze *Patina*. — Relief by Alxenor. — Statues from Thera. — Statues found on Delos. — Contrast to Works Found at Athens. — Sculptures on Chios. — Archermos. — Statue of Nike. — Artists at Samos. — Rhoicos and Theodoros. — Theodoros' Works. — Samian Sculptures.

With the waning years of the seventh century B.C., and the beginning of the sixth, art among the Greek peoples seems to have assumed greater proportions and more enduring form. Costly temples of great extent, in stone and marble, were now built, whose ruins at Samos, Ephesos, Miletos, and Assos testify to the activity in architecture along the Asia-Minor coast. The Temple of Hera, at Olympia, gives evidence of the transformation, at this time, of older wooden buildings into structures of stone. In sculpture, too, new life is evident; the perishable wooden material being slowly supplanted by marble, which now started upon its career under the magic touch of the facile Ionians.

Masters of name and fame now appear on the stage; and marble monuments abound, whose age is borne witness to by their primitive character, and the archaic letters of their inscriptions.[257] Decorative art and the construction of costly vessels no longer chiefly employed the artists' attention, but marble, bronze, and chryselephantine statues of the gods. Monuments found in the ancient shrines testify to this encouragement of a higher art. The human figure, no longer a mere accessory, now assumes an importance, as far as we know, foreign to the spirit of the Orient. In the course of a few decades, statues, commemorative of the victorious athletes, begin to people the holy groves at Olympia; the first, which were of wood, being put up, according to Pausanias, towards Olymp. 59 (about 544 B.C.),[258] from which time their number rapidly increased, the material, however, being changed to bronze.

The Greek world during this century presents the spectacle of a ripened civilization clasping hands with material prosperity. In the fore-front stand the artistic Ionians, favored by their natural gifts, and their closer intercourse with Asia and Egypt. Ionian soldiers in the hire of Psammetichos had pierced the heart of the Nile valley, and scratched their names on the colossi of Rameses at Aboo-Simbel. At Saïs there was a vigorous Greek settlement, having a common temple and the regular worship of the Greek gods. Here the merchants from Miletos had their Apollo temple, and the Samians and Æginetans each their special shrines. Greek mercenaries, doubtless from the coasts of Asia Minor and the islands, served under the Chaldæan Nebuchadnezzar (604 B.C.), among whom was the brother of Alcaios, Sappho's poet-lover. The intercourse of the Greek cities with the Lydian princes was a lively one. Alyattes and Crœsus sent consecrated gifts, the works of Greek masters, to far-off Delphi. But the rising Persian power now gradually spread westward; and the Greek cities of the Asia-Minor coast, towards the close of the century, felt its encroaching influence, which forced their population to leave their homes, and thus disseminate their culture westward.[259] Colonization still continued; and, from the older lands, there seems to have been an uninterrupted exodus to the prosperous new states, with which an active commerce was kept up. Wares from the mother-lands were exported, to be spread far and wide. Thus bronzes and vases were, without doubt, sent to the colonies in Southern Italy, and even to Etruria. The same is true of the trade of Corinth, for its vases have been found in great numbers in Etruscan tombs.

In the political world, although tyrants still ruled in many cities, the spirit of freedom was fermenting in society. Polycrates of Samos (532 B.C.), and Peisistratos of Athens (560–527 B.C.), by popular laws, were it only from self-interest, served the well-being of their states, and encouraged what was attractive and beautiful. Philosophers began to ponder on deep and unknown things. Pythagoras (530 B.C.), leaving the oppressive atmosphere of the tyrant's court at Samos, removed to Croton in Southern Italy, where he soon gathered earnest and enthusiastic scholars. At the same time Xenophanes, from Colophon in Asia Minor, found a quiet home in Elea, near the bay of Naples, and there expounded his theories, and established an important school. The Homeric songs, transmitted orally from father to son, were, perhaps, now collected, and committed to writing. Epic poetry was, however, a thing of the past; and drama, young and strong, now put on its mask, and mounted the stage; while lyric verse found a cordial welcome at the courts of the tyrants. There the merry Anacreon composed his songs of love and mirth; Simonides, from Keos, sang the praises of the great; and Lasos, from Hermione, instructed the youthful and high-born Pindar (521–441 B.C.); while Stesichoros, the great innovator, who lived in Sicily, was equally at home in Hellas and Ionia. Athletic games in all parts of the land trained the youth to graceful skill, and inured to hardship.

This was a time when strength without arrogance, modesty and submission, combined with noble pride, prevailed among the people. The faith in the gods of their fathers was deep and sincere, inspiring to acts of devotion. Many are the stories related which testify to a high tone of life and morals at this time; of sons who made great sacrifices for their mothers; of mothers who offered their sons for the welfare of the country; the climax of this devotion being reached in the heroism exhibited during the Persian war.

In art, there was corresponding life. Literary records, as well as inscriptions, teach us that on the islands Chios, Samos, Naxos, Crete, and Paros, and along the coasts of Asia Minor, the earliest historical Greek sculptors were active, some of whom wandered to the mainland of Greece, there to practise their calling, and, in one case at least, to gather together a large band of scholars. Many of their works were executed for the very ancient shrines of Ephesos, Samos, Delos, Delphi, and Olympia, where they were seen by the ancients; and, among the large number of monuments preserved, isolated cases may be traced to these old sculptors. The artistic character of these extant works varies greatly with the time of their execution and the place of their discovery. Consequently both the chronological and the geographical sides of the varied scenes they present must be considered, in order to catch subtle and shifting peculiarities. If we look through the glass offered us by time, we find that sculptures, which, as we know from their inscriptions, — those sure gauges of age, — are the creations of the early part of the sixth century, vary greatly from those of the latter part. Many monuments have, however, no inscriptions; and consequently variations in the style alone are left to aid us in giving them their place in the great stream of history. But greater crudity of style is not always a sure indication of age: since some monuments executed at a late day, as we know, are as crude as those of an earlier day; instance Dermys and Kitylos, from Bœotia. Consequently great precautions are necessary in dating monuments which have no inscriptions. Local influences, arising from geographical site and race peculiarities, giving a varied coloring to the creations of different parts of the ancient world, claim a large share of our attention. While there is no doubt that artists moved about, and that men from very different parts executed works for the great central shrines now found together in what to us is perplexing confusion, still there is reason to believe, that, as a whole, there were great local peculiarities in the works of each section of the country. Thus, for instance, the Ionians, that race artistically so gifted, who were spread along the Asia-Minor coast, and occupied the islands and northern parts of Greece and Attica itself, seem in these different parts to have worked differently; and it is one of the glorious tasks of modern archæology, to trace out the affinities, and discover the varying shades of coloring, in the monuments found on such different sites. By so doing, little by little our picture of those old days gains

light and shadow; and those monuments which, when isolated from native time and clime, are mere *bric-à-brac*, meaningless curiosities, at once begin to glow again with the life and interest of other days. We find, by comparing them, that in all there is a feeling, more or less vigorous, after something better, — a searching for the ideal and beautiful; and these otherwise mute figures reveal to us the strivings and aspirations of a gifted people, whose fancy was subjected to most varied influences. The geographical element, then, being so strong, we may, in considering the monuments, attempt to combine it with the chronology. We shall, consequently, take up the monuments according to different sites, in each case considering them in order of age, and then, by references back and forth between the different types and sites, attempt to show great family resemblances.

Among the monuments preserved from the sixth century, those from the coasts of Asia Minor and the islands, Delos, Naxos, Paros, and Samos, first claim attention, inasmuch as these parts were the seats of the oldest culture, and the homes of the earliest historical sculptors.

Along the western shores of Asia Minor, there are many indications of the sculptor's activity in this century, when the old Ionian civilization was at its height, and Miletos, Ephesos, and Samos played an important part in the world's history. The evidence is not lacking, that this Ionian influence spread southward and northward. The Ionian style of writing was adopted, even by the Dorian people of Rhodes and Halicarnassos; and Ionian art apparently flooded Lykia. Other branches of it seem to have been developed on the islands and the northern coasts of Greece, and, indeed, to have been the spring of artistic activity in Attica itself, that land destined to cast its predecessors so into the shade, that the parent-stock has been well-nigh lost out of sight. Recent important discoveries on the islands and in Asia Minor are, however, slowly opening up this remote past, and showing us its true significance for later times, by revealing the sources of their inspiration.

Few, indeed, are the names of sculptors of this age preserved to us from Asia Minor; but they suffice to make an historical background for the existing monuments. One of these men, Bathycles of Magnesia, with fellow-workmen, went over to Greece, to erect a throne for a very ancient Apollo statue at Amyclai, near Sparta.[260] This throne was not for a seated statue, but for the rude ancient pillar of bronze, with head, arms, and feet attached, the image of the local Apollo possibly, represented on coins.[261] It stood towering 13.72 meters (45 feet) above a sacred spot, the grave of Hyakinthos, a young prince, said to have been a favorite of Apollo, and accidentally killed by the god in a game. The throne of Bathycles corresponded in its proportions to the statue, and was so extensive, that it could be entered and inspected like a dwelling.

The figures and reliefs adorning it represented scenes from the lives of the gods and heroes; but Pausanias' description is so incomplete, that it is impossible to form an idea of their material or arrangement.[262]

Interest attaches to this mysterious structure, since the subjects were taken from the full-flowing stream of epic poetry; although Bathycles also represented himself and his comrade sculptors on the arms of the throne. We see in this work sculpture at last brought into the more direct service of the god, no longer merely decking a weapon or votive casket, but adorning the very throne occupied by the representation of the deity himself. In thanks for the completion of this work, Bathycles erected a figure of Artemis Leucophryne, a favorite goddess of his native land, as well as figures of the Charites, or Graces.[263]

One Bion, from Clazomenai, is also mentioned from this time; and on very ancient statues found at Miletos occur the names of the sculptors Eudemos and Terpsicles.[264]

The sculptor Endoios also, although in tradition called Attic, and long resident in Attica, was, doubtless, a native of the older Ionian land. His works were in several cities of Ionia. Thus a colossal figure in wood of Athena Polias, at Erythrai, in Asia Minor, accompanied by marble Hours and Graces, in the temple-court, as well as an Artemis at Ephesos, were all by him. He was, however, like Bathycles, active in Greece itself; and his works appear in Attica, where was found the pedestal of a tombstone statue, probably seated, of an Ionian lady, Lampito, which bears this artist's name in an Ionian epigram, and clearly proves his origin.[265]

First to be considered among the monuments found on Asia-Minor soil, are those from the great Temple of Apollo, in the neighborhood of old and wealthy Miletos, where there was a very ancient oracle of the god, over which presided his reputed descendants, the family of the Branchidæ. In 1857 Mr. Newton was so fortunate as to discover statues and other monuments which lined each side of the Sacred Way leading up to the temple, in the manner of sphinxes and seated figures before Egyptian temples. This road, commencing at a short distance from the Temple of Apollo, was traced for a distance of about 530 meters (580 yards), in a north-west direction, towards the ancient port Panormos. On its discovery, it was bounded by basements, statues, and stone coffins, many of which still remain.[266] The eight seated figures from this Sacred Road, now in the British Museum, are, indeed, among the most important specimens of early Greek sculpture in marble, and doubtless show us the capabilities of the early Ionian masters (Fig. 84). Judging from the ancient inscribed characters on their thrones, and from the very archaic cast of the statues themselves, it is supposed that they were executed between 580 and 520 B.C. On one is to be read the dedication, "I am Chares, son of Clesis, ruler of Teichiusa, an offering to Apollo;" and it is probable that the re-

maining figures likewise represent devotees, perhaps priests and priestesses of Apollo.

The pose of all these temple dignitaries is constrained and conventional: the arms cling to the bodies, the hands rest rigidly upon the knees, and the settled, unwieldy forms seem overburdened with fat; while there is much about the feet calling to mind Chaldæan statues (compare Fig. 41).[267] The elaborate under-garments fall in narrow, perpendicular folds: the outer dress is laid in broad parallel divisions, which do not suggest the massive bodies they cover. But, on comparing these statues with one another, a most interesting advance

Fig. 84. Four of the Seated Statues from the Sacred Road near Miletos. British Museum.

may be noticed. The artists are feeling their way for something better in the forms; and the drapery in the latest member of the group, the first in the cut, is in great contrast to that of the others.

Although these Miletos statues once lined a sacred way, after the mode of Egypt; and although their bulky forms may suggest Assyrian types, like the clumsy, flabby, seated figure of Shalmaneser, from Kalah Shergat, now in the British Museum, — yet their greater naturalness and evident progress is strikingly Greek; and we may, doubtless, recognize in them, as in a kindred statue from Samos (Fig. 96), what may be called an old Ionian style. In the Louvre, also, there are several specimens of this old sculpture in marble from Miletos.[268]

We may mention with these hoary remains, as also probable products of this Ionian art, the fragments of sculpture discovered by Mr. Wood among the ruins of the ancient temple to Artemis at Ephesos, and now in the archaic room of the British Museum. This Asiatic goddess had early been adopted into the Greek religion; and her costly temple was built by Chersiphron, a Cretan architect, doubtless about Olymp. 50 (580 B.C.), when wealth had been accumulated in a largely developed commerce, and was being employed in building temples, and making costly decorations.[269] The epoch-making Temple of Hera was now built on the neighboring Samos, by the Samians Rhoicos and Theodoros; and that of Apollo at Branchidæ, near Miletos, received costly offerings, even from Neco, king of Egypt, after his conquest of Josiah, king of Judah, at Megiddo.

The expense of many of the pillars of the temple at Ephesos was borne by the rich Lydian Crœsus (560 to 546 B.C.), who also consecrated golden bulls at this shrine.[270] The remarkable archaic remains there discovered by Mr. Wood consist of a series of reliefs, and of fragments of lions' heads, which once decorated the architecture. These lions' heads, though strongly conventional, show much fire, and still have marks of the color, principally red, that once enlivened their surface.

The most interesting, by far, of these sculptures are, however, the reliefs with figures about life-size, which seem to be wrought upon the drums of the temple-columns. The discovery was made by Mr. Wood, that the later Temple of Artemis, built in the fourth century, was also supported by columns having the lower part sculptured in relief.[271] The archaic reliefs, circling a circumference of about five meters and a half, correspond in size to these later works; so that there can be little doubt that they supported the old temple, and were, most probably, the very contributions made by Crœsus, and mentioned by Herodotos. Unfortunately, these ancient columns are so badly injured that it is impossible to divine the subjects represented upon them, only single figures being partially preserved. The prevalent custom in Mesopotamia and Phœnicia of coating wooden members of the architecture, such as columns, doors, or walls, with metal beaten out into artistic shapes (called empaistic), spread, there can be no doubt, to Asia Minor; reference being made to it, as we have seen, in Homeric verse. Another step was the imitating in stone of such work; and discoveries in Olympia show most clearly, that, little by little, the more perishable material, wood, was being thus supplanted in stone or marble, on which the protecting coating was, however, not omitted.[272] These remarkable archaic sculptures from Ephesos, which once surrounded the base of the old temple-columns, seem a reminiscence of such metallic coating over the older wooden pillar, here, at last, metamorphosed into marble. This influence of metal seems also evident in the style of these reliefs. Their lack of vigor, especially in the rendering of the eye, may be the

result of an attempt to copy the smoother surface of metal in the indurate stone. Although more advanced than the older of the Miletos statues discussed above, still they have the same flabbiness, and lack of energetic detail, and in some cases, in addition, a high polish, like that of ivory. The abundant ornaments and the care expended upon the profuse drapery seem outgrowths of a luxuriousness such as we know from literature characterized Asiatic Ionians, in distinction from their kindred of the mainland of Greece itself. The very decoration of the base of columns with relief is itself an extravagance in ornamentation, a contrast to the simpler, more energetic architecture of Greece proper, and also points to the strong influence of luxurious Oriental tastes which appear to have tinged the artistic creations of Asia Minor down to latest days. May renewed excavations on the site of old Ephesos teach us much more of the ancient art of this important centre of Ionian civilization, and throw needed light upon its tentative beginnings!

Turning to the north, we should find, that opposite smiling Lesbos at Assos, according to tradition an Æolic colony, most interesting specimens of sculpture, dealing with very archaic subjects, have been laid bare. The summary researches of the French on this spot before 1838, when many sculptures were removed to the Louvre, have been thoroughly continued by the Archæological Institute of America in 1881; but the full results of this latter expedition await their complete publication, a temporary report alone having as yet appeared.

These sculptures are in a coarse stone of the neighborhood, as has been proved by the last excavations, and adorned the temple which stood on the summit of the old acropolis at Assos. They decorated, not only the metopes of this Doric structure, but, contrary to all analogies in the architecture of Greece proper, enlivened the usually plain blocks of the epistyle, directly above the massive columns, in the form of a disconnected frieze.[273] Long ago the great Semper called attention to the fact, that these sculptures crowning the epistyle could be nothing else than an imitation in stone of the protecting coat of beaten metal applied to the wooden parts of primitive buildings. Semper supported his theory by analogies from Etruria, that land where early Ionic art had such great influence, and traced this practice back to its remote source in the far East.[274] The subjects represented at Assos also support his theory; the wild animals of Oriental art, such as lions and sphinxes, and the Chaldæan fish-monster, being here, although so interwoven with active Greek myth, that the whole seems moulded into a new and independent creation. In the blocks in the Louvre appear lions in the act of devouring deer, bucking steers, winged sphinxes, galloping centaurs with fore and hind feet hoofed, and many loungers at a feast; besides, the serious contest of Heracles with a semi-fish and semi-human being, doubtless the wise ocean-god Halios Geron

(Fig. 85). From the tumult of the contest several small, frightened females are fleeing.

The form of the sea-god is that of the comfortable Babylonian and Assyrian fish-deity, but is here, as on the "island stones," so grappled with by Heracles, as to present more than mere passive existence. This peculiar grouping seems, moreover, to have been a typical mode of representation with the older artists, who, as we know from the analogy of vases, long followed closely certain received types. This very strained grouping, and attempt to represent in a narrow space action which consequently becomes exaggerated, appear also in a satyr of a frieze discovered at Xanthos in Lykia, and now in the British Museum, where the horse-tailed satyr struggles with an animal, perhaps a boar, in exactly the same pose as does Heracles with this sea-god. But how amusing the means here used to fill out the whole space of the relief, and avoid the vacuum always so abhorred by Greek relief! This is here accomplished by

Fig. 85. Part of Frieze from Temple of Assos. Heracles struggling with Sea-god. Louvre.

giving the bended Heracles, the sea-god, and the figures reposing at a feast, a height equal to the fleeing females and diminutive cup-bearers, even though they thus become disproportionately large. Not the least important discovery made by the American expedition was that of a scene from genuine Greek myth, which formed a part of this varied frieze, and is still in Assos (Fig. 86). It represents another of the deeds of Heracles, who, as in the Olympia relief (Fig. 83), is shooting at centaurs fleeing before him. Unlike the other centaurs from this temple, these, following the early type, have fully human bodies in front: while Heracles, also following an archaic type, is still armed with his bow alone; the lion's skin and club of later art not being as yet adopted by the sculptor. Heracles is here probably accompanied by Iolaos, the faithful companion of his troubled life, who follows with a drinking-cup, to indicate, perhaps, the wine that maddened the semi-brutes, and led them to deeds of violence. These scenes call to mind, not only in subject, but also in treatment, those on vases of *bucchero nero*, found in Etruria, which seem the reflex of such genuine Greek works.

Judging from the character of those Assos reliefs which are now in the Louvre, they are the genuine products of an early and tentative art, and, in

the strange connection with the Doric architecture they adorned, appear to be the efforts of a people beginning to feel its way to something better, but still holding on to old received traditions. In view of such marked peculiarities, they have been considered the work of the sixth century B.C. From the better execution of a very few fragments recently discovered, and from certain peculiarities of the architecture as compared with that of Sicily, Mr. Clarke of the American expedition has, however, advanced the theory, that the temple and its sculptures are the products of a late and provincial Asia-Minor school, and cannot date from before the close of the Persian war, and perhaps may be assigned to the first half of the fifth century B.C. Unhappily, neither photographs nor casts as yet exist, from which alone those who have not seen the originals can form an adequate judgment as to the artistic superiority of the few new fragments. The large number of these sculptures, however, in the Louvre, present a peculiar mode of composition, which very much militates against the new

Fig. 86. Part of Temple Frieze. Assos. Heracles and Centaurs.

theory. Besides, it is questionable whether the analogy drawn between this architecture of Asia Minor and that of far-off Sicily can be of service in deciding the difficult question of age.

The recent discoveries at Olympia have shown, that in architecture the development was very different at the same time in different places; and it is most probable that in Assos, close to the hearthstones of old Ionian culture, architecture developed earlier than in far-off Sicily. The facts, that during the early part of the sixth century B.C., great stone and marble temples were being built in Asia Minor and the islands, and that Assos, so far as historical information goes, was then the largest and strongest city of the Troad, strengthen the view that this highly decorated and ambitious temple to the gods was raised during that early age of the city's prime. Even should it be granted that the temple at Assos is of late date, its sculptures could only be reminiscences of an earlier age; and as through late Etruscan works we may gain a knowledge of older genuine Greek originals, so these sculptures would only show us earlier sources whence they were derived, especially as they have much in common with the old red-ware vases found on Rhodes and elsewhere. But a sight of

the sculptures themselves, as well as a fuller knowledge of the details of the architecture, will, we may hope, yet throw decisive light on this most interesting question.

To the south of ancient Ionia, on the coasts of Asia Minor, lies Lykia, a country which in Homeric verse plays an important part. It was inhabited, not by Greeks, but by a people near of kin, as their language shows.[275] It was a land of poetry to the Greeks, the home of their sun-god. The hills and valleys teem with sculpture, for the most part connected with the tombs, and were first made known by Sir Charles Fellows, in 1841. Many of these he removed to the British Museum, and of others he brought thither casts; thus offering to the student a small and distinct art-world in itself. To this rich material for the study of a civilization in many points closely resembling the Greek, the Austrian excavations added still more, under the direction of Benndorf, in 1882.

Lykia offers an art in many points akin to the pure Greek, but not of so fine a quality as that which flourished in Greece itself, although superior, as far as we know it, to the productions of the Cypriotes and Etruscans, which it somewhat resembles. In its later stages, single sculptures, when sundered from their many kindred monuments, have been adjudged pure Attic; while, in its many archaic monuments, the strong influence of old Ionian art may doubtless be traced. The latter was, in some respects, the parent of Attic art also; and these older Lykian monuments have even been attributed to Attic masters.[276] But Attica gained its importance in art-matters late in the sixth century B.C., and hence the probability is much stronger that Lykia was affected by the direct influence of the neighboring and more early developed Ionia.

Among the fragments in the British Museum are pieces of sculptural decoration for the architecture, made up of rows of cocks and hens, calling to mind similar reliefs found in Olympia.[277] On one relief we see a quaintly exaggerated Bacchic dance; and, in another, a frieze of wild animals of far older style. Here a horse-tailed satyr is struggling with a boar-like animal: and the composition, as noticed above, is very like that of Heracles and the sea-monster of the Assos reliefs; the animals also calling to mind favorite subjects of early semi-Greek art. On a stone chest from a tomb we see, following the true Oriental type, a man stabbing a lion; but the workmanship lacks the perfect technique of older Oriental monuments.

But by far the most extensive and interesting of Xanthos' older remains is the so-called Harpy monument, a high rectangular tower, surmounted by the burial-chamber, the exterior of which was adorned with reliefs in marble (Fig. 87). That tombs of this kind were common in Lykia is evident from the discovery of similar structures in the neighborhood, and at Gjölbaschi, where, however, the archaic figures were sadly injured.[278] Different explanations have

been given to the quaint reliefs on the four sides of this tomb-tower at Xanthos, two of which are represented in Fig. 88. Professor Curtius finds in them a reference to the doctrine of immortality.[279] The milch cow over the entrance to the grave, he believes, begins the series of pictures contrasting life and death, and is symbolical of life-giving, nurturing force. The seated figures, on each side of the door, are explained as goddesses, — the one being Death, the arm of whose throne is supported by an ominous sphinx; and the other Life, who holds blossoms and fruit, and has supporting the arm of her throne a ram's head, the symbol of the fructifying cloud. Three figures approaching her bring offerings of an egg, a blossom, and a pomegranate, — symbols of the nascent germ of life, its bloom, and ripe fruit. On the other sides of the tomb the heavy, full form, thrice repeated, Curtius explains as that of a throned divinity, receiving offerings from friends of the departed, and as being the triune god in Heaven, Earth, and the Underworld of Græco-Lykian myth. The little figures borne in the arms of birds with faces and arms of women have been explained as the daughters of Pandaros being carried off by the Harpies, who, as it is told in the "Odyssey," "came, bore off the maids, and gave them to the hateful sisterhood of Furies as their servants." This description corresponds so poorly with the mild, winged figures of this relief, having egg-shaped bodies, that they seem more like good genii, bearing away the little souls of the departed, whom they press gently to their bosoms, and who in return fondly caress their bearers. A diminutive female, tearing her cheeks in great sorrow, looks up from the lower corner of one relief, and, doubtless, represents one of the bereaved survivors.

Fig. 87. View of the Lykian Tomb called the "Harpy Monument."

But some archæologists have entertained doubts whether this elaborate and beautiful ethical interpretation of the Xanthos monument can truthfully give the views of so early an age as the sixth century B.C.[280] The most recent opinion is, that we see here the heroed dead, enthroned and receiving offerings, as in reliefs found in Sparta, where inscriptions remove doubt as to the significance of the seated figures.[281] In this Xanthos monument male figures receive a helmet, a cock, and a bird; and a seated female receives offerings of pomegranate, egg, and flower; while another extends her hand, as if awaiting an offering.

The reliefs have peculiarities prevalent in archaic art, — long, primly pointed beards, feet planted flat on the ground, a procession-like arrangement of the standing figures, a dainty holding of the drapery and flowers, eyes in profile,

and a disproportionate size of some members. Their nearer analogies are with the works of Miletos and Ephesos; for, with all their quaintness, they are not harsh and precise, like most archaic works from Greece proper.[282] There is about them a pleasing quiet and grace, as well as an adaptation to the purposes of decoration, which take captive the eye. The figures seem represented simply as they appear, without the subjection to plastic law seen in the severer works of Ægina and Laconia, or in the lighter, freer forms of Attica. The heavy forms of the throned divinities appear overburdened with fat, and show no exactness in their build. Although the outlines of the backs

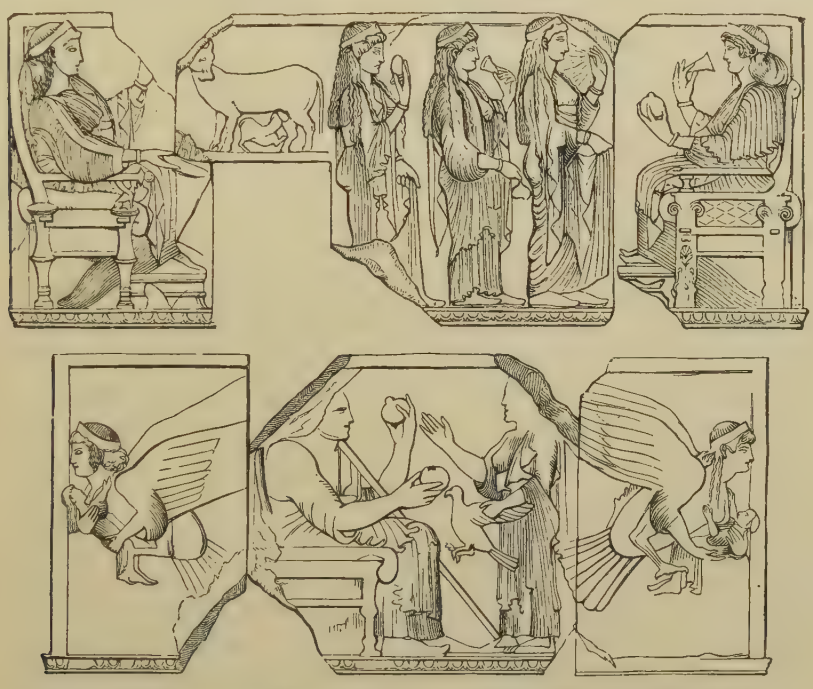

Fig. 88. Reliefs from Two Sides of the so-called "Harpy Monument." British Museum.

of the standing figures are given, their limbs are not even indicated beneath the heavy drapery, peculiarities met with in the statues of Miletos. When one leg is advanced, the other hip is entirely unnoticed, or indifferently indicated. The same lack of plastic truth is evident in the hands and feet, which vary at random in size and detail. The round skulls are likewise of different and uncertain shapes. The seated goddess to the right has what appears to be only a flat layer of hair. Her ear is placed so far back as to be amusingly out of proportion; many of these defects not appearing in the cut, where they have been reduced to correct propriety by the engraver. The female figures are clothed in the long *chiton* of fine stuff, peculiar to the Ionians, which has long, buttoned sleeves, and, in the case of the seated figures, trails, falling stiffly back under the thrones; while over this robe the outer mantle appears

in broad, regular folds. What at first seems ease in these reliefs is rather the lack of that precision which makes the Æginetan marbles so eminently plastic. (Sel., Plate I. and Fig. 119.) Although meeting the demands of simply decorative art, this uncertain treatment throughout must give place to assurance, this heaviness and laxity in detail must be banished, before true and energetic plastic forms can be produced. Unfortunately no inscription hints to us the date of this monument; but its composition and advanced style, compared with neighboring inscribed works, such as those of Miletos, may allow us to place it as late as the latter part of the sixth century B.C. What many of the characteristics of this old Ionian art in Asia Minor must have been, and how greatly it influenced far-off Italy, we are just beginning to learn through numberless long unheeded monuments in Etruria, among which many terra-cottas and the too much underrated *bucchero nero* are most important.

Leaving the coasts of Asia Minor, and passing to the islands, we shall find a rich harvest to reward our search. In the midst of the Ægean are the twin islands Naxos and Paros, the largest of the Kyclades, — mountains of marble, towering up from the blue sea; the quarries of Naxos being scarcely inferior to those of world-renowned Paros.[283] By far the greater part of the statuary discovered on the mainland of Greece, dating from before the age of the Parthenon, is of this Parian or Naxian marble. Its export must have contributed largely to the wealth and importance of these islands before they were overshadowed by the glory of Attica. At least eight varieties of Parian marble are distinguishable; and as in olden times, so now the finest quality is sought, like precious metal, by torchlight in the bowels of the earth, — a practice which gave origin to the name lychnites (λυχνίτης), as applied to this stone by Pliny and other writers. The shafts made to extract the precious blocks follow the sinuosities and varying width of the marble veins, and are often so tortuous and confined that it is difficult to understand how the ancients succeeded in bringing out the blocks. The sight of many deserted slabs, still in the quarries, shows that they sometimes miscalculated their ability. In these ancient quarries, recently re-opened by a Greek gentleman of Paros, the tools dropped by the stone-cutters of old are still to be seen, and are found to be like those used to-day. When first brought to light, the finest-grained marble is said to be translucent, but with exposure becomes more opaque, and gains a mellow tone fitted to give the warm glow, and soft, flowing appearance of skin and muscle; its tempting grain, neither too hard nor too soft, inviting the artist's skill.

The earliest artists mentioned as from the twin islands Naxos and Paros are but few, and their fame is overshadowed by later men.[284] Byzes of Naxos, and his son Euergos, appear more in the light of improvers of the technique of marble than as sculptors proper.[285] One of them boasts, that he was the first

to imitate clay tiles in marble. The name of another artist, Aristion from Paros, of this century, appears in Attica, inscribed on a monument discovered near Athens. The name of Alxenor from Naxos is met with about the end of this century in Bœotia, inscribed on a tombstone of Bœotian marble. At Delphi has recently been discovered a pedestal with the rude feet of a statue of Parian marble, which must have been executed in this century, so crude is the workmanship. According to the inscription, it was executed by a Parian master for a fellow-citizen, who consecrated this work to the gods in Delphi. One Arkesilas and his father Aristodicos from Paros are barely mentioned by the ancients, and, probably, also belong in this century. Arkesilas was a painter, and perhaps also a sculptor. Thus, from these meagre reports, it is evident that the Parian and Naxian masters of this time enjoyed a considerable fame, and had much to do in developing the art of working in marble in neighboring lands as well as at home.

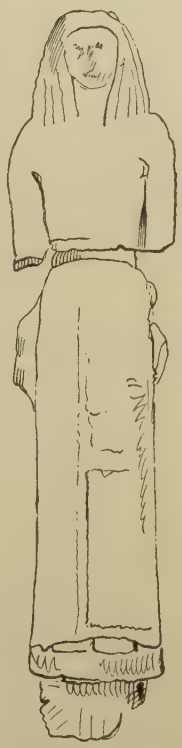

Fig. 89. Statue consecrated at Delos by Nicandra of Naxos. Myconos.

The oldest Naxian monument preserved to us is, doubtless, that unshapely image (Fig. 89) discovered in Delos in 1877 by Homolle, and now on the neighboring island Myconos.[286] Its metrical inscription states, that it was dedicated by a lady Nicandra, daughter of Deinodicos of Naxos, to the goddess Artemis. It was discovered in a heap of broken statues before the temple of Apollo, and measures with its base two meters in height, impressing more by its size than its artistic merit. Whether this column-like female figure in long robes represents the lady Nicandra herself, or the goddess Artemis, we do not know; but it is very probable that it is this goddess, who was worshipped with Apollo at Delos. In each hand she held some object, as is evident from the holes; down her back her hair drops in a large mass, in which broad, horizontal waves are indicated; while over her shoulders fall four curls, more like rows of beads than ringlets. So little of the female form is indicated, that we might be in doubt as to her sex, were it not for the long but formless skirt. Originally, however, it was not so plain; since besides the inscription scratched into it, are traces of seven or eight broad stripes of meander pattern painted on the marble just below the girdle.[287] The shoulders have much the same width as the skirt, from which the feet only just appear. The stiff arms cling to the sides, the upper part being even reserved in the marble. The torso has so much the form of a flattened tree-trunk, the two sides alone being rounded, that it is easy to suppose this crude work a copy of some old sacred wooden *xoanon*, one of which, an Aphrodite, was seen in Pausanias' time on Delos, and

reverently traced by that writer to Daidalos himself.[288] This mythical artist, according to story, was active in Crete, famous as the home of such primitive works; and it is possible that the old Cretan works in wood, brought by the earliest colonists from Crete to Paros, so rich in marble, may there have been in time metamorphosed into the nobler material under the influence of the later Ionian settlers. The very archaic forms of the inscribed letters on this ancient offering of a devout Naxian lady, which are to be read from right to left and from left to right in alternate lines (*boustrophedon*), enable archæologists to date this figure as early as 580 B.C., and perhaps even 600 B.C.[289]

This crude figure is, however, as Furtwängler has shown, but one of a large family, which, during the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., were put up as offerings to the gods about the very old shrine on Delos, and, doubtless, then looked upon as great achievements. To us, however, they show the very earliest attempts to represent in marble the female form wrapped in its drapery. In one of these figures the breasts are intimated: another shows an attempt to represent the sinking curve of the back, which features in the Nicandra statue are lacking. A third is a modification of this crude scheme; the left arm being advanced, while the right still clings to the side. This statue is, besides, interesting as having a broad meander border scratched into the marble down the front, and, doubtless, intended to have color in its cavities. It perhaps shows one step in the transformation of the painted or inlaid pattern over into forms more suitable to marble, the ultimate attainment being genuine relief. A similar process is observable with regard to drapery. Folds are at first hollowed out in the marble, only later to be raised, and thus take on a character truer to the actual appearance of nature. This process may be traced on a series of archaic statues in Athens, as well as on several fragments in Delos, in which the folds, from being hollowed out, become cord-like ridges, and are finally flattened out to represent more truly the character of drapery.[290] The fact that minor decorations, such as meander borders, ear-rings, necklaces, etc., are not represented in marble in statues of the ripened age from Greece, although appearing in these early works, indicates the development of a rare sense for the truly sculptural in marble, — a sense which is not to be found among other peoples, where every minor detail is unbecomingly passed over into this dignified material.

But, besides this crude attempt of the early Naxians to render the draped female form in marble, there are monuments showing their efforts to represent, in the same material, the nude male form. While the female statues may represent Artemis, there is no doubt, in the light of inscriptions, that some of the male statues show us her brother, the great Apollo, who was conceived as the personification of eternal youth, and whose character incorporated the noblest ethical tendencies of the Greeks. In the open quarries of Naxos, there lies such a colossal nude figure, partially hewn from the rock, and doubtless

abandoned on account of flaws in the marble. It is 10.60 meters high (34 feet); and so ample are its members, that Ross and his party, overtaken by night, were able to spread their beds and sleep upon them.[291] The figure was intended to stand with both feet flat upon the ground, the left slightly in advance. The arms hang by the side, but are advanced from the elbow, doubtless to hold attributes. It may have been planned for the shrine at Delos, where its twin-brother, following the same type, still exists, with an explanatory inscription stating that the Naxians had dedicated it, and boasting that it was of a single stone.[292] Two weighty fragments of the sadly mutilated colossus still lie prostrate at Delos, and another from the feet is in the British Museum.[293] The god here had long hair; and the arms, clinging to the sides, were, as in the Naxian colossus, raised from the elbows, doubtless once holding attributes. Across the shoulders the width of the figure is 2.20 meters; and on the flat, expansive chest, devoid of all detail except about the collar-bones, a dance could easily be performed. The traces of an ancient girdle are also evident about the waist of this unwieldy and uncouth figure. The same is found on many very archaic figures in bronze and terra-cotta, found on Greek soil, as well as on some of the ancient "island stones," where it forms part of a garment, like short bathing-breeches.[294] The best-preserved sample of this costume is seen on a small bronze from Crete, but we see it also on the Heracles relief from Olympia (Fig. 83). It calls to mind the reports about the oldest costume of men, who, according to tradition, wore an apron-like garment, mentioned in connection with the earliest athletes in Olympia, but which in time must have given place to fuller, more becoming folds, doubtless under the influence of the Asiatic Ionians. It is surmised by Furtwängler, that the original type of this nude Apollo from Naxos wandered to the Kyclades from Crete, where the Daidalid artists were active. Be this as it may, this colossus now at Delos, by reason of its costume and pose, is of greatest importance, linking the primitive tiny representation of a very old day on to the more ambitious efforts in marble, and showing us the continuity of the great stream.

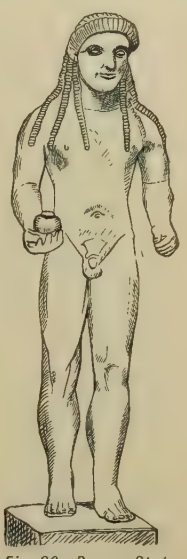

Fig. 90. Bronze Statuette from Naxos, probably of Apollo. Berlin Museum.

A great advance upon this colossus is a small bronze in the Berlin Museum, originally from Naxos. It shows the same type, with raised arms, and is another invaluable witness to the struggle going on towards the development of the human form, and perhaps of the Apollo ideal (Fig. 90). On its pedestal, happily preserved, an archaic inscription in hexameter puts into its mouth the words, "Deinagore put me up as a votive gift to the far-shooting Apollo."[295] This stiff figure holds in his right hand what may be a pomegranate or a sacred utensil such as is often seen being offered to Egyptian representations of deity. It has

also been thought to be an athlete's ointment-bottle, and, if such, to be symbolical of Apollo's contest in the boxing-match ; [296] but the utter lack of other representations of Apollo, as connected with the games, militates against this theory.

Fig. 91. Tombstone Relief by the Naxian Alxenor, found at Orchomenos. Athens.

In the left hand is a hole, probably intended for the bow of the "far-shooting Apollo." The advanced style of this statue, as well as the shape of the inscribed letters, would seem to place it at about the end of the sixth century B.C. Here the well-developed nude form of the long-haired, youthful god, though still harsh and stiff, is carefully rendered, and shows a long march forwards, if not in time, certainly in excellence, when compared with the Delos and Naxos colossi having the same type. It is very possible, that in such small size, and in bronze, perfection could be attained earlier than in the great colossi of marble. Let us notice the surface of this quaint old figure covered with an agreeable green *patina*, like most Greek bronzes. The various color of bronze works is owing mainly to the difference in their composition. The celebrated modern works in Berlin, the shepherd at the pond, the Bacchus in Potsdam, and the bust of Germanicus in Charlottenburg, show that a short time suffices to veil a good bronze in a beautiful green *patina*. On the other hand, an ugly black surface results when in the composition there is a preponderance of zinc. This metal, being uneasy in its chemical affinities, comes continually to the surface, where it undergoes oxidization. Thus the otherwise admirable equestrian statue of Frederick the Great, before the Royal Palace in Berlin, has a large proportion of this treacherous metal in its composition, and is now covered with a disfiguring black surface, which, whenever cleaned away, carries with it finer details.[297]

But to return to the marble works of this dawning age of Greek sculpture on Naxos. In the quarries Ross discovered an unfinished nude male statue of a slightly different type, which is now in Athens. In this figure the arms

hang at the side, and the left foot is advanced, as in a large class of works found, as we shall see, in different parts of the old Greek world.

That the Naxians had early developed relief as well as statues in the round, appears from a relief by Alxenor, the Naxian, found at Orchomenos, but now removed to Athens, in which it is evident that great advances in this direction had been made by the latter part of the sixth century, to which time this work may be attributed by reason of its quaint inscription and advanced style (Fig. 91). On this tomb-monument a man about life-size, leaning on his staff, offers a grasshopper to his dog, who leaps toward it. This sculpture, although seriously faulty, as may be seen from the strained position of the hand and the awkwardness of the dog, is pleasantly simple in its subject, and has many excellent points in the rendering of the relief. The shoulder is truthful; and the drapery, though stiff, shows, in the folds about the top of the staff, an attempt to render the careless ease of nature. Alxenor's care is evident in the fine details of the bug, the claws of the dog, and the hands of the man; but the stiff curls, the eye in full front view, and twisted position of the man, do not permit us now to admire Alxenor's work as much as he did himself, when doubtless it was a great achievement, as we may judge from his exclamation inscribed upon it, "Only behold it!" (ἀλλ' ἐσιδέσθε).[298]

Turning from Naxos and Paros to the neighboring islands, we find that one of the celebrated crude figures of the sixth century hails from Thera, although the names of artists of this time are not preserved from this island. This statue is now to be seen in the National Museum at Athens; and its scheme is exactly like that of the unfinished statue mentioned above, as found by Ross in the quarries of Naxos. It represents an erect, beardless youth, whose hands drop straight at the sides, and left leg is slightly advanced. This statue has been called an Apollo on account of its long hair and nudity; but the fact that it was discovered near graves, as well as the finding of still other statues of the same build among the graves of Greece, also go strongly to prove that this figure, at least, is a funereal monument, and represents a mortal youth standing near or on his grave.[299] The painful erectness of the figure, the emphasis laid upon the bony structure of the frame, the lack of flaccidity in its execution, as well as the long oval of the face, are its noticeable features. We are reminded of the Egyptian custom of placing statues of the dead in the grave; and the advanced left leg, the hands at sides, erect head, and build more bony than muscular, of this statue from Thera, suggest Egyptian types. The possibility is not slight, that the Greek islanders may have become acquainted with Egyptian works through the Phœnicians, and perhaps Cretans; but the entire nudity of this old Thera figure, and the care expended upon the back as well as front, are differences so great from the Egyptian forms with which the Greek islanders could by any possibility have been familiar, that it may be called independent. Moreover, we find the same

type so frequently repeated, and so widely scattered, that we may consider these old Greek works as the more or less spontaneous attempts of primitive artists.

In the centre of the Ionian Kyclades is Delos, the ancient and honored shrine of Apollo. No school of artists is known to have existed here; but numerous monuments in the marble of the adjoining islands, where they were probably executed, have at last been discovered. For years the ancient monuments of Delos have furnished building material for the surrounding islands. Thus, the Church of the Evanglisteia on the island of Tenos is built almost entirely of such marbles. Fortunately, what little was left *in situ* is of great importance for ancient sculpture. Delos furnishes, not only quaintest tripods, crude bronze oxen and horses like those found at Olympia, but the most important archaic inscribed marble originals from Naxos and Chios, as well as works of perfected art; thus affording happy opportunities for watching the progress in the execution of statues, both seated and standing, as developed by the early Ionians. A part of one seated female figure shows much kinship with the later statue of Miletos, in the British Museum, and, while having a part of the folds hollowed out, has others more naturally and happily rendered, illustrating the gradual success in developing drapery. Another series comprises many representations of a type very common in archaic art, but each figure in some respect superior to the one that had gone before. These figures seem, even in antiquity, to have been cast aside to make way for new works, as is frequently found to have been done also at Olympia. They were all brought to light on Delos, with fragments of bronzes and vases, in a heap near what Homolle considers the old temple.[300] They represent art in every stage, from crude archaic up to the perfected form, a standing female figure holding in one extended hand an attribute, and with the other raising her quaint drapery. This is very full, but laid in stiff folds. It consists of the long Ionic *chiton* buttoned several times on the shoulder, and of an outer garment passed under the left arm, and falling in a very regular ruffle-like border across the bosom. In one of the older of these statues we see long, heavy locks falling down the back (Fig. 92). We notice the especial pleasure the sculptor has taken in working out details of drapery, each fold being an attempt to follow closely the underlying form; although, as a whole, the work falls far short of true ease and freedom of expression. The contrast between the treatment of these statues, and much

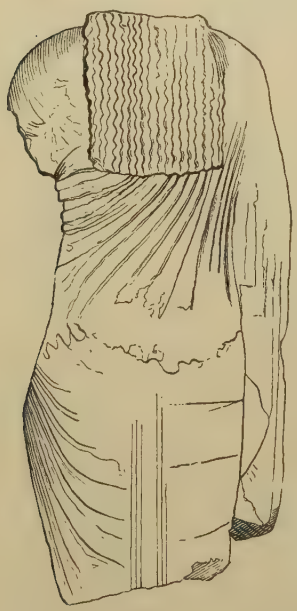

Fig. 92. Draped Female Figure discovered on Delos.

smaller ones of the same type found in the ruins of the Asclepeion at Athens, and which had probably fallen from the shrine of Artemis Brauronia on the Acropolis, is most instructive, and may perhaps point to the difference between the older Ionic art and its stronger, more beautiful daughter of Attica. Some of these latter statues are now to be seen in the British Museum, whither they were brought by Lord Elgin. The statues found on Delos are large, full, and rather heavy; while those found in Athens are small, precise, and elegant in their execution. Who may be represented in the Delian figures, it is difficult to conjecture. It is natural to suppose that it is Artemis, worshipped especially on Delos; but the very same type occurs frequently elsewhere, in connections where it is impossible to associate it with that goddess. Moreover, we know that other statues of a very different kind were dedicated to Artemis on Delos. So Nicandra's stiff statue and the winged figure of Archermos were sacred to her; and it seems, therefore, very possible, that these standing figures of Delos are votive statues of "mortal maidens," perhaps the Delian virgins mentioned in Homeric verse.[301] Other archaic monuments of interest at Delos are, a very ancient type of Siren, its body fully that of a bird, with painted, not sculptured, feathers; a crude sphinx; a part of a horse and its youthful rider in very stiff style.[302]

From Delos our attention is turned to Chios, lying north of the Kyclades, and near the Asia-Minor coast. This island was famous in antiquity for its mines and its sculptors, and laid claim to the first use of marble for statues, ascribed by the ancients to Melas, the head of a family of sculptors (see p. 172). Most distinguished among them were Archermos, son of Mickiades, and his sons Bupalos and Athenis; this union of father with sons in the accounts of Greek artists having been shown by Hirschfeld to indicate that the father was teacher also of the sons.[303] Of Archermos we are told that works by him were to be seen on Delos and Lesbos, and that he was the first to give wings to Nike, the goddess of victory.[304] An anecdote recorded of his sons and the poet Hipponax may give us approximately his date, the poet having lived about the middle of the sixth century B.C. Archermos, accordingly, must have been in his prime very early in that century. But the summary notice of his works gives us no idea of the art of this master: in fact, his very existence would be shadowy were it not for the remarkable discoveries by Homolle on Delos. He found an inscription in very crude and archaic letters, with the full name of Archermos and the fragmentary one of his father Mickiades, as well as the statue belonging with this inscription, conjectured by Furtwängler to be the very winged figure called Nike by the ancients. This inscription is cut into what seems to have been a tall, plain plinth, such as was used for mounting very primitive works, and teaches us, according to the recently discovered fragments, that the figure was consecrated to the goddess Artemis.[305] The statue is of a female figure seventy-five centimeters high, and carved fully in the

round, in fine white Parian marble (Fig. 93). From its crude style, and its cast of features very like the face of the so-called Apollo of Thera (p. 193), as well as the characters of the inscription with Archermos' name, it must belong to the earlier half of the sixth century B.C., confirming the date already inferred from the story about Hipponax. Our statue is clad in a long, flowing garment, which falls in rude folds between the legs, but about the waist fits as tightly as modern corsets, producing an unnatural shape. Holes around the marble band in her hair indicate that a diadem of metal once rested on her head. A necklace of fine design is not painted, but carved in the marble about her neck, imitating the ornaments of jewellery probably used on old idols; and metal ear-rings, as holes indicate, doubtless once adorned her ears. Looking at her lean form in front, with one bared arm dropping at the side, and the other advanced, but now broken, she seems to be moving rapidly. The

Fig. 93. Winged Nike by Archermos of Chios. Myconos.

Fig. 94. Winged Nike by Archermos of Chios.

mystery of her motion is, however, explained on viewing the back of the statue (Fig. 94). Here the broken fragments of the two wings are visible which once spread outward beyond her shoulders, and show that she is flying. Better to appreciate her movement, we may glance at the figure as it would be according to Furtwängler's proposed restoration (Fig. 95), which was made, however, before the new part of the inscription was found, and consequently omits the dedication to Artemis. In this quaint figure so fully furnished with wings, in keeping with the spirit of Ionian art, partial to many wings, we doubtless have the image called Nike by later generations, and giving rise to the report that Archermos first gave Nike wings. The strange appendages attached to her feet must be wings, which once were painted, and often appear on representations of the Gorgon. But how different this rude but beaming, kindly face from the Gorgon's horrible mask! The representation of Nike according to this same scheme appears on a very old image in terra-cotta discovered in Olympia, but with greater success than here; and on the *staters* of the Ionian Kyzicos we see this same type continued.[306] This is a favorite scheme for

moving figures of very olden times; and the crude, exaggerated movement, the face in full front view while the legs are running to the side, have a strong resemblance to the winged figures on early painted vases. Did the master perhaps get his inspiration from poring over some such ancient vase-painting? or are the humbler vases imitations of the greater work in marble? We smile at the primitiveness of Archermos' work, and his utter failure to give the impression of actual motion; yet we observe his careful chiselling of hair and face, and must give him credit for boldness in venturing to represent a figure with extended wings in rapid motion, and that, too, in fragile marble. The contrast between this old Ionian figure of the sixth century and the flying Nike by Paionios of Mende, found at Olympia, as well as the colossal Nike of Samothrake of still later date (see Sel. Plate XIV.), is so strikingly great, that these works should hardly be brought together; and yet the comparison enforces upon us the conviction of the springing and germinant power in Greek art, and we are better able to see what tremendous strides were made by the artist as he continued his experiments in his beautiful marble. The kinship between this statue and others on Delos is evident, not only in the peculiar rendering of hair and necklace, but also of the foldless mantle; and it happily widens our knowledge of early Ionian art.

Fig. 95. Winged Nike by Archermos. Conjectural Restoration.

Of Archermos' sons and scholars we know, alas! very little. Their works are stated to have been statues of the Graces, of Tyche, and of Artemis, respectively, at Smyrna, Pergamon, Lasos on Crete, and at Chios itself, as well as figures which the Emperor Augustus removed to Rome, decorating with them temples.[307] It is now generally thought that the latter were not pedimental groups, but simple archaic figures crowning the summit and corners of the pediments, in the manner of archaic *acroteria* found in Etruscan art, which long copied early Ionian patterns.[308]

South-east of Chios, clinging to the shore, midway between Ephesos and Miletos, is the island Samos, famous for its statesmen, philosophers, artists, and shrines. We need but call to mind the power of Polycrates, the tyrant here of the latter part of the sixth century, the stories of his wealth and daring independence, to realize the importance of the island. Its wealth is indicated by the Temple of Hera, celebrated in all the ancient world on account of its size, its architecture, and the preciousness of its statues. Its extensive ruins still witness to the generosity of the insular builders; and the

wonderful aqueduct in admirable preservation, recently explored, is another eloquent witness to their public spirit.[309] Among the artists of this island may first be mentioned Menesarchos, a gem-cutter, who was the father of Pythagoras the philosopher.[310] His fame was, however, eclipsed by two other men, Rhoicos and Theodoros, sons of Phileas and Telecles. To them are attributed extensive architectural works, casting in bronze, and even literary productions. So varied and numerous are the works ascribed to these men, especially to Theodoros, that scholars were long inclined to consider their names as standing for two distinct sets of artists; but recent research has well-nigh settled the question, and done away with the dangerous expedient of doubling the ancient artists when their chronology is difficult.[311] Wherein the inventions of Rhoicos and Theodoros consisted, and why Pausanias should have said that thus "works of art could be produced," is an unsolved problem.[312] Possibly their improvements may have been in the direction of hollow casting.

In the modern processes of casting, the mould is either in many pieces or in one single whole.[313] When a single piece is used, a core of plaster is first made by the sculptor, roughly presenting the desired form. Over this he lays a coating of wax, which he finely models with all the delicate touches giving expression. Over this waxen model, layer by layer, is laid a coating of plaster thoroughly enveloping it. When this has hardened, the whole is heated, and the wax flows out, leaving behind an empty space. The liquid metal is now poured in, filling the whole, and adapting itself to every nook and crevice of the mould. When the metal has cooled and hardened, the external envelope of plaster is broken away, and the inner kernel is removed, which leaves a hollow metal statue combining lightness with strength. The roughnesses are then chiselled away, fine lines are sometimes added, and the completed work of art stands before us. But this process with wax, called *cire perdue*, is seldom employed at the present day; since the mould thus made can be used but once. This pecuniary disadvantage to modern trade, so dependent for its profits upon numerous repetitions of one subject, is obviated by the use of strong piece-moulds, into the hollows of which a fire-proof core is laid, an intermediate space being left to be filled with the molten metal. The pieces thus cast are united; the leg, for instance, being adjusted to its place in the body by blows, and then firmly screwed or riveted in. That similar processes were employed by the ancients seems evident from a painting representing the interior of a bronze-caster's workshop, on a vase now in the museum at Berlin.[314] Here a workman pounds an arm into its place, while the head lies detached at his feet awaiting its turn.

Granting due honor to the Samian masters for any originality in casting in bronze, — a process which in its perfected state is, as we have seen, most complicated, — there is reason to believe that they owed much to the East;

one Greek author even saying that they were scholars of Egypt. Their island home, enriched by commerce, had its settlement in the Egyptian Naucratis. Near neighbors of the Asiatic coasts, the islanders early had intercourse with Asia Minor, receiving thence articles of industry and luxury. In the eighth century B.C. the men, as well as women, of Samos, wore ear-rings, necklaces, and other golden ornaments, showing a decidedly Oriental extravagance and taste. The statues of these old Samian masters, when mentioned, are described as exceedingly rude. Such was the bronze figure called Night, in the temple at Ephesos.[315] A still more famous statue at Samos, of Apollo, is said by Diodoros to have been executed by Theodoros and his brother Telecles, after the canon of proportions which they had learned in Egypt.[316] This, according to the story, enabled them, though living apart, to work at the same figure, one-half of which, executed by Theodoros at Ephesos, was found to tally with the other half made by Telecles at Samos. A bronze figure by Theodoros, said to have been a portrait of himself, held with three fingers a quadriga covered by a fly. The description is enigmatical; but may refer to a stone cut in the style of a scarab, with a spread fly on the upper and a chariot and horses on the lower side.[317]

Fig. 96. Draped Statue found in Samos, probably Hera.

Great weight was attached to Theodoros' vessels of precious metal. One of these in silver, said to have been so large as to hold more than forty-nine thousand gallons, was sent by the Lydian Crœsus as a votive offering to the temple at Delphi. Another, of gold, stood in the apartments of a Persian king. A grape-vine of gold, on which the grapes were precious stones; and the celebrated seal-ring owned by Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos, — were also said to have been the work of Theodoros.[318] The praise of his vessels for mixing libations, while the figures of his school are spoken of as stiff and rude, may indicate that decorative and industrial art was his strong point.

These Samians are said to have built the renowned Lemnian labyrinth with its one hundred and fifty columns, and the Temple of Hera, on their native island. Theodoros' name is also associated with the building of the temple at Ephesos, and Mr. Wood's excavations on the site have furnished remarkable corroboration of the statements of the ancients. Previous to the erection of the great temple, Theodoros is said to have advised preparing for the foundations by laying in the marshy soil a layer of charcoal, which the ancients tell us was put between fleeces of wool. This tradition, long considered a fanciful story, has at last been proved, in part at least, to be true. Under the lowest foundations, Mr. Wood discovered a layer of charcoal three inches thick, between two strata four inches thick of a substance of the consistency of putty, found on analysis to be a kind of mortar.[319]

Happily at last a speaking witness to the skill of early Samian sculptors in marble has been found on their native island, within the precincts of its great temple.[320] Among the secondary shrines which seem to have surrounded the temple proper was discovered a statue measuring 1.92 meters in height, and of white, large-grained marble, like that of Paros (Fig. 96). The shape of the letters of its inscription, and the careful workmanship of the statue, give as its date the end of the sixth, or the beginning of the fifth, century B.C. We notice at once the stiff, erect form, in general resembling that of Nicandra's votive gift at Delos (Fig. 89). But this marble figure illustrates the growth from such unwieldy works, in which the influence of wooden patterns was felt, to those in which the statue becomes in spirit almost thoroughly a marble production. Here we see a very richly dressed lady, and close examination shows how elaborate and painfully fine are the details of her wardrobe. Not the two simple garments usually met with in Greek statues of a more perfected art, but four are clearly to be distinguished. A long under-robe of light and apparently ribbed stuff falls from shoulders to feet, and is girded at the waist. Over this a coarser shawl-like mantle is thrown, buttoned many times on the arm, which is left bare below the elbow. The third wrap hangs most curiously from the girdle in a curve above, and falls in a straight, bordered mass around the body nearly to the feet. The fourth garment, not to be seen in the plate, falls from the neck straight down the back, nearly to the bottom of the third. The right hand and arm, both worked out with care, hold the stiff drapery at the side; while the left hand, but partially preserved, is laid across the breast, where a hole indicates that some attribute, perhaps a pomegranate or flower, was originally fastened. But who may be this quaint, elaborately dressed lady from the temple-courts? The inscription carved into the border of her second mantle, where it is attached to the belt, addresses the beholder with the words, "Xerameus consecrated me a votive gift to Hera;" and it is probable that the richly draped statue represents Hera herself. The wardrobe of this temple divinity at Samos, according to an inscription discovered there in 1877, was very rich.[321] There were many tunics of various colors, and mantles of fine tissues; and may we not imagine the sculptor, in his representation of Hera, to have been influenced by the sight of the old *xoana*, hung with such rich and costly garments? The style of the sculpture is exceedingly interesting, as being much like that of the famous statues from Miletos, discovered by Professor Newton, and now in the British Museum (p. 179). An elaborateness of drapery is seen in them also, as well as the failure to render the form under the heavy folds.

Thus we see, that, from the islands of the Ægean, many monuments of greatest importance for the history of very early Greek sculpture have been rescued; and we can only hope that other long-hidden treasures will soon be brought to light.

CHAPTER XIII.

BEGINNINGS AND GROWTH OF SCULPTURE IN MARBLE DURING THE SIXTH CENTURY B.C. *(concluded)*.—GREECE AND SICILY.

Art in Crete and the Peloponnesos. — Traditional Art. — Rude Cretan Bronzes. —The Scholars of Dipoinos and Skyllis. — Discoveries of Homolle. — Gitiadas. — Argos and Sikyon. — Argive Works at Olympia. — Similar Works in Dodona and Etruria. — Apollo of Tenea. — Monuments from Sparta. — Chrysapha Relief, etc. — Significance of these Sculptures. — Their Growth and Artistic Features. — Attempts at Portraiture in Lakedaimonian Art. — Sculptures from Meligù, Selinus, and Kythera. — Sculptures at Olympia. — Colossal Head of Hera. — Bronze Head of Zeus. — Figure of Zeus. — Treasury of Megara. — Its Primitive Style. — Archaic Art in Bœotia. — So-called Apollo of Orchomenos. — Relief from Tanagra. — Significance of these Works. — Their Style and Origin. — Foreign Influences in Attica. — Use of Foreign Stone. — Athena by Endoios. — Attic Tomb-sculptures. — Marble Head of Athena from Acropolis. — The Attic Type. — Fragmentary Statues from the Acropolis. — Sphinx from Spata. — Tombstone Figure from Athens. — Relief from Themistocles' Wall. — Tombstones of Aristion and Lyseas. — Peculiarities of Attic Tomb-reliefs. — Relief in advance of Statuary. — Ægina. — Head from Saburoff Collection. — Art in Sicily and Southern Italy. — Sculptures from Selinus. — General Characteristics of Art at this time. — Influence of Contemporary Customs on the Artist.

LEAVING the art of Asia Minor and the islands in the sixth century B.C., we turn to that of Crete and its disciple, the Peloponnesos, for the same period. Crete, the fabled home of Daidalos and the Telchines, had doubtless still a flourishing art-life. Pausanias drops an obscure sentence about the fame of the Cretans in executing *xoana*.[322] The fact that two celebrated Cretan sculptors, the brothers Dipoinos and Skyllis, now moved to the Peloponnesos, where they worked, and gathered around them a large number of scholars, even from distant Italy, shows conclusively the artistic importance of Crete during the sixth century. According to Pliny, these men, whom tradition styled the sons of Daidalos himself, took up their home in the Peloponnesos before Cyrus came to the Persian throne ; and their date is consequently placed about 580 B.C., or the opening of this century.[323] The temples of Cleonai, Argos, and Sikyon, as well as of far-off Ambrakia in Aitolia, were said to be full of their works ; and a gilded bronze figure of Heracles from their hands was owned by the rich Crœsus of Lydia, and formed a part of the booty carried off by Cyrus when he conquered that king in 541 B.C.[324] The most of their works seem to have been combinations of wood, ivory, and probably gold. In the temple of the Dioscuri, at Argos, was seen an equestrian group of these demi-gods and their families,

executed in ebony and ivory; but the statement by Pliny, that these men worked in marble, is probably groundless.[325]

Such having been the perishable construction of the works of the early Cretan masters known to us, it is not strange that only small remains in bronze and terra-cotta have been found on the island; although excavations may yet serve to enlighten us upon its early art, and would be of highest importance for its history. Two rude bronzes were found in Crete, which once probably adorned a vessel of the same material.[326] One is a statuette of a nude youth, — perhaps a worshipper, — bearing a goat upon his shoulder, and is now in the Berlin Museum: the other is a relief, cut out *à jour* (Fig. 97). It was evidently intended to be applied to a background, perhaps the body of a *cista*, or cylindrical casket, like one now in the Berlin Museum, from Capua, which is surmounted by a similar goat-bearing figure. The scene on this Cretan bronze, in which a bearded man with bow in hand takes hold of the arm of a younger comrade bearing a long-horned goat on his shoulder, is doubtless a parley between two simple hunters. The lack of proper individualization in these crude shapes makes it impossible to detect any deeper mythological meaning. The main interest lies in the curious style and technique. The treatment of the metal brings up the question whether Dipoinos and Skyllis may not have used a similar *appliqué* style with ivory and woods in executing statues of the heroes and gods. So crude and undeveloped are these products, that they may with safety be assigned to the latter half of the seventh, or very early part of the sixth, century.

Fig. 97. Bronze Relief from Crete.

In the Peloponnesos the Lakedaimonian brothers, Dorycleidas and Dontas, were scholars of Dipoinos and Skyllis, and seem to have carried out the peculiar technique of their foreign teachers, executing groups in wood, decorated with gold and ivory, for the treasure-houses at Olympia, where they were seen by Pausanias long centuries afterwards. This writer gives them but a passing notice; and although the Treasury was discovered where their works stood, still no fragments or tokens of their costly work were found.[327] Of Clearchos of Rhegion in Italy, also said to have been a scholar of the celebrated Cretan masters, we know but little, except that he executed a figure of Zeus for Sparta in the oldest manner of hammering out and riveting together the pieces of metal.[328] Two other sculptors, Tectaios and Angelion, also called scholars of Dipoinos and Skyllis, and probably natives of the island Cos, continued the chryselephantine style of these masters, and executed for

Apollo's shrine at Delos a statue of the god, who appeared holding his bow in one hand and the three Graces on the other.[329] M. Homolle has recently discovered the accounts made by officials of Delos of the accumulated treasure of the temple, among which these Graces on the hand of the god are mentioned. On Athenian coins we recognize this figure of the god holding his bow and the Graces; its pose being that so often met with in extant works of this time, in which the nude figure stands erect, like the Naxos Apollo, mentioned p. 191, with arms raised from the elbow, and holding attributes.[330]

Gitiadas of Sparta, poet, architect, and sculptor at once, was probably a younger contemporary of the Cretan masters. Besides decorating votive tripods with figures of the gods, he built a temple to Athena, and executed for it the statue of the goddess, adorning his work with extensive bronze reliefs of the labors of Heracles, the birth of Athena, and other mythological scenes, continuing, it would seem, an old system in covering statue and temple interior with bronze.[331]

In the Peloponnesos, whither Dipoinos and Skyllis had come introducing their art, Argos and Sikyon seem always to have been the most important centres of art-influence. Argos had its own sculptors from olden times; and their descendants were proud of such antecedents, as appears from the statement of Pausanias, that he saw an inscription on a statue erected about Olymp. 70, which stated, that the sculptors who executed it "had learned from those who had gone before." [332] The old Argive and Sikyon masters seem to have worked mainly in bronze, a characteristic which was always retained; while neighboring Attica developed more the use of marble, gold, and ivory. This decided preference for metal, a material so tempting to the avarice of man, may explain the lack of monuments traceable to workshops of Argos and Sikyon. A few unpretending bronze reliefs, doubtless once the incrustation of some sacred utensil, were, however, found at Olympia, inscribed with Argive characters, and are among the earliest works that we have from Argos. They are hammered out in thin metal, and the scenes represented are apparently mythic. Within a border, like braided work, and another of squares resembling metopes and triglyphs, is a running winged figure at full speed, in the peculiar half-kneeling pose of the old art: again, two men seem to converse over a fallen body. In a third relief (Fig. 98 *a*) we see a part of the figure of the bound Prometheus in the same pose as on an island gem (Fig. 73).[333] The most interesting of these metal incrustations is that in which Heracles (Fig. 98 *b*) wrestles with a semi-fish, semi-human being, called, in the accompanying inscription, Halios Geron, the wise monster of the deep, whose origin is to be traced to Oriental myth, and who resembles the fishy monster in the Assos sculptures. The forms on these old bits of bronze are such, that, in connection with the shape of the letters of the inscription, they may be assigned to the latter half of the sixth century. On them Heracles still appears without

his lion's skin, but carrying his bow, and wearing the quiver on his back. The finding at Dodona and in Etruria of metal reliefs, exactly like these old Argive bronzes, one of which is now in the museum at Carlsruhe, indicates that these works were articles of export trade, and shows us one of the sources whence Etruria drew her art-forms.[334]

Not many hours' journey from Argos at Tenea, that marble statue was found, now in Munich, generally known as the Apollo of Tenea (Fig. 99), which in its type is like the statues described above as found on Thera and Naxos. It receives its name on account of its being a nude, beardless youth, wearing long hair, — characteristics supposed to have belonged exclusively to Apollo. But that such flowing locks in archaic art were found on mortals, appears from a crude bronze relief from Olympia, in which two nude men are wrestling, one of them having long hair falling down his back. Besides, the

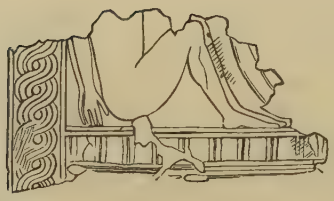

Fig. 98 a. Bronze Relief from Argos. Discovered in Olympia.

Fig. 98 b. Bronze Relief from Argos. Discovered in Olympia. Heracles struggling with Halios Geron.

site of discovery was a burial-place, well-nigh proving, that not a god, but the deceased, appears here.[335] This naïve old statue from Tenea stands with hands at the side, both feet planted flat on the ground, the left slightly in advance. The hands are tightly closed, and the long hair falls in waves of conventional regularity down the back. The corners of the closed mouth are so drawn up as to seem to smile, and the almond-shaped eyes are obliquely set. So bald is the framework of this statue, and so harsh its lines, that Brunn sees in it an illustration of that process by which old wooden statues were transmitted into works in stone.[336] The curves about the corners of the mouth are like those cut by a knife, having a sharpness unnatural to marble. But we see here an honest endeavor to render nature. The legs and feet are more successfully given than the broader, more difficult forms of the chest. The muscles of the thighs, though too massive, indicate in the flow of their lines a capability of tension which would make them true mediums of motion and manly strength. The shoulders slope unnaturally, the neck appears stretched, and the loins are disproportionately slender. These imperfections are, however,

somewhat atoned for by the nicety with which the general forms are adjusted, the painstaking in the details, and the skill shown in the handling of the marble. But how far yet from agreeable portraiture is this strange face, with its retreating forehead and projecting chin!

A remarkable series of monuments, discovered within a few years in the neighborhood of Sparta, ancient Lakedaimonia, show us a strongly local art, as having flourished in the confined valley of the Eurotas. Together with many other relics, recently unearthed in and about Sparta, they are for the most part collected in a museum in that ancient city. This series, as well as an Arcadian relief now in Athens, are especially interesting as throwing light upon hitherto unknown ancient customs with regard to the dead; and the subjects, being frequently repeated, allow us to follow art in its development towards truth to nature and beauty of form, while clinging to the same old type. These sculptures, no less than thirteen in number, are variations on one theme, a male and a female throned figure, and were tombstone reliefs, as appears from the position in which several of them were found.[337]

Fig. 99. The so-called Apollo from Tenea. Munich.

The earliest, which, judging from its style, dates from 600 to 550 B.C., was found at Chrysapha, three hours east of Sparta, in a tumulus of earth and stone, and is now owned by M. Saburoff, Russian ambassador at Berlin (Fig. 100). It is in the bluish-gray stone of the place, and in perfect preservation. The slab on which it is cut is rectangular below; but its sides are not straight by the rule, and follow the outline of the group. Here, on a high throne, its back ending in a palm-leaf, and its feet resembling lions' claws, two large figures are seated side by side. The nearer looks out with full front face towards the beholder; his neck has the width of the face; and over his shoulders and chest drop four rigid locks, like rows of beads. One hand is advanced, holding a large vase or *cantharos* of beautiful shape: the other is empty, and extended with open palm. The body, which appears like one flat surface, is covered by a garment, indicated only by a few exactly parallel folds running across the form, and finished by a hem. The ankle-bones are rendered with a nearer approach to nature than any thing else in this curious figure. A wedge-shaped beard is sparingly marked on the large chin. The corners of the mouth are drawn up, giving that peculiar expression so frequently met with in archaic Greek works; and the ears, placed high on the head, stand out from it. Occupying the same throne sits an equally erect female figure, with face in profile. A broad braid crosses her forehead, and a curl as stiff as those of her companion drops below the ear. Her mouth is small and straight, chin large and full, bosom

high and prominent. Her left hand holds, with rudely executed thumb and forefinger, a veil, which is only indicated by its raised edge. Her right hand holds upon her lap a pomegranate. Parallel lines across the knee show that the sculptor meant to represent her as draped; and one foot is hidden in a pointed shoe, like those seen on ancient monuments of Asia Minor. Below these two large figures we discern two diminutive shapes, — a man approaching, bearing a cock and an egg; and a woman with a pomegranate and conventionally formed bud. Both of these minute figures are fully draped, the garments following in sharp lines the contour of the bodies. The woman has her dress buttoned on the shoulder, and in general resembles the enthroned figure to whom she brings offerings. A snake, with a long, narrow beard, raises itself behind the throne, having a large comb on its dog-like head, and its tail curled under the throne, thus filling out the space otherwise vacant.

Fig. 100. Tomb Relief found at Chrysapha, near Sparta. Saburoff Collection.

Inscriptions on several similar reliefs aid us in understanding the significance of these monuments. On one we are told that a wife, Tyche, dedicated the stele to her husband, Micos; and other inscriptions make it probable that these seated figures are representations of the heroed dead, receiving the homage of kindred and friends, and not of the great divinities of the underworld, as was at first supposed.[338]

As the ancient Greek raised temples to his god; so, in the same spirit of devotion, he put up these humbler monuments to his dead, honoring them, as it would seem, with the garments and symbols of the nether world, — Dionysos' *cantharos*, Persephone's pomegranate and veil, and the sacred snake. Following these interesting reliefs approximately, in the order of their development, we next notice one now in Sparta, in which the subject is the same as in that just described, but with a difference in the details.[339] A dog, doubtless, like the snake and pomegranate, of symbolical meaning, sits against the leg of the throne, regarding the little worshippers who approach. The latter do not straggle along, but stand side by side in perspective. There is less rigidity in the lines of this relief; although the same sharp treatment, as if in layers measured off, is evident. Other reliefs, with groups facing in the opposite direction, show a decided advance on this very old class.[340] From these the little worshippers have disappeared, the scheme is simpler, and in one case we are astonished by the naturalness of a piece of drapery falling over the arm of the throne. The vase is smaller than in the former reliefs, and the surface is more

agreeably filled. A very interesting variation on these reliefs, and bringing new light on certain points, is one in which the hero appears alone, seated on his lotos-crowned throne (Fig. 101). The pomegranate and *cantharos* are here, but the snake has disappeared; and in its place is a trotting-horse, and a dog leaping up on the hero's knees.[341] In the older reliefs, the dog sits stiffly by the side of the throne, — a cold symbol: here he is made to give expression to his friendly interest; and, although his form is faulty, we are touched by this attempt of the old carver to weave a kindly, loving element into his work. The drapery is only partially carved out; the remainder having, doubtless, been expressed by color.

We meet this quaint figure again in a relief which may date from soon after 500 B.C. His throne has become more elegant, the hair more natural, the eyes less oblique; and we see in the folds of the sleeve some correspondence to the form of the arm beneath. The enthroned lady holds out her veil less stiffly; and her hand, enveloped in its folds, is indicated through them. The man is also in profile; and, although the folds of his dress are straight, they are no longer so stiffly parallel: and the whole relief has come to be an agreeable representation.

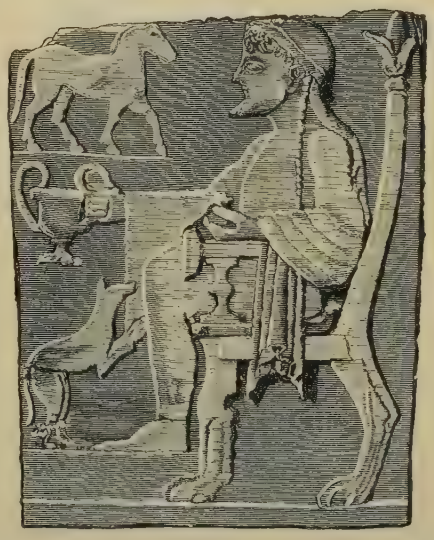

Fig. 101. Tombstone Relief from Lakedaimonia. Private possession.

Out of the small worshippers of the older scenes, independent types seem to have grown. Thus, a girl bearing a bud seems a development of the tiny, uncouth worshipper of Fig. 100; and how exquisitely such a motive was carried still farther will be seen in another relief, now in the Louvre, from Pharsalos (Fig. 130). On still another of these very archaic sepulchral reliefs from Arcadia, and now in Athens, the veiled woman, holding a flower, occupies a throne alone.[342] Before her stands a youth, offering a wreath to her companion. Of the latter, the feet alone are left; but, judging from analogy with later sculptures, there can be no doubt that he appeared reclining, as at the feast of the dead. In this relief, we see the archaic prototype of a class of representations which became very common in later times, one of which is given in Fig. 213. Throughout this series of reliefs from ancient Lakedaimonia, there is noticeable a striving to subordinate the details, the whole being divided off into broad planes. We feel that the sculptor was guided by a mathematical principle, which, although harsh and stiff, does not seem to represent a thoroughly child-like art, groping to find its way, but has a firmness only to be

explained by supposing that the sculptor copied older and already established types. This original type, as we may conclude from the peculiar treatment of the earliest of these reliefs, must have been in wood. The figures have something unbending in the edges, board-like in their surfaces, and are notched in the folds. Moreover, the Laconian land is known to have been especially rich in most ancient wooden figures of various kinds. The so-called Spartan stele, which has been the subject of much discussion, has the same general character as the works already described.[343]

In addition to their dependence upon wood, it is thought by Brunn, that in the breadth and sharpness inherent in the style of these works may be discerned a peculiar characteristic of what he deems Peloponnesian art, and which, he thinks, sought, not a free imitation of nature, but its subjugation to the severe lines of architectonic build; while the pleasing details of drapery and the like have led others to see in these old works the influence of the old Ionian, indicated in the tradition connected with Bathycles from Magnesia. The striking resemblances in subject, and some details of garment, to the Harpy monument, — those sculptures found in Lykia, doubtless traceable to Ionian influence, — go farther to confirm the theory, that here early influences from Asia Minor were at work.

That in the very olden time the sculptors of ancient Laconia attempted portraiture, appears from a small archaic marble head, now in private possession, which was found in Meligù, a village on the site of ancient Thyrea.[344] Although exceedingly crude, we feel that the artist has tried to represent the characteristics and friendliness of life, while leaving many details to be expressed by color. A small bronze discovered in 1871 at Kosmasanct (Selinus), in the midst of Laconia, and now belonging to the Archæological Society at Athens, is another interesting witness to the early art of this part of the land.[345] It represents a warrior in armor, wearing a tall, plumed helmet, close-fitting breastplate, and greaves. His hair falls in a long, heavy mass down his back, and a pointed beard hangs from his chin. The right arm, doubtless, once held a lance; and the left is lowered, as though carrying a shield. He places both feet flat on the ground, the left slightly in advance, and has altogether a martial bearing. The inscription surrounding the base tells us, that one Carmos dedicated this figure, perhaps of himself, to the god Maleates, — a name under which Apollo was worshipped in the Peloponnesos. The figure has a precision of outline and lean firmness throughout which is peculiar. The details of this well-preserved bronze, which appear through the *patina*, are, moreover, subservient to the general build and conception of the whole, and give this small figure a decided character and importance in the history of ancient Laconian art. The shape of the letters of its inscription fixes its date at about the end of the sixth century. A statuette of kindred firm style, and equally fine workmanship, now in Berlin, was discovered at Olympia. This

statuette wears a short jacket reaching to the waist, and is otherwise nude. It seems to represent an ordinary worshipper; but the same figure in another instance has received the lion's skin, and become a Heracles.[346] A very fine, nearly life-size bronze head from Kythera (Cerigo), now in the Berlin Museum, shows us this firm, energetic style developed on a large scale, there being a certainty of expression throughout its forms (Fig. 102). This head represents, without doubt, a goddess, and, by comparison with archaic coins of Cnidos, is seen to be Aphrodite, who from ancient times was worshipped at Kythera.[347] The eyeballs, once filled to represent the pupil, have now lost their contents. When looking at this plain ideal of Aphrodite, how long and arduous seems the road still to be travelled by Greek art until it should climb to the height where stood Praxiteles' love-inspiring goddess! In this bronze, Brunn finds a mathematical architectonic build of the framework. The surface planes are clearly marked,

Fig. 102. Bronze Head, probably Aphrodite. From Kythera. Berlin Museum.

Fig. 103. Colossal Head in Limestone, probably Hera. Olympia.

but all the softer and naturally changing forms of muscle and skin are omitted. The hair is treated in masses, varied only by shallow surface-lines. Thus the build of the face offers little change of surface. In its long oval the forehead is archless, the eyes retreat but slightly, the overhanging of the eyebrows is barely intimated by a raised line, the nose appears as if superadded, and the mouth, about which plays a quaint smile, is subordinated to the strong chin. All superfluous detail being thus omitted, there is throughout the work extreme moderation in following nature, combined with remarkable skill in rendering that which the sculptor chose. In earlier works, such as the Apollo of Tenea, incapacity and ignorance seem to have affected conception and execution. Here, however, no unskilled mind or hand was at work. Experimenting is nowhere evident. The sculptor seems to go methodically to work, paring down, as it were, every thing accidental or superfluous, according to a sure, but stern system. This could not have been the hap-hazard experimenting of a single man, but the result of a long discipline. Such a well-trained school, literary notices warrant us in believing, existed in Argos and Sikyon, and should

come in Polycleitos to ripest fruition. Possibly this head had its origin in these centres of art-activity; but, as yet, analogies fail to prove the certainty of this supposition.

Turning to the western Peloponnesos, we find in Olympia many witnesses to the activity of this olden time. But we must remember, that to this sacred spot flowed gifts from all parts of the ancient Greek world; and hence works of every school and national type must have stood here side by side. To group the kindred monuments, and trace back these families to the hearth-stones whence they came, are among the great and glorious tasks which now rest upon the archæologist, who out of ruined, confused monuments, must build up again the stately fabric of old.

The monuments in the stone of the neighborhood were doubtless executed on the spot, but it seems clear that they were often the work of masters from abroad. Thus the Treasuries of the Sicilians at Olympia have been shown to be the work of Sicilian architects, from their kinship to works in Sicily; and it is possible that some day the same may be proved for their sculptures.[348] Among the oldest monuments at Olympia is a colossal head (Fig. 103), in the yellowish-white limestone of the neighborhood, the same material as a large pedestal which must have borne the sacred image of Hera, since it was found at the inner end of her very ancient temple.[349] This head, a very crude piece of sculpture, there can be little doubt belonged to this very ancient idol of that goddess, seen by Pausanias in the temple, and described as a very coarse piece of work.[350] It seems to belong to the very beginnings of working in stone. No such firm treatment is evident here as in the Chrysapha relief or Kythera Aphrodite, but a seeking after modes of expression. Color was apparent on this colossal head when first discovered; its head-dress, the *calathos*, being light red, and the *tænia* winding through the hair dark red. The pupils of the eyes are marked by a circle scratched in the stone, and emphasized by color. The ear is egregiously misplaced; being, unlike most archaic ears, far too low down. In view of its feeble forms, we do not wonder that Pausanias was struck by its ugliness in a temple which contained works in gold, ivory, and cedar-wood, and even Praxiteles' Hermes. When, however, we remember that from such crude ideals of the great Hera floating in primitive minds, should in time be developed the queenly features of a Juno Ludovisi, our interest, at least, is enlisted for this feeble beginning.

A far more developed art, with lean, firm forms, is seen in a fine bronze head (Fig. 104) discovered at Olympia, and doubtless representing Zeus. How strong and concise the artist's language here, in which every detail is subjected to the main impression! But this head is especially interesting as showing us in life-size the old type in which artists before Pheidias represented the supreme god. The elaborate *coiffure*, and the long, pointed beard, suggest a time when artists must have seen around them a more complicated

arrangement of the hair than that in vogue in the time after the Persian war. A terra-cotta head, also found at Olympia, shows us this type and expression, which has, however, lost much of the archaic harshness of the bronze.[351] A Zeus in full, quaint figure is also represented among these bronzes; but his whole appearance has still nothing that inspires us with an idea of the god-like, which was yet to be expressed by coming artists, standing on the shoulders of those who had gone before.

Important among the most archaic sculptures discovered at Olympia, but unfortunately very seriously injured, are those high reliefs which adorned the pediment of the Treasury of the people of Megara. They form the oldest pedimental group known to us, and are referred to by Pausanias.[352] They decorated the exterior of the building in which stood the small figures in cedar-wood and gold by Dontas and Dorycleidas, mentioned p. 202, and may possibly be connected with the ancient art of Laconia, the home of those masters. They are, doubtless, from the latter half of the sixth century B.C., and, although in the coarse stone of the land, show upon what compositions those old men ventured in decorating the Treasuries of the *altis*. The scene represents in crudest forms the combat of gods and giants, a subject which should attain long afterwards fullest expression in the powerful frieze of the Great Altar at Pergamon. Parts of all the groups are fortunately preserved to us, as well as many architectural fragments. The giants are clad in full armor, and seem complete but very brutal human beings, their faces calling to mind those of the centaurs of the great Temple of Zeus. But the composition is the most interesting feature of these stiff reliefs, there being observed that strict correspondence of parts met with in all early Greek compositions. In the centre, not a single figure, but a struggling group of two, appears, doubtless Zeus and a giant. On each side follow two groups of combatants, — to the right, according to Treu's interpretation, (1) Athena and a giant; (2) Poseidon and a giant. To the left are (1) Heracles with his foe; (2) Ares with his, and in the corners a sea-monster and what seems to be a serpent. There is, then, that symmetry to be met with constantly in later times, but here still monotonously regular; and in the single groups the exaggerated motion, so marked in archaic relief, is everywhere evident. Other peculiarities of composition show still other incipient stages of what should be developed by Greek genius into the highest results. Thus there is an earnest attempt to fill out the sloping space of the

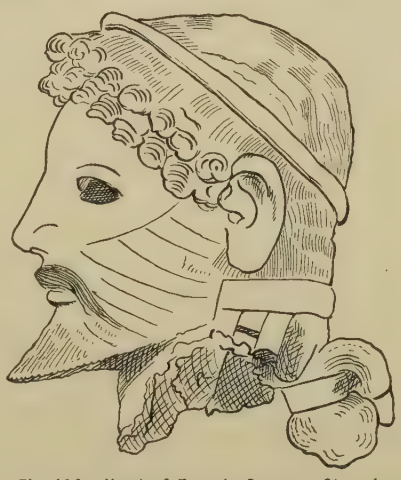

Fig. 104. Head of Zeus in Bronze. Olympia.

pediment: but, in so doing, the early artist has not avoided great disproportion between the lying, kneeling, and standing forms; the latter, as in the Temple of Assos, being amusingly small. In the crowded space, legs and arms cross one another, doubtless to break in part the iron symmetry followed, but in reality producing confusion. The movement of the figures is from the centre outward, giving the impression that the giants flee on each side before the gods. So unskilfully is this done, however, that even the gods seem to be in danger of running their heads against the slope of the pediment. Much is left to color, which is altogether conventional; hair, lips, and eyes alike having a fiery red.

In Bœotia, in the sixth century, archaic art seems to have been striving, though in a feeble way, to express itself. In the different museums at Thebes, Tanagra (Skimatari), Thespiai (Eumocastro), and Chaironeia (Capurna), are collected many specimens of sculpture discovered in that state. Others are still scattered throughout the land, and some have been removed to Athens. Among the very earliest is the crude statue of a nude youth from Orchomenos, after the exact scheme of the so-called Apollo's of Tenea and Thera.[353] The primitive artist here seems to attempt, with some independence, a representation, in rough Bœotian stone, of a pattern received, perhaps, from abroad. His lack of success appears in the coarse features, and amusing anatomy of the muscles of the abdomen. Another smaller statue, proved to be likewise originally from Bœotia, and now in the British Museum, is much in advance of it, and, while much ruined, still shows that a genuine striving to represent truthfully the human form was attaining good results (Fig. 105). A work in very high relief, discovered in a necropolis at Tanagra, shows a primitive and poor attempt to combine two figures of this old type in one group.[354] The accompanying inscription teaches us, that they represent Dermys and Kitylos; but such is the advanced character of the letters, that the sculpture must have been executed late in the sixth century, and not as early as was at first conjectured from its shockingly crude and barbarous forms. Compared with a monument of Agathon and Aristocrates at Thespiai, which has the same style of letters, but a vastly superior art, we see that the Dermys and Kitylos monument is not older work, but that of men left far behind in the race. The fact that these old, standing nude figures, with one foot in advance, were used for sepulchres, goes to strengthen the idea that the Orchomenos and British-Museum statues, following the same type, were also not of gods, but heroed mortals. It seems equally certain, however, that this very type, sometimes at least, represented Apollo; since in a Pompeian picture the same figure appears with an altar before it. Whence this type came, and who the artists that originated it, are questions that have long awakened inquiry.

With slight differences, the motive is the same in the Orchomenos, British-Museum, Thera, and Tenea statues, as well as in two from Actium, now in

the Louvre. In all, the figure stands with left foot advanced, both arms hanging at the side, and separated from the body only at the waist. The hands are closed tightly, so that the broad side of the thumb is turned outward: the hair in all falls down the neck, and the legs are carefully worked out. It has been conjectured that this original type may be traced back to the old Daidalid sculptors, Dipoinos and Skyllis, from Crete, whose art spread over the Peloponnesos, and must have been different from that of Ionia.[355] To them may possibly be traced these representations of the nude male form, in contrast to the Ionians, who wore long garments, which they represented by preference in their art. The Cretan Daidalid sculptors, unlike the Ionians, worked, not in marble, but wood and metal, and may have built on the groundwork of a severe type similar to that of Egypt, with which, on account of their proximity to that country, they may easily have become acquainted. That the influence of foreign art was strong in Bœotia appears, besides, from the inscribed tombstone carved there by the Naxian Alxenor (see p. 192). We shall see, that, in later monuments, Attic influence was strong; and that, so far as we know, there never flourished in Bœotia an independent native art, like that of its neighbors, Argos, Sikyon, and Attica.

Fig. 105. Nude Male Figure with Long Hair, from Bœotia. British Museum.

We may now turn to Attica itself, the land that should give birth to the greatest sculptors. At the beginning of the sixth century a Solon lived, framing for Athens wise laws. As time passed on, the Peisistratidæ came to power. They made internal improvements, built a temple to Athena, and erected an altar to the twelve great gods of Olympos; but, by 510 B.C., this house was deprived of its power by the people seeking greater liberty. Tradition claimed that the descendants of Daidalos worked in Athens, thus implying that there had long been a national Attic art: but there are signs, that, during the sixth century, Attica, in sculpture, was under the tutelage of Parian and Ionian masters; slowly developing, however, her own peculiar character.[356] Of the sculptors of this age, known to us by inscriptions, there is scarcely one not proved to be a foreigner; the very material used in Athens was Parian, not native Attic marble; and the types were the same as those found on the islands and in Ionia. Even the metrical verses on the old Attic *hermæ*, put up as waymarks by the Peisistratidæ, were foreign, and may be traced to Ionic poets.[357]

On four different pedestals of Parian marble, found in Attica, the name of Aristion, a Parian artist, is inscribed; the form of the letters proving that his works date from the sixth century B.C.[358] Unfortunately, the sculptures which once stood over them, and were intended for graves, are gone.

Endoios, whom we have already seen to have been an Ionian, executed a seated statue of Athena, consecrated by Callias, and seen on the Acropolis near the Erechtheion, by Pausanias.[359] It is possible that a seated archaic figure of marble, discovered under the Acropolis, may be this figure from his hand (Fig. 106). That it represents Athena, is clear from the *ægis* over the shoulders, and the signs of having had the Gorgon head attached. Unfortunately, the cut does not render the fine lines of the drapery at all correctly, making them look like hair. Although much like the best developed of the Miletos statues, it is more spirited in composition, and, if executed by Endoios, shows that he was a great innovator. To those accustomed to the immovable seated representations of the goddess, as we have them in archaic terra-cotta figures, how bold must have been the artist's change in this statue, making the goddess draw back her leg, fairly ready to rise from her eternal throne! The fact that all archaic works in the round, found in Attica, are in imported Parian marble, while the less extensive reliefs are sometimes of native Attic material from Pentelicos or Hymettos, shows that the use of this cheaper native stone once was not general; and it is not probable that it became so before the time of Pericles and Pheidias. Another fact, confirming the dependence of Attica upon the outside world, is, that the type of many archaic draped figures, found in Athens, some of which are now in the British Museum, is exactly the same as that of the figures recently discovered in Delos (p. 194).

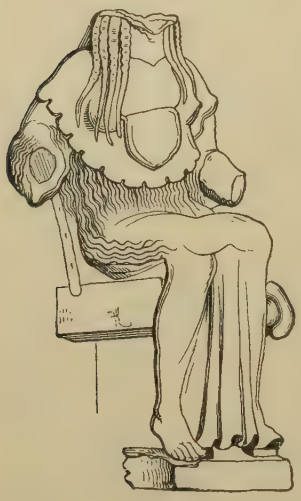

Fig. 106. Seated Athena in Marble. Athens.

By far the greater part of the oldest monuments from Attica are from tombs; a few, however, seeming to have been single offerings on the Acropolis. Had not the Persians so thoroughly destroyed old Athens, we should, doubtless, have also had preserved to us relics of temple sculptures from this olden time. Of the many very archaic fragments from the Acropolis, that time-honored shrine of Athena, none is, perhaps, more interesting than a large marble head, represented by necessity alongside of the seated Rameses II., on Plate I., and showing us the ancient conception of the great national goddess Athena, who here wears the close-fitting Attic helmet, and, strangely enough, large ear-rings dropping from the exaggerated lobes of her ears.[359a] At first sight this head is almost repulsive, and is certainly lacking in that finer feeling and grace we are wont to connect with Attic art. It appears to be the early sculptor's attempt to represent life as he saw it; and he succeeds in conveying a certain impression of inner force and kindliness welling out in the thick lips, cheek-muscles, and large, round eyes, quite different from any thing in many

severer forms found in the Peloponnesos, or the more luxurious ones of ancient Ionia, as seen in the Ephesos heads. Besides, in contrast to the long and narrow oval of the face, seen in the Aphrodite found at Kythera (p. 209), and in some heads from Attica itself, such as the Spata sphinx (Fig. 107), we see, here, that short oval so beautifully adhered to in the heads on the Parthenon frieze, and a most distinguishing feature of Attic art in the age of Pheidias. The tolerably developed style, and round, oval face, warrant us in placing this representation of Attica's great patron goddess in the latter half of the sixth century.

On the Acropolis have been found several much-injured seated figures, clad in long garments. One of these statues, having on the lap a *diptychon*, is thus probably characterized as a scribe or clerk of the accounts, and is dressed in the old-fashioned, trailing Ionian garments.[360] This figure was doubtless consecrated on the sacred mountain with a religious purpose. Its form and subject call to mind Egyptian representations. Although the Egyptian scribe is usually sitting on the ground, he is also often seen in small bronzes, raised, as here, on a chair, as illustrated by figures in the Berlin Museum.[361] But the garments of Egyptian statues are without independent character, and rest flatly against the body without folds; whereas in these works found in Attica, as well as in those found on Delos, and described above (p. 194), the drapery was represented at first by engraved lines; then it becomes somewhat raised, lying in small rolls over the form; and finally, in more advanced work, we see the drapery show the form beneath, under lines and folds of natural fall. From the study of twenty pedestals of tomb-monuments of this time, it is evident that on some seven or eight of them were standing statues, and on others seated forms, especially of females.[362]

Fig. 107. Sphinx discovered at Spata in Attica. Athens.

A remarkable sphinx (Fig. 107), discovered among the tombs at Spata, and of Parian marble, is one of the earliest monuments in the round from Attic graves, but is more advanced than a similar figure discovered on Delos (p. 195). It shows that strange monster with large wings and smiling face. A *calathos* crowns the head, a necklace encircles the throat, and about the face the hair lies in waves. This transformation from the Egyptian Sphinx is probably traceable to the Ionians of Asia Minor, where the male monster of the Orient seems to have been changed into a female.[363] This enigmatical figure from Spata, arousing so many questions as to its relationship, exact purport, and mythic significance, throws much light on the state of sculpture in Attica in early times. It was evidently meant to be raised, and seen from below; since the back is left very much in the rough. That the sculptor depended to a great extent upon color for his details is most evident. Its feathers still show red and dark green or blue; the hair is brown;

and the head-dress is adorned in front with rosettes, scratched into the marble, and then painted. The face of this sphinx has the long oval, thin and meagre, of the Nike by Archermos of Chios, and of the so-called Apollo of Thera, another indication of the influence of the art of the islands upon Attica.

One other tombstone figure in the round, now in Athens, which from its quaint style, and place of discovery in the wall of Themistocles, is supposed to belong to the sixth century, shows us a seated female, very like several works from the necropolis of Miletos, now in the Louvre. It is another witness to the influences from the Asia-Minor coast upon early Attic sculpture.

Fig. 108. Part of the Tombstone of a Youthful Athlete. Athens.

Passing over to the reliefs which the old Athenians put up in memory of their dead, we shall find that one of these, like the seated figure just mentioned, has a special interest, as confirming the historical incident recorded by Thukydides, that, when the Athenians under Themistocles built about their threatened city a wall of defence against the Persians, so great was their haste, that even ancient tombstones from the neighborhood were torn down, and used like common stone. In the ruins of this wall this quaint relief was discovered, its date being thus certainly fixed as before the time of Themistocles. Having done its part against the barbarian invaders, it is now rescued from oblivion, and, in the museum of the Archæological Society at Athens, receives due honor from all students of early Attic art. Two fragments of this originally long slab were found: on one part appears the head (Fig. 108), and on the other the feet. In width it was only sufficient to admit of the tall, slender figure that occupied it. Its confined limits may be due to Solon's sumptuary

law, which restricted the dimensions of tombstones to so unpretentious a size that ten men could execute a single one in three days.[364] We see here a beardless youth, in whose hand is a disk, raised behind his head to the shoulder; and we may imagine him as walking in the solemn procession. How clearly this fragment shows obedience to that growing artistic feeling which characterized the Greek sculptor alone! Not content with an arid background, he sought to occupy it, not, as was done in older works, by the artificial addition of rosettes and scrolls, but by filling the vacant space in a graceful way with the composition itself. This is done here by the disk which characterizes the athlete, and perhaps indicates further that he had been a winner in the games. His long, stiff hair, gathered in a coil, which was probably in reality of gold, illustrates one of the elaborate styles of old Attic head-dress, and shows how desirable was the change to short hair afterwards introduced. The youth's well-curved jaw, strong chin, short upper lip, and liveliness of expression, are in his favor; yet there is but little promise for the future of Attic sculpture in the excessively plain face, with its protrait-like, bulbous nose, swelling, superficially placed almond-shaped eyes, in full front view (although the face is in profile), and high cheek-bones, together with the clumsy, ill-drawn hand. The forehead and chin form one curve, broken only by the abruptly protruding nose. In this early Attic relief, there is as yet no sign of that true Greek profile (an artistic development of later times) in which mouth and chin retreat decidedly behind the exquisite line of brow and nose. The smirking lips of this youthful athlete are foreign to the sweet dignity of later Attic faces. But a certain exuberance of life is evident in the beaming face, without the luxurious, sleepy fulness of the Ephesos heads, which may indicate the dawning Attic spirit, as we have seen it also in the Athena head (Plate I.).

Similar in style to this relief, is that figure inscribed Aristion, the work of Aristocles (Fig. 109), and now in the museum of the Theseion at Athens. Near the village of Velanidezza, on Marathon's plain, are several hillock-tombs, having a hollow centre, in which ashes, vases, etc., are found, and from which several ruined grave-chambers diverge, — a development, doubtless, of the older form, as seen at Mykene and elsewhere. There the whole grave had to be opened whenever a new burial occurred: here the separate chambers secured undisturbed repose to those already interred. Near the top of one of these large tombs was found the long, narrow slab on which Aristion appears, somewhat less than life-size.[365] His firm posture; his hair and beard, laid in precise order; his helmet, armor, and lance, — mark him as one of Attica's sturdy warriors of the good olden time. Judging from the letters of the inscription, this monument must be placed before the end of the sixth century, and consequently long previous to the battle of Marathon. The warrior's well-arranged hair gives the impression of being prepared for battle, according to the custom

of the olden times; and we notice that the eyes are in full front view, while form and face are in profile. That below this erect soldier, in painted relief, was an additional scene, which, being only painted, has now disappeared, may be inferred from the tombstone of Lyseas, found but a few steps removed, and which has the painting at the base still preserved.[366]

Fig. 109. Tombstone of Aristion, by Aristocles. Athens.

Under Lyseas' slender, draped figure, which is wreathed, and carries an olive-branch and *cantharos*, appears a youth on a galloping horse, referring, doubtless, to some victory won by the deceased in the Panathenaic or Panhellenic games, — a supposition strengthened by the fact, that a part of a second horse is to be seen beyond the rider. The comparison of the letters of Lyseas' monument with those of an inscription from the altar, dedicated (525–510 B.C.) by the Peisistratidæ, and found recently in Athens, shows that Lyseas' tombstone is the older, thus giving us the date for similar monuments.[367] It is not a little remarkable that the whole of the Lyseas' stele is simply painted, while the Aristion and others have painting and carving united on the same monument.

On these Attic tombstones, how different the subjects from those found in Lykia or Sparta! Not the bringing of offerings, or symbolic formulas of any kind, meet us here, but the youthful disk-thrower, the brave warrior, or the long-robed citizen, and the swift racer, subjects taken from the stream of national and real life, and appealing to all by their actuality. The forms are still archaic; but we see in these oldest specimens of Attic art a spirit which should characterize it, even in later times, and give it that attractiveness so foreign to the colder art of its neighbors.

These reliefs, contrasted with the heads already considered, show how far Attic reliefs in this century were in advance of statuary; and that relief was native to the land, appears from the fact, that it is always in Pentelic marble, while statuary is still in foreign stone. In this light, the marvellous attainments made by Attic art in relief during the coming, the fifth century, are better understood. We see a prophecy of that future sureness in technique, and feeling for style; since this superior skill in relief could not fail in time to influence statuary. It would seem, as has been well said by Loeschcke, as though the connected flowing lines of

the profile, the delicate moulding of the chin and cheek, which mark Attic heads in the round, in the fifth century, as distinguished from those of the Argive school, were due to the practice and feeling developed in first representing the profile of the face in relief. The Argive school, on the other hand, developing exclusively statuary, seems to have worked more from the front view, and thus came to emphasize the chin too strongly for beauty of profile.[368]

Opposite to Attica lies the large island of Ægina, which Pindar describes as a great seat of commerce, a heaven-set pillar for strangers of every clime. Here, there is reason to believe, was also a flourishing art in this sixth century. Tradition gives us the name of Smilis as one of its oldest sculptors, who executed a Hera for her great temple at Samos, as well as the Hours for the Temple of Hera at Olympia.[369] Of the Hera we may perhaps form a faint, although not very favorable, idea, from figures of the goddess on ancient coins of Samos, in which the extended arms seem to rest on supports, and the body appears no better than a covered log.[370] Of works which can be assigned to the sixth century, purporting to come from Ægina, there are very few. One of these, a marble head owned by M. Saburoff, is worthy of notice as a witness to the attempts at portraiture made by the art of this olden time.[371] This head has very short hair and beard, and a carefully finished, fuzzy mustache. The corners of the mouth have a friendly expression, and are well executed. This care is seen also even in such details as the glands in the inner corners of the eyes. Around the forehead the hair is represented with all the irregularities of nature. The softness of the flesh is given admirably in the highly finished cheeks, almost shining with their fine polish. But the protruding eyes, and the ears adhering to the head, show the necessity of improvement before the celebrated Ægina marbles in Munich could be produced.

Although no excavations have as yet been made at Chalkis or Eretria, very ancient colonies of the Ionians, and most important centres of trade during the sixth century, still it is possible, from the analogy of vases and inscriptions, that thence were exported to Italy very many of the bronzes which have, hitherto, been called Etruscan.[372] Such are probably the horse-eared and horse-hoofed satyrs, which are found in different places.[373]

Having mustered the characteristic specimens of very archaic sculptures in Greece and its adjoining lands, we may turn to its colonies in Sicily and Southern Italy. But one sculptor, Clearchos from Rhegion, who seems to have been a scholar of Dipoinos and Skyllis, is mentioned from this remoter part of the Greek world; but of the works of this master we know almost nothing.[374] Temple sculptures have, however, been preserved to us from the old colony of Selinus in Sicily, and are now in Palermo. The ruins of three temples are still to be seen in ancient Selinus, which was founded by Doric colonists from Megara in Sicily, a town which had itself been founded by Doric

settlers from Megara in Greece in Olymp. 18. Selinus was settled, it is believed, in the latter half of the seventh century; and hence the reliefs of the oldest temple must be dated after that time. The metopes are not in marble, but in the limestone of the country, and measure each about one meter square. They are decorated with mythological scenes in very high and round relief, quite different from the flat and geometrical reliefs of Laconia, illustrated on p. 206. On one, a beardless but lusty Heracles (Fig. 110) carries off the Kercopes brothers, those thievish knaves who, according to myth, were wont, despite their mother's warnings, to waylay unwary travellers.[375] Their kidnapping propensities carried them so far, that they fell upon the wandering Heracles, as the hero slept beneath a tree, with his weapons by his side. Aroused by their approach, he made them his captives, binding one to each end of a pole, which he swung over his shoulders, and bore them away, as is represented in the relief. In this condition, as the story adds, they had leisure to repent their folly; reminding one another of their mother's warnings, and expressing their grief in so droll a manner, that the hero was provoked to laughter, and released them. The second of these old reliefs (Fig. 111) represents another of the favorite myths of the Greek religion, in which Perseus, in the presence of Athena, the protectress of all Greek heroes, combats with evil, and cuts off the head of Medusa, one of the three terrible Gorgon sisters.[376] The gaze of this monster was fabled to petrify all upon whom it was turned: but Athena had taught Perseus to elude its fatal spell; and in this relief he is represented as giving Medusa the mortal wound from whose bloody drops already springs up the winged horse Pegasos, which she holds in her arms. How anxious is the ancient sculptor to make us acquainted with every detail of the story! The successive events are crowded into the relief, as though occurring simultaneously. The bold and harsh naturalness of these figures makes them appear almost a caricature of nature. The broad face given the Medusa is, no doubt, intended to express the traditional and fear-inspiring conception of that monster. And in the greater assurance with which it is rendered, we feel that the sculptor is following an established type, already worked out for him, which is not the case with the remaining part of the figure. The heavy proportions, and round, vigorous build, of all the figures, speak a language, moreover, which is unlike any thing we have met with before; and there can be no doubt, that these deeply carved sculptures, well suited for their place in the massive Doric architecture they adorned, mirror local peculiarities which developed forms in Sicily different from those in Ionia and Greece itself. Many details, not produced by the chisel, were brought out with color, traces of which are still visible on Athena's *ægis*.

In looking back over the sculptures of the sixth century, preserved to us in such stately numbers, one fact is very evident, that the old masters, in their working, held on to given types, a few of which are happily preserved to us,

showing different stages of growth. Among such, for the nude form are the figures often called Apollo's, standing stiffly with the hands at the sides, or with fore-arms raised; for the draped, we have the seated figures of Miletos, and the standing ones of Delos; and in relief, the most interesting series of gravestones from Sparta.

This holding on to certain old types was, as we have seen, a peculiarity also of Egyptian and Oriental sculpture; but the Greek, unlike his predecessors, freely handled such types, and boldly made innovations and improvements upon them. There can be little doubt, however, that this clinging to certain given types in his formative stage had a most salutary effect in keeping him within bounds, and in developing a well-disciplined school.

While the ancient sculptor's imagination was gradually unfolding, and his hand was thus gaining in skill, he was, we must believe, greatly influenced by the

Fig. 110. Metope from Selinus. Heracles carrying off the Kercopes. Palermo.

Fig. 111. Metope from Selinus. Perseus slaying the Gorgon. Palermo.

sight of the rude puppet images of his gods, hung with precise drapery, and overladen with jewellery, as well as by the sight of the people about him decked out in Oriental taste, as were the Ionians of old, or clad in the severely simple robes of the Doric people. The Ionians of Samos early wore an excess of jewellery, following the custom of their neighbors, the Lydians. Long hair was customary in Attica, for men as well as women; and the cut of the Doric *chiton* was proverbially simple. The long Ionian garments, we are told, did not pass out of use in Athens until the time of Pericles; and the artificial cut and elaborate folds of the statue of Hera, found on Samos (Fig. 96), may perhaps hint to us what the sculptor saw in life. The dainty mode of holding the fingers, as seen in grasping a sceptre, staff, vase, or flower, or in lifting the garment from the ground, was, doubtless, likewise common in that quaint old time; it being said, that, in offering boxes of incense and the like, they were presented with three fingers. The very particularity with which every seam, elaborate border,

or ornament, is given on the statues and reliefs of this olden time, goes to prove that the sculptor saw such details in nature, and tried to reproduce them. Those were the good old times honored in ancient song, which speaks of the Samians wandering in Hera's sanctuary, with slow and solemn tread, in long robes of snowy white, with hair in orderly locks about the head.[377]

But as in time the people develop a better taste, and truer sense of grace and beauty, renouncing their overladen magnificence, and wearing their hair and garments in a manner better suited to reflect the beauty of the form, then we shall see the work of art feel the change, the simplicity of natural grace overcome the fussy attire and whimsical *frisure* of these older works, and the intricate and artificial costumes of ladies on these early reliefs disappear before the chaste simplicity of the maidens of later art.

CHAPTER XIV.

ADVANCED ARCHAIC SCULPTURE, FROM ABOUT 500 TO ABOUT 450 B.C.: ASIA MINOR AND THE ISLANDS.

Introductory. — State of Asia Minor and Greece at the Commencement of the Fifth Century B.C. — Triumph of the Greeks over the Persians. — Its Results. — Exalted Position of Athens. — The Development of Philosophy, Poetry, and Art. — The Athletic Games. — Their Antiquity. — Revival of Olympic and other Games. — Honors awarded to the Victors. — Influence of Games on Art. — The Temple. — Its Purposes. — Plan of the Structure. — Its Adornments and Great Statue. — Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian Orders. — Influence of Painting. — Ionian Sculptures. — Lykian Sculptures. — Sculptures in the British Museum. — Leucothea Relief. — Sculptures and Terra-cottas from the Islands. — Thasos Reliefs. — Philis' Tombstone. — Ægina. — Its Political Position. — Traditional Character of its Art. — Its Early Artists. — Preference for Bronze. — Importance of Statues of Athletes. — Glaukias, Callon, and Onatas. — Remains of Sculpture at Olympia. — Onatas' other Works. — Æginetan Marbles at Munich. — Sculptures of West Pediment. — Their advanced Archaism. — Sculptures of East Pediment. — Their Superiority to those of the West Pediment. — Difficulty of forming a Correct Impression of these Marbles. — Their Authors. — Their General Characteristics. — Dodona Bronze. — Strangford Apollo. — Marble Tombstone from Ægina.

During the sixth century B.C., which we have discussed in the two preceding chapters, important changes had come over the Greek world. The armies of the Persian king had conquered the Greek states of Asia Minor, which were incorporated by that monarch into his empire. Every attempt at revolt had been ruthlessly met, as in the destruction of Miletos. Thus the Ionian civilization on the eastern shores of the Ægean had received a cruel check, and the ambitious Persian now began to lust after Greece itself. The Greek states had steadily developed independent institutions: Corinth had a profitable trade, controlling the Western waters; Ægina's fleets ruled the Ægean; while Athens was still absorbed in her internal affairs.

But the storm-clouds rolling up from the East threatened to ingulf the little land; and, in the first and second decades of the fifth century, Darius, and then Xerxes, poured their hordes, collected from a vast empire, into Greece, laid waste her sacred places, and destroyed Athens by fire. Terror fell upon all the land, but not that of despair; for the noble deeds of Marathon, Salamis, Plataiai, and Mycale checked the conqueror's course. The Greek David overcame the Eastern Goliath with the little stone of Hellenic freedom and culture. Xerxes and his army were scattered, like forest-leaves before the autumn wind;

and the monarch was a trembling fugitive. Some of the states had joined the Persian king; others, too feeble to share in the victories, had stood by; but Athens had been in the front of the conflict, and came rapidly to enjoy a position which enabled her to dispute with Sparta the leadership of the Hellenic cities after the Persian war. Comparative peace now long prevailed, when thank-offerings were executed by the people of Greece at their great shrines. A colossal Poseidon was put up on the isthmus of Corinth, consecrated by the victors of Plataiai. A figure eighteen feet high, carrying in her hand a ship's prow, was consecrated at the Delphic shrine, in honor of the naval victories at Salamis and Artemision. A colossal Zeus was put up in Olympia; and a colossal bronze tripod, borne on the coils of snakes, was offered at the shrine at Delphi, in honor of Plataiai. A part of these coils, with the names of the sharers in the victories engraved upon them, now stands in the Atmeidan at Constantinople; and a piece of one of the serpents' heads, a masterly work of archaic precision, in the little-known museum of St. Irene in the same city. In state, Miltiades, Aristeides, Themistocles, and Kimon now made the history of Athens that of Greece, and brought it close upon the time of the great Pericles (459 B.C). The wise rule of that statesman, and the unhappy civil war which broke out in 430 B.C., raging until near the close of the century, give us the remainder of the historical background of this greatest period in Greek history, against which its art stands out in harmonious relief. To the military glories of this age was added that of poetry; and how sublime the names that meet us! The lyric poet Pindar aroused to religious fever by his odes during the earliest quarter of the century, and consecrated numerous and costly gifts to the gods, standing witnesses of his devotion. But not in the Peloponnesos or Bœotia was poetic song the sweetest and strongest. In Athens it meets us a loud chorus, in which many voices mingle. Craggy Æschylos, of a noble Attic family, takes the lead in age, and with true Attic spirit is more proud to have been one of the warriors of Marathon than the creator of sublime dramas. His younger contemporary, Sophocles, who in the blooming beauty of youth led the rhythmic dance at the celebration of the victory of Salamis, continued till 405 B.C. to picture to the Athenians a world of highest and noblest thought in dramas of perfect form. At the ripe age of ninety he was laid away to rest in Colonos, honored by the people, and, as story says, by the great god Dionysos himself. Euripides, about fifteen years Sophocles' junior, completes this trio of Attic poets in the fifth century; but his works belong in spirit to the time that followed the Peloponnesian war, so full were they of passion and pathos. But our picture of the poetic activity of this time would be incomplete did we not call to mind the merry comedy, originating in the festivities of Dionysos, and taking its scenes, not from the higher regions of poetic myth, but from every-day life. Here we see the master Cratinos, followed by his still greater scholar Aristophanes, who give us many priceless glimpses of that day, and the

important part which art then played. From all these poets we gain a vivid picture of the manifoldness of Attic society, its gracefulness, earnestness, and noble humanity, so wonderfully to be reflected in works of art of beautiful simplicity and grandeur. In philosophy, Anaxagoras from the coast of Ionia, and the Athenian Socrates, meet us. Thus many of the greatest names of history in politics, literature, and philosophy are crowded into this hundred years; and, turning to sculpture, we find their worthy peers. But so numerous and so varied are these masters, and so great is the progress made, that we shall be obliged to consider each half of this century separately, — the first including a stately group of older men, and those who should well-nigh free art from all archaic restraint; and the second half embracing within its limits the highest names, such as Pheidias of Athens, and Polycleitos of Argos, with their riper creations.

But before considering these masters, and the works of this great century, let us cast a glimpse at those most important factors, the *athletic games* and the developed *temple structure*, which in their elements had, doubtless, long before, influenced sculpture, but, in their perfected form, are most intimately bound up with the great artistic creations of this age, and necessary to an understanding of their purport and character. The athletic games of the Greeks claim our special attention, as exerting an untold influence in the development of physical strength and beauty among the people, as well as directly influencing sculpture by affording constant and natural opportunity for the observation of the human form in most varied attitudes, and by offering a field for plastic expression of that form in non-hieratic statues, put up to commemorate victory, and proclaim the fame of the victor.[378] From earliest times such competitive games had been celebrated, each township having had its agonistic contests in connection with the local worship. The Olympic games, which, as was believed, had been founded by mythic heroes, gained a national significance when revived about 776 B.C., to be observed every four years; and from this first Olympiad the Greeks reckoned their chronology, so weighty was the institution in their eyes. During the sixth century, three other great national festivals — the Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean — likewise gained importance. The Olympic games, which originally were simple, lasting but a single day, soon burst the old limits, and became by the sixth and fifth centuries a complicated factor in Greek culture. During the five days of the festival, war was hushed throughout the land, and the peace of Zeus prevailed. Multitudes wandered safely towards the retired valley as pilgrims. Each state sent ambassadors, even from the most distant colonies; the wealthiest citizens considering it a privilege to bear the expense of this mission. Although the festival fell in high summer, the sanctity of time and place forbade the assemblage to go with covered heads. The discomforts of heat, dust, and the crowd, were outweighed by the fact that each found that which satisfied him. Here were manly con-

tests, gorgeous display, music, art, recitations by poets and orators, the re-unions of friends, a great fair with crowded booths, hawkers, jugglers, fortune-tellers, and strange saints, to enliven the scene; while offerings burned on Zeus' great altar, as well as on a hundred others throughout the sacred grove.

The athletic games consisted in double and sevenfold foot-races in the *stadion*, boxing, the *pancration*, — a compound of boxing and wrestling, — and the *pentathlon*, comprising five different games, — foot-racing, leaping, throwing the disk, hurling the spear, and the wrestling-match. Besides, there were horse and chariot races.

In Crete and Sparta, previous to Olymp. 15, athletes had run the race nude. At that time this custom was introduced at Olympia, to be followed later in the wrestling games. Married women were forbidden, on pain of death, to be spectators; the only exception being the priestess of Demeter, who had an honored seat assigned her. The maidens of Elis were, however, allowed to run in certain races, but only every fifth year, and at the festival of Hera; the race-course assigned them being one-sixth less than that of the men. At the great Olympic festivals all free-born Greeks, high and low, were permitted to enter the field, provided they had complied with the rules; but equestrian contests were necessarily confined to the wealthy. The owners of horses and chariots, if not appearing in person, might contend by proxy; and great was the rivalry which sprang up, as to the number and magnificence of these equipages. The recent excavations at Olympia have brought to light the *stadion* for the foot-race, about 183 meters (600 feet) in length, where the point whence the runners started, and the goal, may still be seen.[379] The site of the hippodrome to the south-east of the *stadion*, and parallel with it, has unfortunately been swept away by the freshets of the Alpheios. The only preserved ancient hippodrome in Greece, that on Mount Lycaion, measures about three hundred meters. It was considered an essential part of the education of the Greek youth, to have received instruction in the *palæstra*, or wrestling-school; and, in later life, every citizen shared in the privileges of the gymnasium. In the north-west corner of the ruins at Olympia may be seen the remains of a large gymnasium, 210.50 meters long, and surrounded by rows of Doric columns, where the youth doubtless practised in leaping, racing, and hurling the disk. Close at hand is the smaller *palæstra* for boxing and wrestling, surrounded by rooms and halls doubtless intended for dressing and bathing.[380] Before admission to the games at Olympia, the competitors were brought into the presence of the judgment-visiting Zeus with his forked lightnings. There they sacrificed a boar on the altar in the *Buleuterion*, the ruins of which have been found. Here they gave their oath, that for ten months they had prepared for the festival by rigid abstemiousness; that they were freemen of pure Hellenic blood, and had not been guilty of sacrilege. Finally they swore adherence to the regulations, the slightest infringement of which was punished with the heavy fine of a talent (twelve

hundred dollars). From the fines thus collected, bronze statues (*zanes*) began, in the fourth century B.C., to be erected to the vengeance-visiting Zeus, along the road which led to the *stadion*, — a warning to all competitors as they entered. Pausanias saw sixteen such statues, and the recent excavations have unearthed their pedestals; but of the dread statues themselves, all that has been found are bronze fragments of the thunderbolts and a colossal foot.[381] Judges and competitors entered by a secret passage — recently found — the *stadion*, where the youths, before assembled thousands, engaged in contest, accompanied by the music of flutes.[382] The contests ended, the judges assembled in the great Temple of Zeus; and while a triumphal hymn to Heracles, the first winner in the games, sounded from the galleries, the victor was crowned. Previous to Olymp. 7 (752 B.C.), the prize had been a costly tripod, or a large sum of gold; but afterwards it was a simple chaplet of olive-leaves, cut with a golden knife from the tree which, according to myth, Heracles had planted in the sacred grove. It is significant that the winner was not permitted to take away with him this wreath, which was hung up in the sacred place.

The victor's name, as well as that of his father and country, were sounded by the herald before the representatives of all Greece; and his name was enrolled among those who had before distinguished themselves. On his return home, he was welcomed with a brilliant ovation from his compatriots, who considered the triumph won as their own. A breach was made in the city-walls for his reception, to intimate, says Plutarch, that the state which possessed such a citizen had no need of other bulwarks. Passing through in a chariot drawn by four white horses, he was borne along the principal street of the city, to the temple of the guardian deity, where hymns of victory were sung. Poets like Pindar sounded the victor's praises; he had a seat of honor at festivals, and, in Sparta, a place by the king in battle; he was paid a yearly revenue in some of the states; while in Athens he ate at public expense, was freed from all duties, and received a present of five hundred drachms. But a still higher honor was awarded the Olympic victor; and that was, the privilege of having his statue put up in the sacred grove at Olympia, to be repeated in his native town. These statues were seldom portraits, for such were allowed only to those who had been thrice victorious. Possibly this restriction at Olympia was directed against that old custom, according to which, as we have seen, the early worshippers dedicated images of themselves to the gods. According to Pausanias, the first statues to victors were stiff, wooden images, which began to be erected Olymp. 59 (about 544 B.C.), but which must have soon been supplanted by bronze. This custom, once developed, continued to be a source of employment to sculptors for many centuries, even down to the time of Roman rule, as the recently discovered inscriptions show.[383] These statues were often erected long after the victory; the expense being borne by the victor, his relatives,

friends, or native town. Before being accepted, statues were subjected to scrutiny from the judges, more severe, it is said, than that which the victors themselves had undergone. Moreover, the horses who had played an important part in the triumph also came in for a share in these representations ; either bearing their riders, or represented as harnessed before the chariot, and frequently having their names inscribed. Often, however, as discoveries have shown, their images were very small.[384] How many masters were employed to people the grove at Olympia with such commemorative monuments we shall see as we take up the works from the early half of the fifth century.

But the temples at Olympia, as elsewhere, were also a most important factor in influencing sculpture ; and recent excavations have thrown untold light on the development and purposes of both. The temple served, not only to shelter the statue of the divinity and the other gods, the guests, as it were, of this divinity : it was also a treasury for the costly and abundant votive offerings collected through the centuries. Moreover, the house of the god served, in some cases, as the bank whence the state moneys were disbursed.[385] The oldest excavated temple on the soil of Greece, that of Hera at Olympia, seems to have been pre-eminently a treasure-house ; and its very ancient form, in which the walls of the sacred place were divided off into niches, something after the manner of chapels in old Roman-Catholic churches, would have afforded excellent shelter for the accumulated treasure.[386] That the temple building was also very frequently used for sacrificial worship, seems evident from the pit discovered in two temples at Samothrake, into which flowed the blood of the offerings.[387] The distinction once made between temples of worship and those in honor of the agonistic games, according to which the latter were not sacred, but mere halls for festive gatherings, has melted away, as an empty theory, before the discoveries which prove that the new great temples, in which the prizes were distributed, were quite as holy as the older ones, having the same relation to them that a new church-building nowadays has to an old one.[388] To the Greeks the games were, moreover, not a secular institution. They were ordained by the oracle, like the hecatombs, to propitiate the gods, memorials of the combats which divine beings had fought with the powers of evil. Zeus and Athena conquering the giants, Heracles and Theseus overcoming the Amazons, were the mythic prototypes of the combats, so religiously observed that they were commenced and closed with sacrifice. Every thing in connection with them was holy. The judges purified themselves in a sacred spring, the lots were drawn from a sacred urn, and Pindar calls the decision a sacred one. Recent discoveries, moreover, make it probable, that in front of the great temple-statues, both of Zeus at Olympia, and of Athena in the Parthenon, an altar stood, whose smoke rose up through the open space over the centre of the holy place or *cella*.[389]

Following the guidance of the latest student of the Parthenon, Dörpfeld,

who has cleared away many difficulties, let us look at that crowning work of Greek genius in which all the patient steps upward, all the experimenting traceable in older temples, seem blended into a perfect organic whole.[390] The main body of the structure, completely encircled by a row of columns which supported the roof, consisted of four distinct parts; namely, two porticos and their adjoining apartments (Fig. 112). In both porticos the pillars were united to each other by a lofty bronze protection, doubtless open-work, reaching away to the architrave, and forming a safe repository for treasure or costly offerings. Through the *pronaos*, or front portico, was entered the *hecatompedos*, that sacred place where stood the great statue. Around three sides of this space ran a row of columns, forming thus an encircling aisle. Not in a niche, but within this colonnade, and receiving light from an opening in the roof, stood the great temple-statue, so that worshippers walking in the aisles could view its colossal form from all sides. That there was in the Parthenon an upper row of columns supporting the roof, and forming a gallery from which people could look down upon the statue, does not seem probable; as no mention of such a gallery has been made, and no steps have been found leading up to it, as at Olympia. In front of the statue was the space above which the roof was open, affording light. This space, including the place occupied by the statue, had a protecting screen around it, running from pillar to pillar, and serving, doubtless, to keep off the crowd. In this part of the temple, the *hecatompedos*, occupied by the great statue, hung the wreaths, and stood votive offerings. Against the deep red lining of the walls the mellow gold and ivory of the statues and the golden garlands must have formed a luxurious harmony of color, to which the stern lines of columns, and easier ones of the statues, added their simple beauty. Here each object was doubtless arranged with regard to its surroundings, and in true taste; as we may infer from the analogy of Delos, where, as the order in the inscriptions intimates, there was genuine artistic grouping.[391]

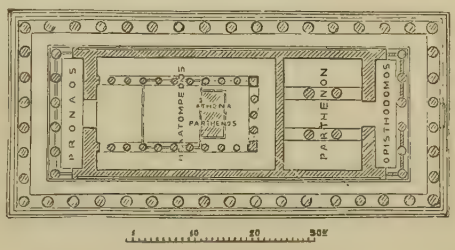

Fig. 172. Ground-plan of the Parthenon, according to Dörpfeld.

To the rear of this columned and richly furnished *hecatompedos* was a kind of sacristy, but without a connecting-door. Here were stored the archives, and all manner of objects used in the great festivals and ritual. The silver vessels, here kept for the processions, numbered, at one time, one hundred and fifty. Here were the garments and jewels worn at great festivals, as well as booty, besides many injured objects, such as golden leaves fallen from the wreaths, nails from the doors of the *cella*, and the like. Into this apartment, called, in official language, the Parthenon, the access was through the rear portico, or *opisthodomos*, in one part of which were kept the moneys of Athena,

and in the other those of foreign gods, forming the bank of Athens and the confederate states. From this the running-expenses of the city were defrayed, — divine benefactions of the goddess, as it were, disbursed by her priests. Indeed, the union of the temple service with secular public life explains the fact, that coins long bore the head of divinity, which gave place to the portrait of a ruler only when the very intimate connection between the god and the republican states was changed by the stepping in of a single ruler, as came to be the case in the Alexandrine age.

But these sacred structures, sheltering the nation's gods and treasure, were themselves beautified by art; their architectural marbles forming some of the most precious witnesses to the ancient sculptor's skill. The original Doric structure, as discoveries at Olympia and Sicily have shown, was of wood; its most exposed parts being protected by painted terra-cotta mouldings, which were afterwards applied in like manner to stone.[392] But of the slow process of change from the painted wooden pillar and architrave; from the wooden cornices, with protecting terra-cotta mouldings; the painted terra-cotta disk on the temple summit; and from the plain, round water-spouts, and facings of the *cella*-walls, of the same material or of metal, to their counterparts in marble, in which the genius of the Greeks supplanted the old, cruder adornments with the highest creations of art, — of all this wonderful transmutation we are left with scarcely a witness. Long centuries of experimenting must have been required before sculpture found its appropriate place, and attained that perfect harmony with the architecture which we find in the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian orders. In the sterner Doric, the massive columns were surmounted by an entablature consisting of a heavy architrave, a frieze, and a strongly pronounced cornice, as may be seen in the best specimen of Attic Doric, the Parthenon (Fig. 113). In this architecture, as found on the soil of Greece and in Sicily, the architrave (*c*) is always plain; but in the old temple at Assos, in Asia Minor, it is more ornate, being sculptured (see p. 182). The Doric frieze (*a*) was composed of triglyphs and metopes (interspaces), the latter being either painted or sculptured. In the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, the metopes of this outer frieze were found to be void of sculpture. In the so-called Theseion, at Athens, only the metopes of the front and back, and one or two down the side, were sculptured; but, in the Parthenon, the whole number was adorned with bold, strong figures, in keeping with their isolated character, and enhancing the impression of strength made by the firm, erect lines of the triglyphs. The cornice surrounding the gutter, but not appearing in the engraving, was furnished with sculptural decoration, having openings at intervals which served to spit out the water collected from the roof. At first a tube, then a tongue, is found doing this service; but finally the whole head of the lion most suitably takes their place. At each end of the temple, the sloping sides of the roof, with the horizontal lines of the en-

tablature, formed a triangular space (*b*), compared by the Greeks to the spread wings of an eagle (*aëtos*). Bold cornices formed a framework for these pediments, which could not fail to invite the sculptor's chisel. Little by little the sculptors learned to use this space to the best advantage. At first cramped and confined by it, at last we see, as in the Parthenon, architecture and sculp-

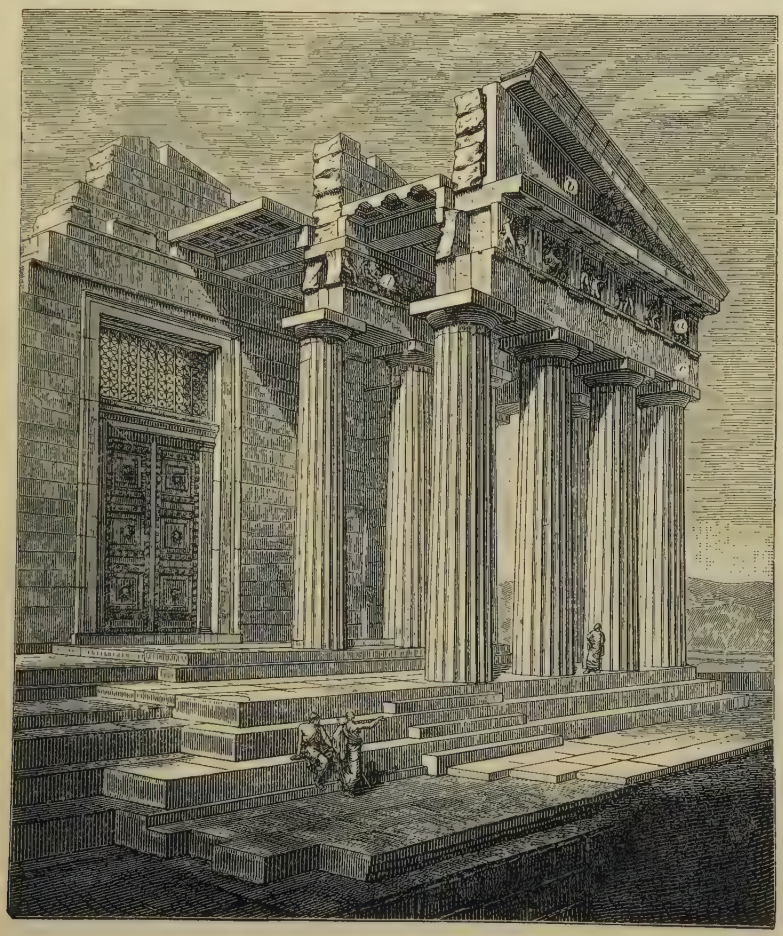

Fig. 113. The North-east Corner of the Parthenon as it now stands: (a) Metopes and Triglyphs; (b) Pediment; (c) Architrave; (d) Frieze around Cella and Portico.

ture combined in harmonious and vital union. The summit and ends of the pediments likewise offered a spot for the sculptor's chisel in forming ornaments called *acroteria;* but these are not preserved in the Parthenon, and do not appear in the cut. In the very old Temple of Hera, at Olympia, a colossal segment of a painted terra-cotta disk crowned the centre; and it is probable, that, in many other cases, figures likewise in terra-cotta crowned summit and corner. At Olympia were found many fragments of such archaic figures, doubtless from the *acroteria* of the Treasure-houses, and representing lions, dolphins,

and a Silenos carrying off a nymph, a motive frequently met with in early Ionian coins.[393] This custom seems to have been copied by the Etruscans, from whose graves several such crowning terra-cotta figures have been preserved to us; one of the most important, now in the Berlin Museum, being a winged female carrying off in her arms a nude boy, and doubtless representing Eos with Kephalos. In later buildings, as the temple to Zeus, at Olympia, huge metal vases finished the ends of the pediments; and a figure of the goddess Victory, of uncertain date, in gilded bronze, crowned its centre. At Ægina, griffins, but of marble, hocked at the ends, and small female figures on each side of a palmette, made up the central *acroterion*, all in the same material. A recent discovery made by Furtwängler, at Delos, shows that there symmetrical and beautiful groups, but seeming large in proportion to the pediment, crowned the temple summit, and that the Romans, in their exaggerated *acroteria*, only followed a Greek custom. The only innovation in this line that Romans seem to have made, was the tasteless addition of figures, even on the sloping sides of the pediments, as was done in the case of the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter.[393a] The walls of the *cella*, or sacred place, and the entablature of Doric porticos, also sometimes received sculpture (*d*). In the earlier Zeus temple at Olympia, this was not, as in the Parthenon, a continuous frieze running around the building, but was still composed, like that on the exterior, of triglyphs and metopes. The interior of the temple in one case, namely at Phigaleia, was found to have had a frieze around the top of the columns. In Sicily, in one case, colossal forms of giants stood around the inner wall, as though supporting the roof (Fig. 114).

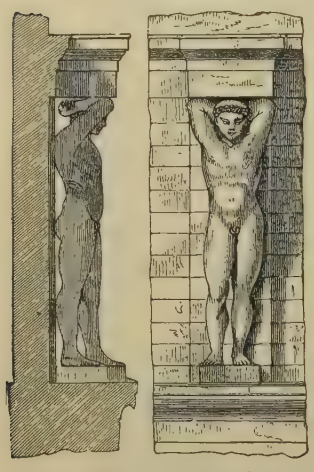

Fig. 114. Giants of Temple of Zeus at Acragas, Modern Girgenti. (Restored.)

The more slender and luxurious Ionic and Corinthian orders received sculptural decoration more calculated to enhance the impression of ease and simple elegance conveyed by their architecture. The friezes were never broken, but conceived as a running band, and consequently required a composition which carried the eye on from point to point without interruption. In Ionia, but never in Greece, the bases of the columns were sometimes encircled with reliefs, as in the temple at Ephesos; and, indeed, the Ionic order allowed greater freedom than its stern Doric sister. So a portico might be held by the human figure instead of a column, as in the Erechtheion at Athens. Thus fancy seemed to play with the severe architecture, suiting to its varying character the more supple forms of sculpture.

During the sixth century, the artistic activity of the Greek world had, as

we have seen, first developed along the coasts of Asia Minor and on the neighboring islands. Following the geographical order pursued hitherto, we will, in considering the sculptures of the first half of the fifth century, first take up the art developed in these older seats, but shall find contemporaneous with it far greater monuments and names in Greece itself. In order to picture to ourselves the state of art at this time in the older seats of Ionian culture, we must remember the great part played by painting among that gifted, luxurious people. The names of painters who flourished during the early part of this great century are many: but, alas! the memory of their works has, for the most part, vanished altogether; the activity only of those who worked in Athens being recorded for us. But that the Thasian Polygnotos could now fill Athens with great works, presupposes a schooling and tradition in painting which we must not forget in considering the sculptures of this old age. Although the names of sculptors from Asia Minor are not preserved to us, — and doubtless the encroachments of the Persians did much to check the culture of that flourishing land, — still it is probable, that, were Asia-Minor soil sufficiently excavated, monuments of this age would there also come to light. And, in fact, in Lykia, that retired mountain land in the south, happily many ripe archaic monuments have been discovered, which seem to testify to the prevalence of a growing art, the continuation, we must believe, of the Ionian art of the earlier day, mingling, indeed, with the foreign elements it there found. A marble relief, now in the British Museum, representing, doubtless, a funeral procession, in which join horsemen, chariots, and footmen, certainly shows an advance upon the lax, heavy forms of the Harpy monument; the horses, especially, being rendered with much firmness.[394] Their curious trappings are, however, not Greek; and we see the same kind of artificial headgear as in Assyrian and Persian figures. Numerous reliefs of archaic sphinxes from tombs having beautiful female heads, with severe forms, showing that art was not fully free, were also there found: some of these are in the British Museum. These, set in as panels, decorated the façade directly under the rounded top of those tombs peculiar to Lykia, one of which may be seen on the right in Fig. 186. From Miletos, after the destruction of that city and the removal of its treasures at the close of the sixth century, it is not strange that we have no remains. From the remaining cities of Asia Minor the excavator may yet unearth still buried treasure. That graceful relief in the Villa

Fig. 115. Tombstone Reliefs in the Villa Albani. Rome.

Albani at Rome (Fig. 115), falsely called the Leucothea relief, is doubtless the tombstone of a Greek matron, and has some points of affinity with the scenes in the Harpy monument in Lykia. The site of its discovery is not known, but the marble is the same as that of monuments in Asia Minor; as, for instance, the Mausoleum at Halicarnassos; besides, the head of the seated lady is very like the type of an archaic Aphrodite on a series of old coins from Cnidos. The general pose and attitude of the large, standing figure is the same as in the relief of Apollo and the Graces from Ionian Thasos (Fig. 117). These characteristics seem to point to an Ionian origin for this beautiful old monument. Here we see a matron on a graceful chair, beneath which is her basket for wool to be used in spinning, showing her to be a faithful housewife. On later reliefs the deceased often appears actually spinning, with her basket by her side. Here, however, the mother, with basket put aside, seems to fondle

Fig. 116. Terra-cotta Relief from Melos. Electra at Agamemnon's Grave. Louvre.

her babe; while other children and a friend approach, one bringing a fillet (*tænia*), and the others raising the hand in adoration. The fillets of wool, we shall find, played a most important part in Greek worship and religion. When wreathed with them, every person or thing was set apart as holy, were it priest, sacrificial victim, temple-key, or tiny vase. So many were required, that we are told that women in the market-places made their living solely by their sale. The exact significance of the fillet is, however, uncertain in this scene. The style of the relief is so advanced, that it must belong to an age when sculpture had well-nigh outgrown its old limitations, and was ready to burst all bounds, perhaps some time after the beginning of the fifth century B.C.

The islands promise much, if M. Homolle's discoveries in Delos may be a harbinger of what is to come. The more developed members of the group of statues from that island mentioned on p. 194 f., certainly belong in the time now under consideration; their gracefully quaint forms and drapery taking cap-

tive every eye.[395] Archaic reliefs of advanced style in marble are as yet scarce from the islands. A curious class of terra-cottas in open-work (*à jour*), and evidently once applied to wood or stone as decoration, have, however, been found in numbers, especially on Melos, and doubtless mirror in their varied subjects and treatment the more advanced stages of early Ionian art. They are well represented in the British, Berlin, and Paris museums. One of them seems to show us a scene from daily life; but possibly it is from the story of Alcaios and Sappho, the same group appearing on a painted vase in Munich, where their names are added.[396] The greater number of the subjects of these interesting terra-cottas, however, represent mythic scenes, and show in their incipient stages motives carried to perfection by a freer art. So the sphinx

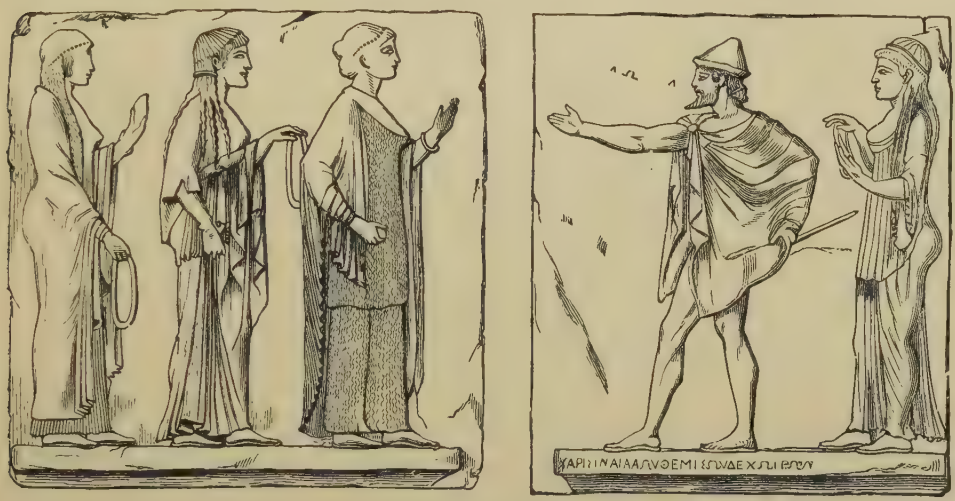

Fig. 117. Part of a Relief in Marble found on Thasos. Louvre.

carries off a youth, perhaps Haimon, son of Creon; and, on others, Bellerophon, mounted on Pegasos, slays the Chimæra; Perseus rides away after slaying the Gorgon; Eos carries off Kephalos; and Cassandra, pursued by Ajax, takes refuge at the sacred image of Athena.[397] One of the most important of these terra-cottas is a gayly colored relief in the Louvre, on which occur the names of Electra and Agamemnon (Fig. 116); making it clear that here Electra, mourning by her father's tomb, is addressed by her brother, just returning from his exile. As in all early art, so here, the artist, full of the charming details of the story, has crowded the shifting scenes of song into one short space; and yet how well he has succeeded in conveying to our minds the sorrow of Electra, even in her constrained figure seated before the palmette-crowned grave, marked with her father's name! Like the celebrated figure of the Vatican called Penelope, she sits with one hand on the rock and the other supporting her bended head; while Orestes, accompanied by his friends, approaches, and is about to address her. These quaint terra-cotta reliefs,

although mirroring the old, stiff style, may have been executed during the latter part of the fifth century, and not at the time we have under consideration; since the humbler artists in vases, and doubtless also terra-cotta, were, we know, conservative, and only gave up the old forms after changes had been introduced and innovations made by the greater masters in bronze, marble, and chryselephantine; but, even though late, they must mirror the older style. From Thasos, the home of the great Polygnotos, is a beautiful relief, now in the Louvre, dedicated to Apollo, the nymphs, and Hermes [398] (Fig. 117). In its well-nigh developed style, its struggles with old forms, and still its attainment of grace and genuine artistic truth, we doubtless have a noble witness to the efforts of Ionian art on this island in the north of the Ægean Sea. As this relief now stands in the Louvre directly below a slab of the Parthenon frieze, the affinity, and still the contrast, is most striking. We can, in viewing it, realize, that from such graceful, though still restrained, efforts, the lofty grace of the Parthenon maidens might easily flow. From this island is also a tombstone relief of rare dignity and grace, now removed to the Louvre, and represented on Plate II. of the Selections from Ancient Sculpture accompanying this work. From the inscription we learn that this tombstone relief is of a lady, Philis by name, who here appears seated quietly, and holding her toilet-box, out of which she seems to be taking a roll. How easy and graceful her pose, and what freedom marks her drapery! the numerous buttonings over the right shoulder calling to mind a like feature in the Samos Hera, and only in the end dropping by her chair do the zigzag, regular folds of archaic art appear. Her hair in regularly laid curls, and the shape of the eye not yet fully in profile, are other features indicating that this is the work of a man who has not yet attained the full sculptural freedom seen, for instance, in the Parthenon frieze. And how near of kin it is in style to that frieze, but especially to the Attic tombstones of a perfect art, will appear on comparing it with the lovely Hegeso (Fig. 211). In Philis' beautiful tombstone it would seem as though the sculptor treated the sleeves, the cheek turned towards the observer, and parts of the drapery over the limbs, as if to be colored; since they lack those deeper indentations which bring out the forms by strong shadows. But little more is needed; and these forms, so quaintly modest and graceful, will blossom into true, full beauty. In contemplating this fragment from Thasos, and remembering that there Ionian art must have flourished with great strength to produce a man like the painter Polygnotos, who carried his art to Athens, we may, no doubt, with safety consider such priceless marbles as typical of the subjects and style of work from which the later Attic masters learned, climbing then to still greater perfection.

ÆGINA.

Approaching the coasts of Greece, the first great centre to attract attention is the island Ægina, in heroic times the mother-country of Peleus and Telamon. Its early inhabitants were seafaring merchants, having emporiums from Umbria to Egypt. They were able to drive the Samian pirates from the sea, hanging up their naval trophies on their temple to Athena, and became the first maritime power on the Archipelago. When, before the opening of the Persian war, Darius required the humiliating acknowledgment of his authority in the offering of earth and water, Ægina yielded to his demand, and, it is said out of jealousy, joined the barbarian king against Attica and the other Greek states. It afterwards repented of this unworthy step, and fought bravely against the Persians, but never ceased to hate Athens, and to excite strife between that city and the Peloponnesos. For this the islanders were, later, severely punished, and, being deprived of their independence, were made tributary to the sister state in 456 B.C. Still later, Athens expelled these troublesome neighbors from their island, of which, in 431 B.C., Athenian colonists took possession. With this loss of freedom, Ægina appears also to have lost its place as one of the vigorous art-centres of Greece.

The sculpture of this island, although always mentioned with praise, is invariably characterized by the ancients as harsher and sterner than that of Attica. The Æginetans were said to have kept the feet of the gods stiffly together long after Attic artists had loosed them, and, as it were, made them step out.[399] Smilis, as we have seen, is the first known Æginetan sculptor, and lived probably in the earlier part of the sixth century, between Olymp. 50 and 60.

Subsequent to him, there is somewhat of a gap; but there meets us a group of important men between Olymp. 70 and 80 (500–460 B.C.). Most celebrated among these were Callon and Onatas; while their minor contemporaries, Glaukias, Anaxagoras, and Simon, likewise executed important commissions. The creations of these men are all directly connected with bronze working, which, we may believe, the Æginetans had learned from the Samians, with whom they must early have been in close communication; their first sculptor, Smilis, having executed at Samos the great statue of Hera for her temple. Æginetan bronze, indeed, came to be so famous that it was preferred, even by masters outside of the island. But the nature of this superiority is unfortunately unknown, the composition of the various kinds of antique bronze being one of the secrets of the past. Even in Roman times, what the Romans called "Corinthian bronze," containing gold, could no longer be manufactured. Rare and beautiful vessels and ornaments, discovered by von Duhn in 1878, in a grave at Suessula in Southern Italy, were found to have gold in composition, and may illustrate this ancient

kind of bronze.[400] Most prominent among the objects executed by Æginetan masters are the statues of victorious athletes for the sacred grove at Olympia. Of the works of Glaukias, — whose activity, reckoning for the time of the athletes he celebrated, must have been between Olymp. 70 and 80, or the first half of the fifth century, — only figures connected with the Olympic games are mentioned. He executed for Gelon of Syracuse a chariot and four horses (*quadriga*), in honor of a victory in the Olympic chariot-race, and added a statue of the owner, that Sicilian tyrant.[401] A part of the pedestal of this group, bearing an inscription with the artist's name, was discovered at Olympia in 1878.[402] Glaukias executed a statue of Theagenes of Thasos, the most honored of all Greek victors. According to Pausanias, he had won thrice in the Pythian, nine times in the Nemean, eleven times in the Isthmian, games, and twice at Olympia.[403] A fragmentary record of such victories was recently found at Olympia, inscribed on a broken marble block, and probably belonged to Theagenes' monument.[404] He received no less than fourteen hundred wreaths in recognition of his skill, as well as numerous statues from Greeks and barbarians, which were reputed to have power to heal diseases, and were honored with religious rites.[405] Another Æginetan master, Anaxagoras, executed for all Greece, after the successful battle of Plataiai, for the shrine at Olympia, a colossal bronze statue of Zeus, to the erection of which a part of the Persian booty was appropriated.[406] Of the Æginetan sculptor Callon, a scholar of Tectaios and Angelion, only two works are mentioned, — one a tripod with a figure of Core at Amyclai, and the other a wooden Athena for the Acropolis at Troizen.[407] Were it not that Quintilian mentions him with Hegias, Pheidias' first teacher, as an exponent of a stiff and hard style, in contrast to Calamis, we should be entirely in the dark as to the work of this Æginetan master.[408]

Our knowledge of Onatas, a younger contemporary, whose works were greatly praised, is more satisfactory. Judging from the commissions he received, Onatas was a celebrated man by 465 B.C. He executed for far-off Syracuse a chariot and horses with charioteer, in honor of the Olympic victory of Hieron, tyrant of Syracuse; receiving the commission from Hieron's son, Deinomenes, soon after his father's death.[409] Onatas' treatment of one subject is of interest as indicating that in him Æginetan art rebelled against the conventionalities of earlier times. The shrine of Demeter Melaina at Phigaleia, in Arcadia, was a holy place, whither Pausanias made a special pilgrimage, and brought offerings of fruit, honey-comb, wool, and oil. Its old wooden idol, as he was told, being destroyed by fire, Onatas was required to replace it. This old image represented the goddess seated on a rock, and having the form of a woman, with the head and mane of a *horse*. Out of this head sprang snakes and reptiles. A black garment covered the body to the toes: one hand held a dolphin and the other a dove, thus making up a repulsive and certainly primi-

tive form. Onatas did not reproduce this monster, but varied from the original, producing a statue in the spirit of his time. From the charge of too great license, he exonerated himself by saying that the divinity had appeared to him in a dream, and authorized him to alter the old form.[410] Of Onatas' bronze Apollo for Pergamon, we have only Pausanias' laudatory but very general expressions; and, of his Hermes for Olympia, we learn that the god carried a goat under the arm, and that Onatas' son and pupil, Calliteles, assisted in its execution.[411] For the people of Thasos he executed in bronze a colossal Heracles carrying club and bow. This work, with its bronze pedestal, was seen by Pausanias in the Olympic shrine.[412] Two large bronze groups by this master have a more direct interest for us, as showing many points of resemblance to the celebrated Æginetan marbles. The first of these consisted of an assemblage of ten bronze figures, representing the scene in the Iliad where the Greek heroes draw lots held by Nestor, to decide who should meet Hector in single combat. On one of the statues Pausanias read the name of Agamemnon, written in archaic style. In another he recognized Idomeneus, from the cock on his shield, and tells us that the Odysseus had been carried off by Nero. To the statue of Nestor was given a separate pedestal over against the rest.[413] The pedestal of this group of heroes, in the shape of a segment of a circle, was found at Olympia, about fifteen meters from the south-east corner of the Temple of Zeus; and opposite to it was a small, round pedestal of the same coarse, porous stone, on which Nestor must have stood.[414] Judging from the size of these remains, the heroes were nearly life-size. Pausanias tells us further, that they were not clad in full armor, but wore only helmet, shield, and lance, indicating that preference for nude forms which will be noticed in the Æginetan marbles. The grouping of these nine heroes on the narrow semicircular basis could, however, have been little more than a simple arrangement in a row, more simple even than that of the Ægina marbles. The other large bronze group by Onatas at Olympia, a thank-offering from the people of Tarentum for victory over the barbarian Peuketians, included horsemen and foot-soldiers. Here the hostile king Opis was represented as fallen; and on either side were Taras and Phalanthos, the heroic founders of Tarentum.[415] Owing to obscurity in the historical records, it is uncertain whether Onatas was assisted in this work by a sculptor Colynthos, or his son Calliteles. Such are our literary records of the sculptors of Ægina.

The Glyptothek, in Munich, contains no greater treasure than its marbles, discovered by a company of English and German scholars in Ægina in 1811. They were bought by Prince Ludwig of Bavaria for thirty thousand dollars, who had them restored by Thorwaldsen and Wagner.[416] These figures in Parian marble once adorned the pediments of Athena's temple, of which the crumbling columns, on the heights of Ægina, still overlook the blue waters of the Saronic Gulf. In both groups appeared a conflict about the body of a

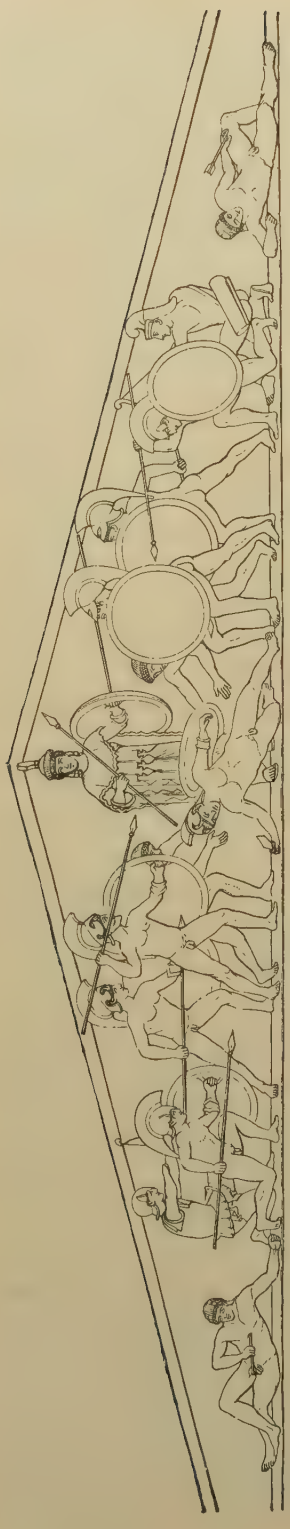

Fig. 118. The West Pediment of the Temple of Athena on Ægina, according to Lange's Restoration.

hero fallen at the feet of the goddess Athena, standing in the middle of the pediment.

In number and arrangement, the figures in the two pediments corresponded exactly one with the other, as has been proved by Prachow and Lange from the fragments in Munich.[417] Besides, the two halves of each pediment in composition were exact repetitions of one another. On each side of the goddess was a bended hero, stretched over as if to snatch the dying man lying at her feet; and this correspondence in the figures continued away to the corners of the pediment, as will be seen from the plate which follows Lange's restoration (Fig. 118). The subject of these marbles is clearly from the Trojan combat, where Greeks, under the protection of Pallas Athena, were led on to battle by their greatest heroes, the Æginetan-born sons of Aiacos. The sculptors have failed to individualize the combatants; but it is, probably, a fallen Achilles about whom the battle rages in the west pediment, and, in the east pediment, perhaps Oicles. The fierceness of the contest about Achilles' body, as told in the Æthiopis, that ancient epic by Arctinos of Miletos (770 B.C.), gives us a conception of the importance laid upon the possession of the body and armor of the fallen. The poet tells us that Achilles, while struggling to gain an entrance at the Scaian gate, was smitten by Paris' fatal arrow. About his body, fabled to be as beautiful as that of his mother, Thetis, the sea-nymph, and as powerful as that of his mortal father, Peleus, there arose a stormy conflict. The Greeks were spurred on by their belief that the hero's soul would forever wander a restless shade were he deprived of burial, as would be the case if in the enemy's hands; and the Trojans by the prospect of bearing away from the battlefield the greatest champion of Hellas, and his armor the proudest trophy. All day long the battle lasted; mountains of slain warriors lay heaped up about the body; and no respite came until Zeus in a hurricane parted the contending foes. The intense desire to secure the armor of the

fallen, and, still more, for burial, continually appears in Greek literature, — a feeling which is still strong in Greece, where it is believed that the souls of the unburied ever wander as unhappy shades.[418]

The marbles of these two pediments were long branded alike with the slur "archaic and Æginetan," until Brunn drew attention to decided differences in them, showing the one facing the west to be stiffer, and hence the older. To the sculptures of this west pediment, then, we naturally first turn. Here Athena, standing in the midst of the conflict, and arrayed in armor for the stern tasks of war, towers above the human warriors on each side, and, filling up the full height of the pediment, by her greater size symbolizes her divine superiority. In one hand the goddess holds her protecting shield extended over the fallen helpless hero at her feet, and in the other was doubtless originally her lance. On her shoulders, and hanging down her back, lies, like a broad cloak, the dread *ægis*, its shaggy rim, according to Homeric song, bordered with terror, and in its centre the Gorgon head, "deformed and dreadful," a sign of woe. The holes round about the outer edge of the *ægis* indicate that it was once fringed with serpents' heads made of separate pieces of marble, or perhaps bronze. The Gorgon head in the centre was doubtless also of metal, and traces of color on the rest of the *ægis* indicate that it was painted. The goddess wears the closely fitting Attic helmet with its high crest, now broken away. Over a fine under-garment, visible only under the arms, is carefully laid her generous outer mantle, falling below the *ægis* down to the feet in regular folds and ends. This drapery, although precise, is not monotonous, like imitated archaic works. The folds grow agreeably wider towards the bottom; and the zigzag end is enlivened by little depressions, producing pleasing variations of light and shade on the surface. But these attractions of the quaintly draped figure, of course, do not appear in the tiny cut, and must be sought for in the presence of the marble itself. Such of the hair as appears is carefully divided into masses, one falling over the brow, two others at the side, and one down the back, and is represented in stiffly parallel wave-lines. Traces of color, and the holes in her forehead, as well as a bronze curl left on the temple of another statue, show that many details were left to color and bronze. From her ears doubtless hung metal ear-rings, but of other jewellery there is no sign. How constrained and unnatural her position! Every indication of the female form is absent. The set lines of her garments appear in striking contrast to the figures of the nude, bending warriors about her, in which the details of the strained forms are admirably given. The sculptor, perhaps, had floating before his mind some time-honored Palladium clad in holy garments, such as we see painted on vases, and from whose traditional pose, with all his skill in the nude, he did not venture to break away. It may well be questioned, however, whether it would have been possible for these early artists to have represented naturally the form of the goddess beneath the heavy *ægis* and long, full drapery;

for that the Doric sculptors of the Peloponnesos devoted their energies mainly to the execution of nude statues is well known.

The warrior at Athena's feet, calling to mind the subject of Onatas' representation of king Opis for the Tarentines, falls with his head towards his friends, and should lie, as represented in the cut, directly in front of the goddess. Like most of his comrades, his armor consists of but a helmet and shield, reminding us of the nudity of Onatas' Homeric group at Olympia. Fragments indicate that nude warriors, one on each side of Athena, stretched forward in exactly the same position to catch the body or armor of the fallen man. In the corresponding figure preserved from the east pediment, we see with what boldness the artist must have balanced a heavy mass of marble, and given it all the energy and muscular action of this strained position. A hole in the arm nearest the pediment indicates that these statues alone, of the twelve or fourteen which occupied its shallow space, were fastened to the wall behind (*tympanum*). These bended warriors, eager to secure the fallen, were sustained on each side by two nude but helmeted combatants, standing in front, and fighting with shields and lances. Conjecture has given to the warrior at Athena's right the name of Ajax, according to Homeric song "the bulwark of the Greeks." The one on the left may be Æneas, his opponent, the leader of the Trojan hosts. Concerning what immediately accompanied these two standing warriors, there has been much controversy. Lange sees grounds for supplying, as their companions, two missing figures, standing one on each side, beyond, and somewhat in the rear; although his arguments are still considered insufficient by some.[419]

The relative position of the following figures, a fully-armed kneeling archer, and a nude kneeling spearsman on each side, is doubtless incorrect as they now stand in the Glyptothek, in which the restorers have given the archers tall helmets. The arrangement suggested by Brunn would be far truer to the original, and is followed in Lange's restoration (Fig. 118). Here these helmets are replaced by lower ones, and the archers are made to kneel behind instead of in front of the spearsmen: thus the space is better filled, and the outlines of the composition made easier. The archer to Athena's left is differently armed from the corresponding figure on her right side, and wears a close jacket, with sleeves and trousers reaching the heels, and a leathern cap. This style of dress marks this archer as Asiatic; thus making it probable that his side of the pediment represents the Trojans, and the opposite the Greeks. This armor has, moreover, won for the figure that wears it, the name of Paris, who shot the fatal arrow at Achilles. At the extreme ends of the pediment, and sundered from the conflict, lie two warriors, — the Greek pulling an arrow from his wound, and the Trojan sinking in death. Both of these are thoroughly nude, and wear long hair, which forms a double row of faultless curls around their foreheads, and falls down their backs in a long mass. How iron

the symmetry observed in this pedimental group! The exact correspondence of the figures on each side will strike every observer, and call to mind the like symmetry in the pediment of the Megara Treasury at Olympia, described above on p. 211. But, in these Ægina marbles, a single figure occupies the centre of the pediment, instead of a divided group, as in the Megara pediment: besides, the combatants move more agreeably towards the centre, and do not rush away from it, as in those marbles where they seem in danger of striking their heads against the hard, sloping lines of the cornice. But, in spite of the decided improvements upon that earlier work, the composition of this Æginetan group is still too clearly artificial strongly to appeal to us. The prime excellence of its marbles lies, then, not in their composition, but in that pervading correctness in the well-developed muscles, and the excited movements of the bodies, rendered with understanding of the form. The artist does not attain complete naturalism, and doubtless did not strive for it: the great emphasis seems laid upon the bony framework and its muscular envelope. He gives the collar-bones their true proportions and direction, thus determining the height and breadth of the shoulders. He always emphasizes the breast-bone, and even the prominence at its base, only visible in nature when the body is erect. The true and false ribs are correctly given: the well-built upper part of the body connects with the lower by an easy and natural curve of the back, quite different from the rigid and exaggerated lines of earlier statues. The loins are still narrow compared with the shoulders, but in the greater shallowness of the triangle at the lower end of the pelvis there is a nearer approach to nature than in statues of the sixth century. The limbs are long in proportion to the trunk, and give the impression of a lack of massive strength. Upon this framework the sculptor has intelligently spread out the muscular system. The intercostals weave naturally in and out of the ribs, and the muscles of arms and legs appear in true proportions. The perpendicular and horizontal furrows of the abdomen are always visible; but the stiffly uniform space between the horizontal muscles compares unfavorably with the more natural divisions in archaic Attic forms, as will appear on comparing these Æginetan works with the group of Aristogeiton and Harmodios (traceable to an Attic original), where the two lower spaces are considerably wider than the one above. Moreover, the flatness of the stomachs in these Æginetan figures from the west pediment calls to mind the same characteristic in earlier statues. The heads are small, the eyes protruding and Chinese-shaped, the eyebrows at an ugly obtuse angle, the noses and upper lips short, the chins long and square, and the tightly closed mouths of every one of these warriors, whether fighting or dying, are drawn up as though smiling. The hair lies in locks resembling strings of *macaroni*, or in precise curls like rows of snail-shells. Age is distinguished from youth simply by the addition of a beard. Very few veins are rendered; and no intimation is given of the underlying layers of fat which in nature

conceal the sharp muscular outlines, and impart to the skin an easy and graceful flow. Throughout these forms only what is essential is represented. The casual appearances of nature, as well as the life bursting from within, is left unexpressed. The muscles seem to drive the machinery of the human frame, but fail to link the members so as to suggest lifelike motion. The warriors fight like recruits on the drilling-ground, not like trained veterans on the battlefield; and their arrows and lances we are sure can never fly to reach the enemy. But the stern system of sharply defined plastic forms offered us by the Æginetan sculptors can only be the result of thoughtful, painstaking study, and long-continued method. And so these men appear, not as experimenting each in vague and erratic individual endeavors, but as developing sure artistic principles to become one of the priceless heirlooms of Greek sculpture.

Fig. 119. A Fallen Warrior from the East Pediment of the Temple of Athena on Ægina. Munich.

Of the sculptures of the east pediment, at the opposite end of the temple, five figures only were tolerably preserved; but from these and other fragments we may see, that, with very minor deviations, the composition was the same as in the pediment already described. But the execution of the individual statues, which are on a larger scale, is far superior. Here, also, Athena was the central figure, clad in the same quaint and bound drapery; but over her extended left arm and hand was caught up the fear-inspiring *ægis*, as though to be used as a weapon. In her right hand a lance was brandished, and her whole movement was more aggressive than that of the quiet Athena of the eastern pediment. At her feet was, as in the eastern group, a fallen warrior, who, however, lay on his back, not sinking in death as there, but feebly defending himself from the enemy about his head. That he wore more armor than the corresponding fallen figure in the other group, appears from his greaves, which

are not seen on any figure of the west pediment. The enemy he fears, and who is bending over to catch his armor, should have been restored with a helmet already in his hand, as one of the existing fragments indicates.[420] The fallen warrior (Fig. 119) of the corner also has a helmet and shield; while those of the other pediment were without armor, and thoroughly nude. But with what skill the armor was rendered may be seen from the figure of the kneeling archer, appearing in two views on Plate I. of the supplementary Selections from Ancient Sculpture. He wears a lion's skin, characterizing him as Heracles. So admirable is the composition of this statue, and so exquisite indeed is the finish, even of the back, that one is at a loss to determine which is the front side, and hence in which end of the pediment the figure kneeled. The presence of this vigorous, youthful Heracles in his helmet of lion's skin, and armed with his bow, has led to the conjecture that this group has reference to the conflicts of the Æginetan Telamon against the Trojan Laomedon, the Æginetans coming off victorious through Heracles' friendly aid. This beardless figure, we note, has not the bulky, massive form of the Heracles of later art, but a strong manliness marks the face. Every trace of the set conventional smile on the faces of the warriors of the other pediment has faded here, and a stern earnestness has taken its place. Small fragments of a corresponding kneeling archer, but in Asiatic garments, on the opposite side of the goddess, were also found.

How admirably the old sculptor could represent a man of years sinking in the last struggle, we see in this fallen warrior of the left corner (Fig. 119). His farther leg, now restored as drawn up, should, according to the fragments, have been more lax, thus lending a truer rhythm to the statue. His face faintly expresses suffering. The glands in the corners of the eyes, and the teeth seen through the half-opened lips, impart to the face the look of being well-nigh fixed in death, as the darkness described in Homeric lay "gathers over his eyes." This head, suggesting in its forms the pathos of death, was copied with strange inappropriateness for the erect form of a fighting warrior of the same pediment in Thorwaldsen's restoration.[421]

This dying warrior shows how great the advance made in the eastern pediment on the earlier group at the opposite end of the temple; and, in fact, the comparison of the two is a most interesting illustration of development in the art-spirit, while holding on to a given type. Were it not for the old severity clinging to this head, especially about the beard, we might consider this wonderful statue, with its well-proportioned, rhythmical structure, softly flowing skin, and pulsating veins, to be the work of a master thoroughly freed from the trammels of earlier art. Throughout this later group the proportions between loins and shoulders have become correct, and indeed admirable, as may be seen in this fallen warrior. Even in minor details there is greater truth to nature: thus, while in the west pediment the middle toes are of equal

length, here they are made, as in life, unequal. The former leanness has yielded to a more natural roundness, the veins are, moreover, swollen, and casual folds in the skin are expressed, as we see in the noble forms of the fallen warrior and Heracles. The impossible lines of the hair, so like strings of *macaroni*, and rows of shells or beads, are superseded by freer ones; the beards are more easy; the finely executed ears do not appear as if fastened on from the outside, but as if growing with the head; the eyes are less Chinese-shaped; and the corners of the mouth have loosened, causing the stereotyped grimace to disappear from the strong faces of the warriors. In both groups, however, we admire the consummate skill with which the shields are chiselled in the hard Parian marble to a thinness of less than two inches, and balanced on the extended arms; and we are surprised at the successful poising of all the figures, which, with the exception of the bended, clutching warriors, were entirely free from artificial supports, so common in marble statues. These features, moreover, all suggest the peculiarities of bronze works. Throughout there is a sharpness which is foreign to the nature of marble, and reminds us strongly of the clean, sharp lines of metal casting. In connection with this bronze-like character of these marbles, it may be remembered, that it was for statues in bronze that Ægina was famed throughout the ancient world, and that by them, doubtless, the island sculptor in marble was influenced.

The thoroughly plastic conception of these figures, each being treated as a single statue, calls to mind also the single and well-developed frame of the athletes, the sculptor's favorite theme in Ægina. Because thus emphatically statuesque, these groups, although intended to adorn a temple, appear devoid of the united and picturesque effect justly required of decorative sculpture. Adjuncts of color and bronze were freely used in both pediments. The helmets, shields, and quivers were painted blue or red; the eyes, lips, and hair also show traces of color; while the nude seems to have been only slightly stained. The lances and bows in the hands, as well as the extra curls (see Paris), were doubtless all of bronze. This addition of color and bronze to the Parian marble must have given these ancient sculptures, as they stood complete in the pediments, a far different aspect from that they now present, — their color faded, the bronze accoutrements gone, and the whole restored by modern hands.

To complete our picture of these admirable temple sculptures, we must remember that at the summit of each pediment, on each side of the crowning palmette, and thus forming the *acroteria*, stood two small female figures. They were clad, after the manner of very many archaic draped figures, in long garments, which they held up with one hand (compare p. 194). Marble griffins, one of which has been restored, crowned the four corners of the pediments.[422]

As to the exact date of the Ægina temple and its sculptures, several

opinions are held. Curtius maintains that this temple is the very one erected by the Æginetans (520 B.C.) after their triumph over the Samian pirates, and upon which they hung up their trophies, the prows of the enemy's ships; and, in the belief of the early origin of these marbles, he is followed by Lange.[423] But while the temple itself may date from before 500 B.C., the age of Ægina's greatest naval power, the sculptures may have been added later. They do not form a constituent part of the architecture; but each statue on its plinth is let into the base of the pediment separately, and could readily have been placed in the temple-front long after its construction. Moreover, the style of even the earliest group is so advanced, that it probably could not have been attained before 500 B.C., and is more like that to be expected about the close of the Persian war, 480 B.C. In that war, and especially at the battle of Salamis, the Æginetans won great laurels, and would naturally express public thanks by setting up in their temple pediments marble groups. The first group to be erected would have been the one facing the west, toward the interior of the island, seen by all approaching; while the second and more perfect one would, doubtless, have been completed after some years had elapsed. And yet, with all their differences, the general resemblance of the two groups is so great, that they seem the composition of one man, who could not, however, have superintended the final execution of both. It may be that Onatas, the father, had the composition of the whole, but being interrupted by death, or some other cause, left his work to be carried out by others, perhaps by his son Calliteles, whom we know, in one case, assisted his father.[424] May not this younger man, although holding reverently to the composition and general plan of his father's work, have been fired by the spirit of the new time, and thus have produced works in style and spirit in advance of his father?

We have handed down to us in these marbles, whether in honor of victory over Samian pirates or Persian invaders, an expression of patriotism and religion; and it is of interest to note in what spirit the Greeks here sought to express their national exaltation. Not by portraits of victorious generals, or scenes from the war, did the Æginetans think most worthily to record their country's triumph. Gratitude to the propitious deity took a most prominent place in their artistic conceptions: the figure of the conquering Athena occupied the centre of the temple-brow, and Æginetan heroes of a remote and sacred past were her attendants. Twice could the Æginetans, according to Pindar, boast of having destroyed Troy, — once under Achilles' and Ajax' lead, and again under that of Telamon their king, assisted by Heracles. By depicting such heroic scenes, they idealized the glory of their present, and the halo of national poetry and faith was thrown around their recent victory. In the quaint aspect of these sculptures, we see that the artists were still too much absorbed in the difficult study of the human form to make it the mirror of its inner being, or give the faces an expression of interest or passion. But they

were moulding the form into a shape meet to receive the life to be breathed into it by a later art.

There has recently been acquired by the museum at Berlin a statuette in bronze, found at Dodona, which strikes every one on account of its strong resemblance to the Æginetan marbles.[425] It represents in exquisite work, but stern archaic forms, a warrior in full armor, who stands on a curving base, and evidently formed a part of a group. The unusual shape of the base calls to mind Onatas' similar shaped pedestal, found at Olympia, and makes still more striking the resemblance of this rare little figure to the works of Æginetan masters.

In the so-called Strangford Apollo, an archaic figure in the British Museum, Brunn sees another illustration of the peculiarities of Æginetan works; the emphasis laid upon the muscular build, and the shape of the shoulders and abdomen, having led him to this conclusion.[426]

A much humbler monument than these temple-marbles of Ægina, but scarcely less interesting in its way, is a marble tombstone discovered in Ægina in 1866.[427] It is a very low relief, of which the lower part alone is preserved. The relief is graceful in its quaintness, and contains so clearly the germs of what should be developed into free, full forms, that it deserves our admiration. Here we see a lady wrapped in very quaint, stiff garments, seated on a graceful chair, with her feet raised on a footstool. Like the stiff figures of the Laconian reliefs, she still holds in her left hand the symbolic pomegranate; but with the right she clasps the hand of a friend standing opposite, introducing us to that motive adopted in later sculptures in Attica, and developed in many scenes preserved to us of rare tenderness and touching import. In this quaint form we see the old sculptor's hesitation in departing from the traditional models, coupled with a charming endeavor to introduce truly human sentiment; and we see how painstaking, although unsuccessful, he is in representing the drapery that falls about the forms of these two friends forever united on one tombstone. All the principles of style are here observed which are the groundwork of excellence in low relief; and we feel that with a little more experimenting, a little more boldness, greater heights will be attained. But whether this marble sculpture is the work of Doric masters, and not of Ionians, or men from the neighboring Athens, we cannot say. It certainly seems more Ionian than Æginetan, and the treatment of the drapery is pleasanter than that of the Athena of the temple.

CHAPTER XV.

ADVANCED ARCHAIC SCULPTURE FROM ABOUT 500–450 B.C. (*continued*). — PELOPONNESOS, NORTH GREECE, SOUTHERN ITALY, AND SICILY.

Argive Masters. — Ageladas' Works. — Other Argive Masters and their Works. — Argos and Sikyon. — The Brothers Canachos and Aristocles. — Canachos' Apollo. — Corinthian Art. — Tegean Bronze Statuette. — The Vatican Girl-runner. — Olympian Sculptures. — Temple of Zeus. — Its Metopes. — Sculptures of East Pediment. — Their Style. — Sculptures of West Pediment. — Their Style. — Their Time. — The Sculptors of these Marbles. — Theories of Brunn. — Variety of Influences at Olympia. — The Place of these Sculptures in Art. — Sculptors in North Greece. — Monuments from Bœotia. — Remoter Provinces. — Art Illustrated from Coins. — Relief from Abdera. — Relief from Pharsalos. — Tombstones from Thessalonica. — View of Brunn. — Sculptures in Sicily and Southern Italy. — Pythagoras of Rhegion. — Improvements made by this Master. — Paucity of Remains from Southern Italy. — Bronze of Pæstum. — Verona Bronze. — Monuments from Selinus.

PASSING from Ægina to other Doric states in the Peloponnesos, we first pause at Argos, where, as already seen, during the sixth century the foreigners, Dipoinos and Skyllis, had worked, and a native school flourished. During the latter half of that century lived the still greater master, Ageladas, whose activity, it is generally agreed, lasted well-nigh sixty years, from about 520 to 464 B.C. (Olymp. 65–79).[428] Nine works, all in bronze, are mentioned as coming from his workshop. Of his two statues of Zeus, we are told that one represented the child-god, and that the other, made for the Messenians, was later taken to Ithome. It is probable that this latter figure appears faintly represented on the coins of that place, one coin having been found with a part of the god's distinctive title. These two statues were kept in their own houses by priests elected for the purpose.[429]

Twice Heracles was his subject, one of these figures being likewise beardless and youthful: the other, with the epithet *Alexicacos* (warder-off of evil), was reconsecrated during the pestilence in Athens, in the time of the Peloponnesian war, and was believed to have miraculously stayed the scourge.[430] Of a muse by Ageladas, with a stringed instrument, we only know that it belonged to a trio; the two remaining statues being from the hand of his contemporaries and neighbors, Canachos and Aristocles, in Sikyon.[431] More characteristic for his school than these figures of gods and heroes were, probably, his two statues of Olympic victors, and the chariot of Cleosthenes, seen by Pausa-

nias in the sacred *altis*. One victor represented Anochos, a Tarentine, and the other Timasitheos.[432]

We learn that the names of each of the four horses of Cleosthenes' chariot were inscribed, and that the rich owner of the chariot was the first to be honored with a statue along with the charioteer. For the people of Tarentum, for whom Onatas also worked, Ageladas executed a group, seen in Delphi, celebrating a victory won over the Messapians, there appearing in this monument riders and captive women.[433]

This recital of Ageladas' works would mean little for us did we not know, that among the younger generation who sought his instruction were three men destined to become the great lights of Greek sculpture, — Polycleitos of Argos, Myron from Bœotia, and the Athenian Pheidias. What were the qualities which attracted them to the old Argive master? The correctness of Argive art and its skilful technique are well attested; and may we not conjecture that these excellences marked the school of Ageladas, although he himself could not have been a revolutionary genius?

A stately base of Parian marble was recently found at Olympia, the inscription of which tells us that the sculptures which it bore were dedicated by one Praxiteles, after a successful career in the cities of Sicily, and that they were executed by several sculptors, one of whom is called son of Agelaidas, no doubt the Ageladas of literature.[434] Had these statues been preserved, we might have obtained from them some idea of the style of the great head of the Argive school, whose scholars were such men.

Another Argive master of this time is mentioned, who bore the name of Aristomedon. He must have lived before Xerxes invaded Greece, having executed figures in honor of victory in the Phokian war.[435] This votive gift was set up in Delphi after the triumph over the Thessalians of the Phokians, under the leadership of the seer Tellias. It comprised the commander-in-chief Tellias, the other military leaders, and several Phokian heroes; but we know nothing of its style or arrangement. Two other Argive masters, Glaucos and Dionysios, probably somewhat younger than their more celebrated countryman, Ageladas, executed a very extensive monument of numerous figures in bronze, a votive offering to the Olympic gods for Smikythos, who was long guardian to the children of Anaxilas, Tyrant of Rhegion (died 476 B.C.). Smikythos made this extensive gift in fulfilment of a vow for the recovery of his consumptive son.[436] Parts of its pedestal and fragmentary dedicatory inscription have been discovered at Olympia, but furnish no light as to the sculptures. The site of this discovery, however, below the level of the great temple to Zeus, aids in fixing the date of that building, which must have been after the erection of Smikythos' gift.[437] The group was composed of a number of gods and goddesses, large and small, but was so injured by the removal of some of the figures to Rome by Nero, that Pausanias' description is incomplete. For Phor-

mis of Arcadia, who distinguished himself in the service of Gelon and Hieron of Syracuse, and gathered such great riches that he also could erect statues of thanks at Olympia, Dionysios executed a horse and groom, which accompanied others by Simon of Ægina; but, according to Pausanias, Dionysios' horse was smaller and less imposing than the others, although the most lifelike.[438] From this scanty literary material we learn that the sculptors of Argos worked exclusively in bronze, executing mainly athletes, horses, and charioteers, and that their works were sought for, even by the people of far-off lands. But no such noble monument as the Æginetan marbles has been found in their land; and, with a sense of very fragmentary knowledge, we turn northward to Sikyon, the twin-sister of Argos, and not far removed from Corinth.

Here also, as we have seen, the foreign masters, Dipoinos and Skyllis, had worked; but the first names of native masters that meet us are of two brothers, Canachos and Aristocles. They were contemporaries of Callon of Ægina, and of Ageladas of Argos, as appears from their works, and from the fact that these men are mentioned together by the ancients. Their activity thus falls in the latter part of the sixth and earlier decades of the fifth century.[439] Canachos, the more celebrated of the brothers, seems to have worked in gold, ivory, and wood, as well as bronze, and possibly in marble. Pliny tells us that the material which he used was the Æginetan bronze.[440] His works, so far as known, consisted of boys on race-horses (*celetizontes pueri*), a muse grouped with two others by Ageladas and his brother Aristocles, two statues of Apollo, and an Aphrodite.[441] The latter, seen by Pausanias in Corinth, was of gold and ivory, and seated in the old style. The goddess was crowned with the *polos*, and bore in her hands her attributes, — poppy-blossoms and the apple. In Thebes was a wooden figure by this master, representing the Ismenian Apollo, in size and pose exactly like a colossal Apollo by him in far-off Ionia. This latter statue in bronze, and by far the most celebrated work by Canachos, was carried off from the very ancient shrine of the Branchidæ, near Miletos, by the Persians under Darius, but was returned by Seleucos Nicator at a much later date. Like most works in bronze, so tempting to the avarice of later generations, this colossus has disappeared; and only late coins from Miletos, bearing an image of the great temple-deity, furnish us with an idea of the pose of Canachos' Apollo.[442] According to these, the god stood erect, with arms advanced from the elbow, and holding in either hand a symbol, — a deer and a bow; thus following the type we have seen illustrated in the Naxos and Delos colossi, the small Naxos statue of the Berlin Museum (Fig. 90), and the ancient temple-image at Delos by Tectaios and Angelion. A small bronze in the British Museum represents the god with the deer in one hand, the attribute given him by Canachos; but the work is clearly that of a late imitator.[443] The Roman works in marble, supposed imitations of Canachos, such as one in the Vatican, and another in Paris, are so dissimilar, and so full of the

copyist's arbitrariness, that they can furnish no idea of the master's style. From the testimony of Cicero, however, who calls his works severer than those of Calamis, we must believe he was a sculptor of the stern old type.[444]

Of his brother Aristocles we know little, except that he executed a muse, and was the head of a school purporting to have lasted through seven generations, the last member living about 280 B.C., — a statement, however, which cannot fail to awaken questioning; since, as we know from monuments, art-forms and technique changed greatly with the centuries.[445]

In Corinth, the seat of a very ancient and flourishing trade in vases, three sculptors appeared shortly before the opening of the Persian wars. These men, Diyllos, Amyclaios, and Chionis, executed for the Phokians, in honor of their victory over the Thessalians, a group in which Heracles and Apollo appeared, each laying hold of the tripod, and preparing to fight for it; while Athena and Artemis tried to dissuade them from the contest.[446] This subject is represented on archaistic reliefs, but whether it can be traced back to this Corinthian group is exceedingly doubtful.[447]

Fig. 120. Priestess with Key, found at Tegea. Athens.

A marble relief once owned by Lord Guilford, and discovered near Corinth, but which has now disappeared, had, if we may judge from the drawings, so many archaistic or pseudo archaic features that we need not here dwell upon it. Troizen and Phlius, in the Peloponnesos, furnish only a single name each: these are Hermon and Laphaës.[448]

Few are the monuments discovered in the Peloponnesos which might bring before us the character of the art of its different provinces during this time. A small bronze figure (Fig. 120), discovered at Tegea in 1861, may, perhaps, give us an idea of the mathematical mode of representing form and drapery in the earlier half of the fifth century.[449] This statuette, owned by the archæological society of Athens, shows an ancient lady standing erect, and clad in a *chiton* almost painfully plain. At her waist it is caught up, and it is buttoned on her shoulder; while a flap, or *diploïs*, falls down in front, covering the girdle, and ending evenly on each side. Shoes cover her feet: her hair is gathered by a band, and then falls down her back in a loose mass. In the advanced hand she held an object, perhaps a shallow saucer (*patera*); and with the other she doubtless clasped a temple-key. This would mark her as a priestess (*cleiduchos*), as may be inferred from the resemblance of the statuette to another of freer style found on the same spot, and still holding the temple-key in the hand. This Tegea statuette, found on what seems to be the site of an ancient temple, was probably an independent votive figure brought by some pious priestess, and calls to mind the fact, that even such great masters as Pheidias and Euphranor are said to

have treated the same subject (*cleiduchoi*). The importance of this little, well-executed bronze lies in the confirmation it brings to Brunn's theory, that the striving to reduce every thing to rule characterized the sculptors of the Peloponnesos. In the original, this face with its strong chin has that remarkable long oval, of which the front leaves the impression of a plane at a decided angle to the sides. The hair is treated in masses; and this tendency to subordinate individual parts runs through the whole figure, in which simplicity and severity in the lines of body and drapery, combined with a clearness of rendering, and economy of detail, go to make up what seems to indicate an architectonic principle. This little figure also throws light on quite a number of statues whose type it has hitherto been impossible to trace to its Greek home with certainty. Such is the so-called Hestia Giustiniani, now in the Torlonia Museum in Rome; and such the three bronze dancers from Herculaneum, which seem to be a late variation on a genuine old type.[450] How severely simple the representation of the drapery in this little bronze from Tegea, and how different from the elaborate robes of the figures found in Ionia! It is, doubtless, the simple Doric garment, afterwards adopted as well by the Ionians of Attica, but in the art of that beauty-loving, graceful people, made to reflect nobly the form beneath, and frequently combined with a rich veil to give luxury and ease of line such as we miss in this sterner little monument found in the Peloponnesos. There is in the Vatican a female figure with restored arms, which has so many of the traits observed here, that, although we cannot positively affirm that it goes back to a Peloponnesian original of this age, it may be mentioned with them. It is a figure of one of those girl-racers who, among the Doric peoples, were wont to join in athletic games, and at Olympia to run in honor of Hera in the *stadion*. Pausanias tells us that the sixteen maidens who joined in the race had their hair flowing, the right shoulder uncovered, and a short *chiton* reaching a little below the knees.[451] In the graceful statue of the Vatican we see the maiden represented in such a costume. Her long and narrow face, with strongly built chin, and her whole frame lacking all rich fulness, is beautifully severe and correct in its build, and seems to point to an original of this age when art was just ready to bud into richer beauty. From the sharp cut of the eyelids, and distinctness of all the lines, as well as the firm composition of the figure, intended evidently to stand without a support, we may conclude that the original of this figure was of bronze, here translated into marble by some later artist, who, in general, adhered to his quaintly beautiful pattern, but found it necessary to add the support required by the marble copy.

OLYMPIA.

Among the most important marbles for the history of early Greek sculpture are those brought to light at Olympia, in the retired valley of the Alpheios in Elis, according to the ancient traveller "so pleasant to look upon." On the

banks of the sacred Alpheios and smaller Cladeos, in 1829, partial excavations were made by the French, to be most thoroughly completed by the Germans between 1875 and 1881, roused to this effort by the eloquence of the eminent historian Ernst Curtius, who has continued to be the soul of the operations.

Here in antiquity no bustling cities were to be seen, but all around the eye met rich fields and gardens; while in their midst rose the walls of the sacred precincts, or *altis*, enclosing an area measured off, it was said, by Heracles, in remote mythic ages, and filled by later generations with monuments expressive of devotion to the gods and heroes there worshipped. Here Zeus, the highest god of all Hellas, was pre-eminent; and in the centre of the *altis* stood his colossal altar. On it offerings were daily burned with white poplar, the ashes being left to accumulate century after century; and, as Pausanias credulously adds, birds of prey were miraculously kept from infesting the spot. An oblong base 6.50 meters long, covered with a thick layer of ashes intermingled with many votive statuettes of bronze and clay, discovered to the north of the great temple, testifies at once to the truth of this description, and the devotion of the Greeks from very ancient times.

When Greece by heroic efforts had arrested and turned back the Persian hosts, an elevating feeling of glorious triumph and thankfulness seems to have pervaded the land; and, in the years immediately following the battle of Plataiai, many votive offerings of great size and costliness were put up by Greeks, from near and far, in this great national shrine, to Zeus. The Tyrants, and the rich dwellers in Sicily and Southern Italy, now made regal gifts at this shrine. Phormis, the Arcadian, collected such riches in services in the wars of Hieron, that he was able to put up costly gifts, not only at Delphi, but also at Olympia.[452] Besides the horses and grooms alluded to above (p. 251), there were other groups, dedicated by a friend of Phormis, in which that soldier appeared fighting with an enemy. It is very probable, as Furtwängler surmises, that fragments of one of these groups are among the marbles discovered at Olympia. They consist of two admirably executed heads in Parian marble, parts of arms, one foot, and a piece of a shield.[453] The fragments of arms and feet remind us strongly, in style and technique, of some statues of the east pediment from Ægina: instance the fallen warrior (Fig. 119). From tradition we know that Æginetan masters worked for Phormis; and it is possible, that in these fine fragments found at Olympia their skill may be traced. The fragment of the shield, which was doubtless carried by the old warrior, has upon it, in very low relief, the figure of a lad on a shaggy skin, and presents pleasingly flowing lines, although still constrained. In one of the preserved heads (Fig. 121) the artist has evidently struggled to represent the portrait of an old warrior. Although this helmeted head, and the second, very like it, are sadly injured, enough remains to see portraiture here combined with a most naïve rendering of hair and beard. The curls of marble were each put on separately,

like the bronze curls found on the Æginetan statues: around the eyelids seem to have been metal eyelashes; and in their sockets were eyeballs, perhaps of precious stone. But all these details, so strange for marble, we forget in gazing at the face, from which kindliness beams, as from the small head from Meligù (p. 208), but here far better expressed. These precious fragments show us that the artists of the time had gained a certain assurance and vigor of expression in portraiture which is truly delightful in contrast to the tentative ideal works of older times, such as the colossal Hera head described above on p. 210.

While foreigners were enriching Olympia with single works, the people of Elis itself did not remain behind, but now erected, as it seems, on the site of an older, humbler shrine, a glorious temple to Zeus, more in keeping with the exalted spirit of the day. The means for its erection were furnished by the booty taken in a successful war, fought in Olymp. 77, against the rebellious people of Pisatis in Elis.[454] The temple was begun, according to inferences drawn from the recent excavations, soon after this (472–468 B.C.; see p. 250).[455] After the battle at Tanagra, which took place about fifteen years later, 457 B.C. (Olymp. 80. 4), the Lakedaimonians, according to Pausanias, affixed to the temple summit a record of their victory on a shield; this shows that the structure had by that time received its roof.[456]

Fig. 121. Portrait Head discovered at Olympia, perhaps of Phormis the Arcadian. Olympia.

A large part of this very inscribed shield is one of the latest discoveries, and is an incontrovertible witness to the early completion of the temple, being in form such that it must have been affixed to the roof when finished.[457] It is probable, that for the eightieth return of the Olympic festival, the summer of 460 B.C., the sacred structure stood complete, — a grateful sight for the pilgrims wandering thither from all parts of Greece. As recent researches made by Loeschke have shown, its great temple-statue by Pheidias was probably begun, not very long after, and consecrated in the summer of the eighty-third Olympic festival.[458]

This temple was a building of the sterner Doric style, built by a native architect, Libon by name. Its foundations, *cella*-walls, and columns were of shell conglomerate, a coarse native stone, which received a coating of fine, painted stucco on the exposed parts. But the building received also sculp-

tural decoration, in which the myths of the sacred spot were immortalized. The stone of the country being too coarse for such higher artistic work, Parian and Pentelic marble were brought from afar for this purpose. Along the *sima*, or gutter-facings, the water from the sloping roof was spewed out from numerous lions' heads in marble, whose remnants show most varied artistic excellence.[459] Some of them appear to be original works, executed when the temple was erected; others, reparations made at a later time, have a freer style; and still others are evidently of a very late date, being absolutely barbarous.

But of far more importance than these so purely architectural decorations, are the sculptures of the metopes and pediments, fully described by Pausanias, although, as excavations prove, somewhat incorrectly. The sculptured metopes did not, as in the Athenian temples, occupy the frieze over the outer row of columns surrounding the building, but stood over the inner row of columns (compare Fig. 113), and enlivened the entablature of the *pronaos* (front portico) and *opisthodomos* (rear portico), there having been six at each end. On them were glorified the labors of Heracles, — one of the greatest Olympic heroes, the mythic founder of the games, and layer-out of the *altis*. Happily their preservation, owing to their protected position, as well as the skill in combination of the director of the excavations, Treu, have rescued to us at least their general scheme, and given us their place in the building.[460] The majority of the fragments are still in Olympia, and the remainder are in the Louvre; but at Berlin may be seen casts of the whole, combined according to their original groupings.

On the *opisthodomos*, or west end, the first, or northern metope was connected with Heracles' first great act of heroism, the slaying the Nemean lion. When Argos was ravaged by this beast, the young hero, according to story, long followed the king of beasts with arrows and club, but to no purpose, until finally he defied the monster in his den, and strangled him in his powerful arms. The metope does not show us the hero in the midst of this struggle. The lion lies dead; and the hero, with one foot planted on the prostrate foe, rests his elbow on his knee, and his face pensively on his hand, as if brooding over his first great labor, and forecasting what he had promised still to carry out. A fragment of the figure of Athena has been found, assuring us that divine help was at hand. Her figure must have well filled up the space left vacant beyond the hero and fallen victim. We should not fail to notice the color on these metopes, which must have blended with that of the architecture, where columns and walls were found to have a reddish hue. Triglyphs were painted blue, and all the unadorned horizontal bands seem to have been red. On the metopes the color varies. In the one just described, the hero's hair, lips, and even eyeballs, were found to be red; but too little color is left to tell what manner of harmony was attained by this polychromy, which evidently

reflects the traditional use of incrustation with terra-cotta, metal, or stucco, painted and gilded. The second metope represents the hero, and the hydra fabled to have haunted the swamps of Lernai; but how Heracles here destroys that monster whose nine heads were said, when cut off, ever to grow afresh, we cannot distinguish in the fragmentary marbles. In their present condition, however, we still see numerous long, snaky coils growing up out of a crocodile-tail, and spreading over much of the surface, thus making the relief a most repulsive one. Here the background was found covered with red color. In the third metope appears commemorated Heracles' triumph over the terrible birds of Stymphalos (Fig. 122). These fabulous Arcadian monsters, said to have had claws, beaks, and wings of cruel metal, from which they shot off feathers as arrows, were satisfied alone with human victims to appease their hunger. Athena gave Heracles a rattle to frighten them from their nest, and unerring arrows for their destruction. The old sculptor in the third metope shows us Heracles offering his prey to Athena. The form of the goddess discovered by the French was long thought to represent a nymph. Her attributes of helmet, and *ægis* on her breast, however, clearly mark this as the warrior-goddess, who, seated on a rock, looks at some object now gone, doubtless the long-desired bird which the hero must quietly have held in his hand. In the fourth metope Heracles is in the midst of his struggle with a wild bull sent by Poseidon to waste the land of the Cretans in retribution for a great sin. It fell to the lot of the hero to catch and bind the beast alive. In the sculptured scene, Heracles by main force seems to be holding back the enraged brute. The background of this metope was found painted blue, unlike some of the others, which were red, thus showing a lack of uniformity in the application of color. The brute himself was found to have a brownish-red skin. The fifth metope concerned the overtaking and controlling of the stag with brazen hoofs, fabled to have done great damage in the Achaian mountain Keryneia. For a whole year Heracles gave chase to this stag, following it away to the fountain-heads of the Danube, where he found the wild olive, and transplanted it to Olympia. Very little of this metope is left, but enough to show that the hero had overtaken the stag, and, while kneeling on its back with one knee, was probably struggling with the horns, as very frequently represented in much later sculptures. Heracles' adventure with the Amazon queen, Hippolyte, is

Fig. 122. Metope from the Temple of Zeus at Olympia. Heracles bringing a Stymphalian Bird to Athena.

probably the subject of the last metope of the west side; but, unfortunately, only the head of the queen has been found, with a part of the hero's hand. When Admete, the daughter of Eurystheus, wished for the girdle given this Amazon queen by Ares, Heracles was obliged to go to obtain it. According to story, after Hippolyte had consented to give it up, Hera, who wished ill to the hero, turned herself into an Amazon, and excited Hippolyte to such an extent, that Heracles, hearing the clamor, suspected treachery. Seizing the queen by the hair, he then killed her, and, taking her girdle, fled.

At the opposite end of the temple we follow the hero still farther. In the first scene, the seventh metope, he is engaged with the Erymanthian boar, which his step-brother, King Eurystheus, required him to catch alive. Enough remains to show that the hero had secured his prey, and was returning with it. The scene is treated with great humor. In one corner appears Eurystheus, who has been driven by cowardice to take refuge in one of those large earthen pots sunk in the ground, and used in antiquity as receptacles for grain or water. But the full force of the scene in this fragmentary metope is best obtained from a picture found at Pompeii, preserved well-nigh complete, in which the frightened king, with royal band about his hair, stretches his head out from his place of refuge and beckons to Heracles to depart with the dreadful beast. The eighth metope, also sadly injured, shows us Heracles with one of the horses of Diomedes, king of Thrace, which were wont, as the story was, to feed upon the flesh of innocent travellers. In the ninth metope Heracles has to do with the triple-bodied giant Geryones, the owner of vast herds of cattle on the island Gades, after which Eurystheus lusted. In this metope the hero brings down his tremendous blows upon two of the bodies of the monster sunken upon their knees, the third being probably already despatched. Happily, the tenth metope[461] is admirably preserved; showing us the capabilities of the sculptors of these marbles, and illustrating their *naïve* recital of the myths (Fig. 123). It represents that scene from the life of Heracles where he came to the garden of the Hesperides to seek the golden apples from the magical tree in its centre for his cruel task-master, King Eurystheus. On his arrival he found King Atlas, who alone could procure the apples, groaning under the load of the world. Heracles besought him to pluck the fruit of which he was in search. At first Atlas refused, on the ground that he could not let fall his burden. Heracles thereupon relieved him while he went in search of the golden fruit. Here Greek mythology weaves in a pleasantry. Atlas proposed to carry the apples in person to Mykene, while Heracles continued to bear the world. To this proposition the hero gave his consent, adding only that he must provide himself with a cushion for his shoulders. The slow-witted Atlas then took the load again, but found too late that Heracles had now concluded to let him remain the unhappy bearer of the world. The metope from Olympia representing this scene, and on the same

scale as the remaining metopes, though larger in the engraving, shows us that fictitious simultaneousness which occurs continually in ancient paintings and sculpture, crowding successive events all into one picture. Thus King Atlas, with royal band in hair, has just returned with both hands full of apples; but

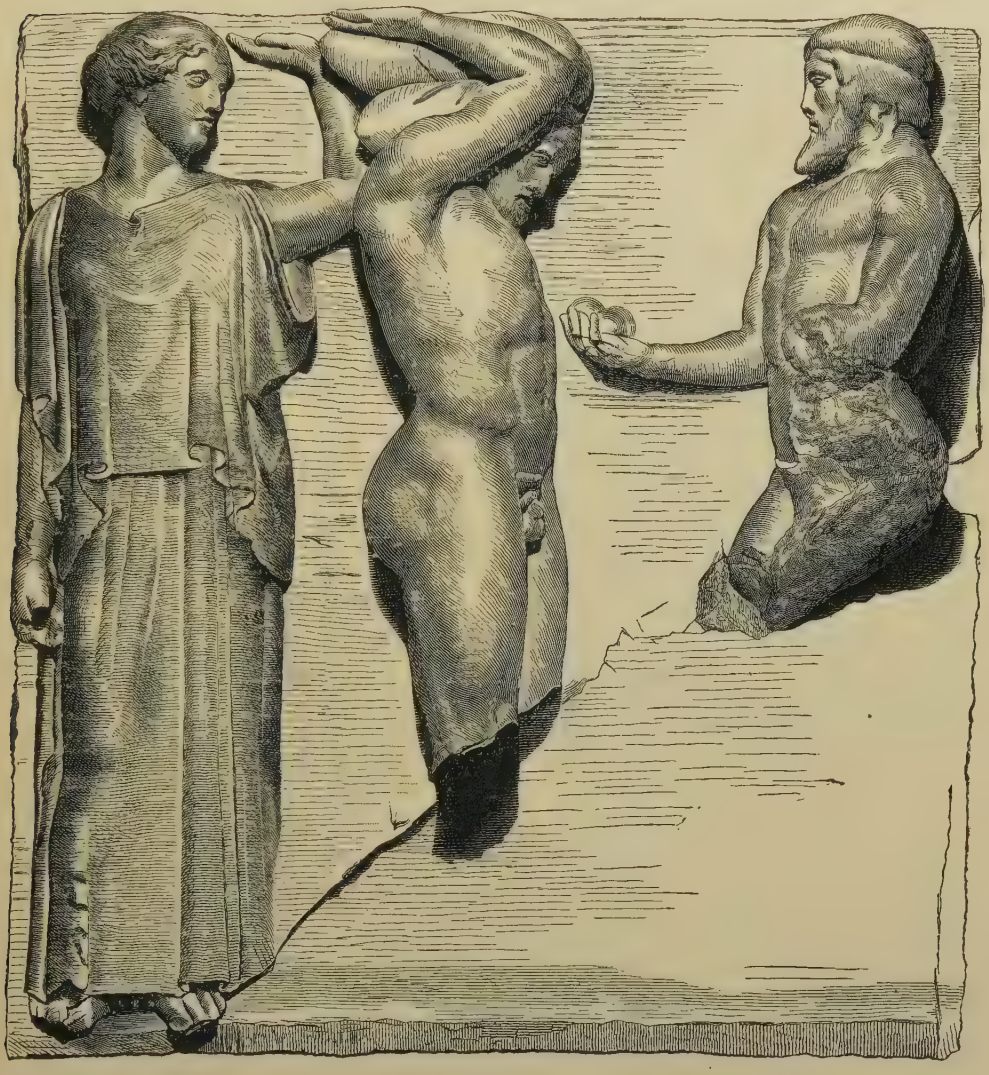

Fig. 123. Metope from Temple of Zeus at Olympia. Heracles, Atlas, and Hesperid.

Heracles already has the cushion on his shoulder, the world borne by it being left to the imagination. The apples of the second hand are not represented in the cut, since the engraving was made before they were found. Another of the details of the mythic story crowded into this relief is a kind-hearted nymph, one of the guardians of the tree, who stands by, and extends her hand to give the hero friendly aid. The vigorous forms of Heracles and Atlas are

here admirably brought out, and there is great faithfulness in executing the minor details. The decidedly archaic character of the relief, especially seen in the heads, will strike every observer. The details of hair and beard are not carved out, but left to color; and the curves of the eyelids are still monotonous. But, by running the fingers over these strong but subtile muscles of the body, we become pleasantly aware by touch, as cannot be done by sight alone, that there is here no laxity or uncertainty, but everywhere perspicuity, firmness, and assurance in the severe but thoroughly plastic shapes, even though still exaggerated in parts with the naïve emphasis given by archaic art to the most prominent members. But how primitive the drapery of this Hesperid, and how far behind the rendering of the nude! The simplicity of cut is quite unlike the pattern of garments found in statues among the Ionians, as those of Miletos, Samos, Delos, and even Athens. In the perpendicular folds which fall over her thigh, in the horizontal lines of the edge running across the body, and in the serpentine border dropping towards the hip, there is, however, a peculiar attraction, far indeed from that of entire naturalness, and dependent rather upon stern conformity to carefully weighed artistic principles, it might be said upon "the beauty alone of certain linear combinations."[462] There is throughout the forms of this metope a nobility holding itself aloof from all that is trivial or undignified, showing the work of a master well trained in artistic traditions, whose sculptures do not appeal to feeling or sentiment, but most emphatically to our judgment, and sense of sculptural form.

The eleventh metope has a female figure, in her severe but agreeable lines, sister, as it were, to this nymph. It is Athena who here stands by with her aid while Heracles cleans the stables of Augeias (Fig. 124). According to myth, these were so extensive and so foul that Heracles turned a river into them; but here he appears actually at work hoeing out the dirt, in an attitude which shows great exertion. Athena, while standing with full front to the beholder, looks toward Heracles; her left hand, perhaps, once holding a lance, and her right resting on a shield. Her helmet had attachments of bronze, now gone; and Heracles' hair and beard were clearly painted. The twelfth and last metope seems to represent the chaining of Kerberos, the watch-dog at the portals of Hades. Here the triple-headed monster of myth appears as a very agreeably shaped dog, whom the hero is dragging out of his cave. Above the dog, and completing the scene, must have been another figure; for the space in all these metopes was well filled: probably it was Athena, the hero's protecting goddess; or Hermes, the leader of souls to and from Hades, the scene of Heracles' adventure with Kerberos.

To arrive at the date of these vigorous but still constrained sculptures, their place in the architecture must be considered. This shows us that the metopes must have been executed during the building of the temple. Their intimate connection with the triglyphs, both on the side and the top, shows

that they could not have been shoved in after the building was completed, but must have been fitted in as rude blocks into their places, and carved afterwards, during the process of building; i.e., between 470 and 460 B.C. It is equally clear, that these sculptural metopes could not have been carved in place after the building had been roofed. In their dark and confined space directly under the roof, they would thus have been inaccessible to the artist for the production of such carefully finished work. Hence, as the building was covered by about 460 B.C., we have a clew to the earlier date of its metopes.

But let us now turn to the sculptures of the pediments, and consider first those from the east end, usually the front of the sacred building. Here, according to Pausanias, were represented the preparations for the mythic chariot-race between Oinomaos, king of Pisa, and the Lydian Pelops.[463] According to story, Oinomaos had a daughter of great beauty, Hippodameia, whose hand was sought by many. But being unwilling to give her up, having been informed by the oracle, according to one story, that he himself should fall at the hand of his son-in-law, the king determined to prevent her marriage. He consequently instituted a chariot-race, making it a condition that each suitor should run with him, and, if unsuccessful, forfeit his life. Thirteen times Oinomaos' winged steeds carried off the prize; and thirteen unhappy lovers, one after the other, were pierced by his merciless lance as he sped by them, their skulls to become decorations in the temple of his father, Ares. When, however, Pelops came, the gods, according to Pindar, favored his suit. Poseidon furnished him with winged steeds, fleeter than those of Oinomaos; and Aphrodite roused the maiden's ardent love for the beautiful Lydian youth. In popular myth, Myrtilos, son of Hermes, was also woven into the story. He likewise loved the maiden, but feared the fate of the unhappy suitors. In order to be near her, he hired himself out as charioteer to Oinomaos; his jealousy of the princely lovers having not a little to do with their failure in the race. But, when Pelops arrived, Myrtilos changed his tactics, in hopes of nearer approach to Hippodameia, and now plotted, even against his master. He removed the pivot from one of the king's chariot-wheels, or, according to another story, inserted one of wax. In consequence the race was lost to the old king, now the victim of Pelops' lance, who thus won the bride and the land. Pausanias describes the sculptural group at Olympia, relating to this myth in the east pediment of the

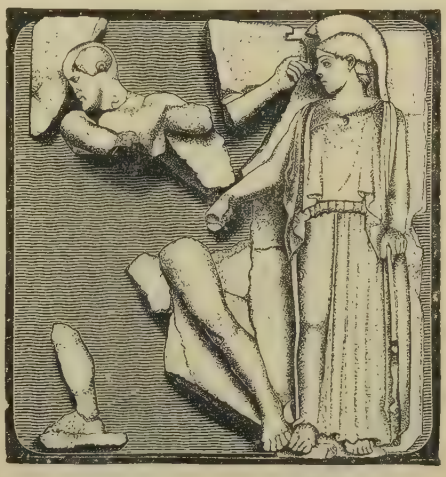

Fig. 124. Metope from Temple of Zeus at Olympia. Heracles cleaning Augeias' Stables.

temple, as follows: "In the middle of the pediment is the figure of Zeus: on his right stands Oinomaos, with a helmet on his head, and beside him his wife, Sterope, one of the daughters of Atlas. Myrtilos, who guided the chariot of Oinomaos, sits before the horses, of which there are four. After him are two men, who have no names, charged by Oinomaos with the care of the horses. At the end lies a figure stretched out, which represents the Cladeos, that river, next to the Alpheios, most honored by the people of Elis. On the left of Zeus are Pelops and Hippodameia, besides Pelops' charioteer, his horses, and two men, doubtless his grooms. Where the pediment becomes narrow is a statue representing the Alpheios."[463a]

Happily, parts of all these statues have been found, and in such condition that it has been possible for the sculptor Grüttner of Berlin to complete the failing members, making a most pleasing restoration in small casts (Fig. 126).[464] Five standing expectant figures occupy the centre. In the very middle towers Zeus, who doubtless held in one hand his sceptre, but with the other, strangely enough, fingers his mantle, — a very favorite mode of representing the hands with the sculptors of these marbles. Of the Zeus, the head, right leg, and part of left arm and drapery, are lacking; but his tremendous chest, and the drapery about his limbs, are well preserved. Thus we see the king of gods is here conceived as appearing in person at this momentous scene; but, judging from the attitude of those on both sides of him, they are conceived as unaware of his presence. Two helmeted warriors, whose heads, torsos, and parts of arms, are preserved, stood on each side of Zeus. The bearded, and consequently the older, man, doubtless the father, Oinomaos, stood at Zeus' left, and not, as Pausanias says, at his right. His pose seems to be one of proud self-confidence, with one hand placed with assurance on his hips; while his wife and companion, Sterope, happily quite well preserved, seems absorbed in thought concerning the dreaded race, which shall decide the fate of her husband and daughter. One arm is laid across her breast, and with the other hand she fingers the drapery about her neck.

Corresponding to this couple is one on the opposite side of Zeus, where the old sculptor, with his love of summing up the whole story in a single scene, has already placed the much-sought-for bride, Hippodameia, by the side of her suitor, Pelops. Her gesture of holding her veil beyond her head is probably one implying the approaching nuptials, and becomes a very favorite one in later art. Her whole form, clad in a plain *chiton* like that of the Tegea priestess, is, however, apparently no younger than that of her mother; nor is there great difference in their faces. This central row of figures, all of which are unfinished at the back, stand well-nigh in full front view. Their varied pose of hands, turn of head, and bend of knee, make a far more agreeable impression, as the group is now restored in diminutive size, than it seemed possible to expect of the five monotonously regular figures as they appeared in the frag-

ments. It will doubtless appear, when they are restored in the full size of the originals, that the same severe harmony, varied by slightest changes, will be preserved. The simple, unostentatious way in which this story is told, shows us that the sculptors did not here seek complicated and intricate combinations: and yet, in this stately central row, the old archaic forms are struggling up to greater freedom; and there is clearly an advance upon the prim stiffly isolated Athena of the Ægina pediments, who looks out alone upon us from the throng of struggling warriors.

Much discussion has arisen concerning the placing of the figures immediately following on each side of this central group, affecting also the figures in the corners. Curtius, whose arrangement is followed in the plate, is guided by the fact, that directly below the corner of the pediment, to the left of Zeus, were found together the three figures in the position in which, as he believes, they must have fallen. Treu considers this fact of the discovery outweighed by certain technical signs in some of the statues, and places them otherwise, with a more strict correspondence of one part to the other in the pose of the individual figures.[465]

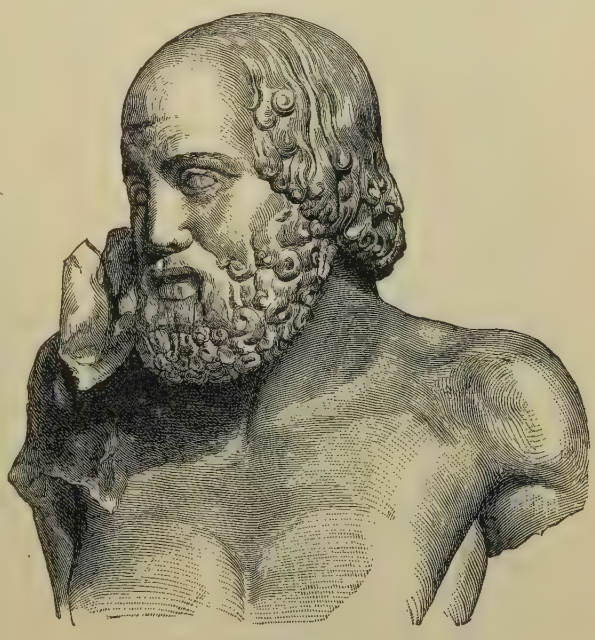

Fig. 125. Detail from East Pediment at Olympia. The Head of the Troubled Seer.

On the same side of Zeus, with Oinomaos, in front of the horses, sits the charioteer, Myrtilos, and, on the other side, the charioteer of Pelops. These forms fill up the vacant space below the horses' heads; but their place and pose are very strange, and it is difficult to imagine how they thus held the steeds in the strained pose which the old sculptor has found necessary to give them. Four horses appear on each side; but, in the laconic style of ancient art, the chariots are omitted. The pose of these expectant animals is very quiet, and almost exactly alike: their long, stiff tails in the marble may awaken a smile. But their forms are marked by a pleasing vigor, in which is much realism.

Behind the horses, on each side, sits an elderly man. The one on Oinomaos' side has a furrowed brow, and pensive, foreboding look, and rests his face on his hand; a part of the figure being represented in Fig. 125. He has some-

thing so portrait-like, that he may suggest the Garibaldi type. The other, on Pelops' side, raises himself as if in pleasant excitement, but is, unfortunately, sadly injured. Are these two bearded figures, so different in expression, only hostlers, as Pausanias says? or are they the seers, who, according to poetry and legend, looked into the future, and saw its course, but were unable to change it? On old vases where going to battle is pictured, and especially in the portentous preparation for Amphiaraos' departure, such a seer sits on the ground, with head in his hand, in attitude of sorrow.[466] So here the brooding old man on Oinomaos' side doubtless is meant to foresee with anxiety the doom of his master, but the one on Pelops' side the victory of his party. On the lips of the brooding old seer the magnifying-glass detected traces of red color; and there can be no doubt, that, throughout these pedimental figures, very many details, as we have seen was the case with the metopes, were carried out in color, the fading of which, as in the case of Heracles, has left a look of baldness.

Behind the pensive seer we see a crouching lad, apparently in conversation with the stretched-out form of the river-god Cladeos in the corner of the pediment. This god is represented as bearded but youthful, because the river which he personified was the smaller of the two at Olympia. Who this boy with hand resting on his foot may be, we know not. Perhaps he is a young groom, but more probably a local river-god imagined as conversing with Cladeos concerning the coming scene, and thus locating it more definitely. In both these figures old conventionalism seems to have yielded to a direct study of nature, perhaps of the model, evident in Cladeos' muscular chest, broad shoulders, and somewhat ordinary pose. In the drapery, also, the conventional lines are gone; and sometimes the folds have even an arranged look: thus, in the river-god's drapery, a fold on his back is laid as though intentionally to break a monotonous line. But the artistic thought stops here: this striving to imitate nature is not coupled with any abstraction from it which would make the folds fall in lines of beauty while following their inherent laws. The same realism struggling to approach nature, and still far from idealized form, appears in the boy handling his foot. Corresponding to this lad, at the opposite end is a female figure, entirely unnoticed by Pausanias, — probably a local nymph, who, bent over, seems in conversation with the bearded Alpheios reclining in the corner of the pediment, and supporting his head on his hand. His form, no less than the Cladeos, shows the study of nature, but as yet full of the slag of crude materialism, and far from the idealized forms of later works, such as the river-gods of the Parthenon.

Everywhere throughout this pedimental sculpture the drapery is far inferior to the nude; while in the forms of the gods and mythic heroes the nude is less fleshly than in those of seers, hostlers, and river-gods. The drapery of the Hippodameia is very like that of the Athena in the eleventh metope (Fig. 124),

Fig. 126. The East Pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, by Paionios. Restoration by Grüttner.

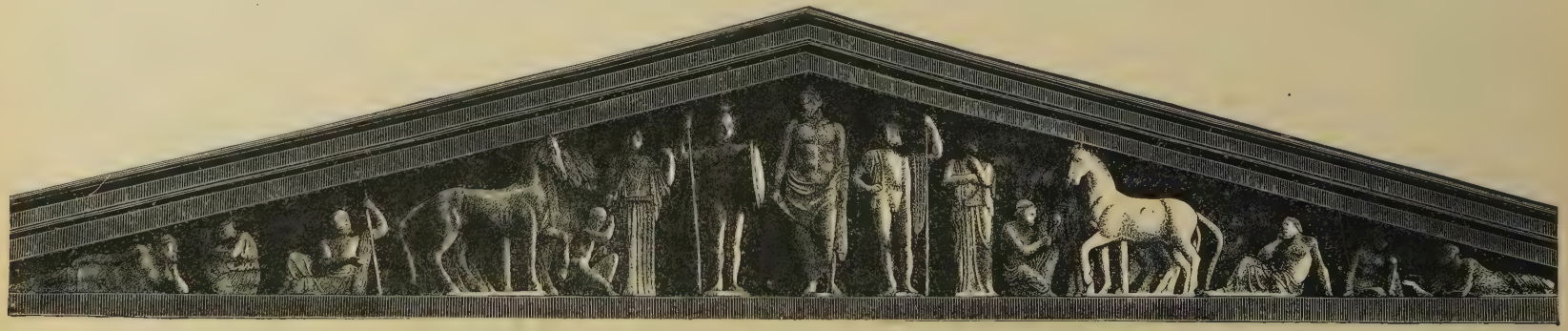

Fig. 127. The West Pediment of the Temple at Olympia, by Alcamenes. Restoration by Grüttner.

while that of Sterope seems treated with somewhat greater freedom. When the drapery sweeps around the form, however, as in the kneeling maiden, the sculptor seems unable to make it look like any thing more than coils of leather, and evidently leaves much to be expressed by color. Altogether, in the composition as well as execution of this group, there seems an experimenting and a striving, which has not yet overcome serious difficulties. The backs of the figures are left in the rough, the whole giving very strongly the impression of high relief. They would show to much better advantage were they carved out fully in the round, and thus made to cast deeper, stronger shadows to enliven the recess of the pediment, eighty centimeters deep.

In the opposite, or west pediment (Fig. 127), the scene is as excited as the one just described is quiet. The fragments preserved are in such good condition, that there can be no doubt that Grüttner's restoration in small casts is correct.[467] Here is represented one of the most popular of Greek myths, and one which gave the sculptor a chance to display far greater action. It is the battle between Lapithæ and centaurs. According to story, both Lapithes and Kentauros, the ancestors of these contending peoples, were sons of Apollo; but the warlike spirit and courage of the semi-human centaurs soon degenerated into brutality, and insubordination to law, finding vent in a quarrel about their inheritance. This difficulty being settled, the centaurs stirred up another family-broil at the wedding of their cousin Peirithoös with Deidameia, daughter of the Lapith Atrax. The centaurs, on smelling the wine at the feast, refused the milk set before them, and, seizing the wine, became by it so excited that they laid violent hands upon the bride, her maidens, and the youths, to carry them off. A fearful struggle ensued, in which the Lapithæ, representatives of law and order, with the aid of the divine Theseus, conquered their enemy. This contest, thus significant to the Greeks of the victory of order and right, was very frequently represented in art. Of the sculptures in the west pediment at Olympia, Pausanias tells us less than of the figures in the east pediment; but, happily, enough is preserved of the fragments to leave no doubt as to the grouping.[468] Of it Pausanias says, "In the middle of the pediment stands Peirithoös, on one side Eurytion, who holds the wife of Peirithoös; on the other, Theseus, who, with a club, keeps off a centaur. One centaur has stolen a maiden and a beautiful boy." Pausanias closes his statement with the conjecture that Alcamenes chose this scene because he had learned from the Homeric songs that Peirithoös was a son of Zeus, and because he knew that Theseus was descended in the fourth generation from Pelops. But Pausanias must have been misinformed in many details, as they do not tally with the marbles; while some figures he has omitted altogether.

In the centre there towers a manly youth, having but little drapery over his form: he stands quietly erect, with right hand outstretched, and beardless face turned in the direction to which he points, while the left arm is dropped. A

part of this figure in the centre of the pedimental group appears on a larger scale in Fig. 127. This impassive form, corresponding to the Zeus of the east pediment, cannot be Peirithoös, the insulted bridegroom, who would naturally join in the *mêlée* of battle. It must be a god, present but unseen, whose beardless face and youthful form tell us that it is Apollo, the head of these contending forces; his commanding quiet contrasting strongly with their tumultuous, exaggerated action around him. His colossal head is impressive in its severity: almond-shaped eyes, a pronounced chin, and very regular curls around the brow, unite to form a whole which calls to mind the stern types of youthful faces on the earliest red-figured vases, such as those by Hieron, Euphronios, and others.[469] In the subtile Parian marble his form seems vigorous, and full of bold surfaces, but loses much of its peculiar attraction in the cast. One of the fragments of his drapery, fallen so as not to suffer exposure, was found colored a brilliant red.

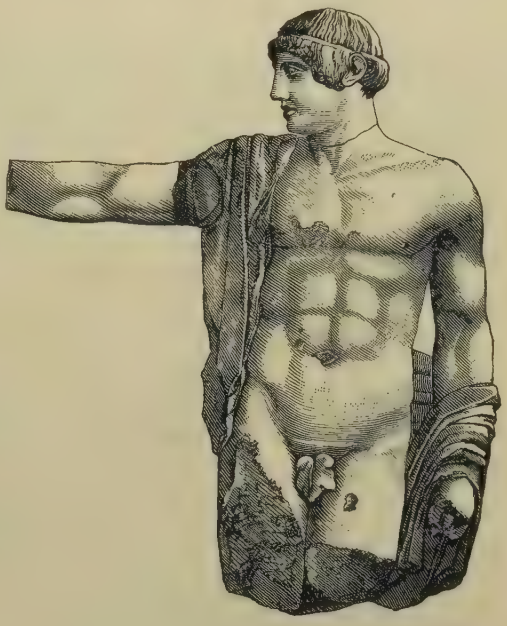

Fig. 128. Apollo from the West Pediment. Olympia.

On each side of this towering god, not single figures meet us, loosely arranged in epic simplicity, as in the Ægina pediments, but groups of two and three most intricately interlaced, and full of dramatic fire, still, however, expressed with exaggeration. First we see, on each side, a group of three, — a centaur, a struggling woman, and a warring hero. Perhaps the centaur over which the god stretches his hand is Eurytion carrying off Deidameia, who with all her might pushes off her foe. One hand is put against his forehead, and the other against his beastly face. The hero coming to her aid, and perhaps her husband, Peirithoös, has hair bound up in festive style, and drapery falling off in his excited action. In the group on the opposite side of the god, and figure for figure corresponding to this one, but in detail well varied from it, much of the struggling victim is preserved, who expresses her distress and shame as she tries to free herself from the centaur grasping her breast. The upper part of this agitated figure is represented in Fig. 129; and her expressive face in phototype, in the Selections, Plate I., where the stern build of the face, in all its archaic severity, as it looks straight forward, appears to good advantage, as well as the bands bound about the hair. By a slight bend of this head, however, speaking shadows are cast into it, and the expression of trouble comes into the eyes and mouth. The

form of Theseus standing by, swinging his weapon, and the gaping wound in this centaur's beastly head, assure us that soon he must succumb, and his beautiful victim be freed.

Beyond these groups of three, a group of two is crowded in on each side. On one side a centaur seems, as it were, to come out of the background, and has a boy as his victim.[470] The preserved fragment of this centaur's brutal, wrinkled face is represented in Selections, Plate I. On the opposite side a centaur also comes out of the background, so that only his front part appears as he grapples with a hero, into whose arm he is biting, causing pain, as shown by the severe, strained features of the wounded hero.

Fig. 129. Struggling Woman from the West Pediment. Olympia.

Following these is a group of three on each side, far more stretched out, and corresponding to each other, figure for figure, but with agreeable variations. Here, to our right, a centaur has seized a struggling woman by the waist and one leg, as if to toss her upon his back; but a kneeling hero has caught him by the hair, and stabs him in the broad chest. The falling brute must soon loosen his hold, and succumb to his wound; as the pain written on his face, and seen in his contracting chest, assures us. While there are few lines of beauty here, how intense the action! having all the exaggeration and forced character we so often see in early art, best illustrated on vases. There is here none of the harmoniously regulated movement of a developed style. The centaur's back bends in an ugly and unnatural hollow. Although the slope of the architecture required the fall of these figures; yet they do not, as similarly placed works of later art, adapt themselves gracefully to the limitations, but are forced and unwilling in their surrender. There is, besides, great inequality here in the execution, as, indeed, in all these groups. The left hand of the centaur, clutching his victim's leg, is a masterpiece of sculptural art; and nearly the same praise may be given all the hands. The nude, also, as seen in the centaur's chest, is well rendered. Often, however, the proportions seem very faulty. Perhaps were the statues once more raised 15.25 meters (50 feet) above the level of the eye, and placed as they originally stood, these effects might be dissipated by the effects of light, and distant perspective, as found to be the case with another statue from Olympia, the Nike of Paionios, whose long, stretched-out proportions, on a level with the eye, disappear when the fragment is raised

upon a lofty pedestal. But, while much success and a degree of assurance are certainly attained in the nude, the draped parts are lacking in vigor, and the form is lost beneath the bulky, baggy folds. Thus, in the case of this maiden seized by the centaur, and who must have sunken on one knee, we are utterly unable to trace her form beneath the cumbrous robes. As in the east pediment, the shortcomings of the drapery here teach us, it would seem, that the sculptor, devoting himself to the important task of rendering the human form, had not yet mastered the difficult problem of combining it with drapery, and that he was, perhaps, following impressions left on his mind by paintings. The fine-lined drapery, with its shallow folds sweeping in nearly parallel lines about the form, as well as the whole composition like that of a great picture, call to mind most emphatically the early red-figured vase-paintings preserved to us, the only reminiscence left of what must have been the style of the greater wall-paintings of the first half of the fifth century B.C.

Fig. 130. Face of Fallen Slave of West Pediment. Olympia.

The group to the left, corresponding to the one just described, is unfortunately much injured; but sufficient remains to show us, that, with shades of difference, the scheme of the two groups was the same.

Beyond these scenes on each side fall unhappy witnesses, two old women, doubtless slaves or servants of the bride Deidameia. To raise them up so as to fill out the proper space, marble cushions are placed under their arms, which at the same time suggest the nuptial scene, where guests must have reclined. The one best preserved, and seen to our left (Fig. 130), gives expression to profound grief, as with one hand she tears her hair. So strange is the type of this face, and so unlike our preconceived ideas of what the Greeks did during this age, that it has been conjectured that these fallen women, seen in the pediment in profile, represent foreign Oriental slaves. But probably, by their wrinkles, tumbled hair, and plain garments, only age is intended, as is the case in early red-figured vases. The realism here giving the folds of the skin like those of age, the individual hairs of the eyebrows expressed by notches, as well as the agonized expression of the faces, are a great contrast

to the unimpassioned features of the gods, the more ideal maidens in the clutches of the centaurs, and the unconcerned females reclining in the extreme corners of the pediments. The latter figures are doubtless local nymphs, personifying the springs of Thessaly, among whose hills this mythic scene was said to have taken place. We have thus before us many elements of agreeable composition, filling up well the spaces allotted; while there are evident signs that the sculptor felt strongly the limitations of the space, as he forces his figures to sit, kneel, crouch, or recline to suit their place.

Many resemblances between the two pediments will be observed; for while, in the one last considered, the composition is more varied and advanced, still the execution, the build of the figures, the realism in certain details, as well as the harsh, stiff forms of many heads, and the mode of rendering drapery, are common to both. The question arising concerning the time of these sculptures is certainly of great importance in judging of them. Are they late works of a feeble provincial school, as they have been considered by some? then they must sink to comparative insignificance, even on the supposition that they are after models due to great masters. But are they the works of an early age? then they afford an invaluable witness to the hardly earned steps by which art climbed from the small, undraped, and disconnected figures of older days up to mighty compositions like those of the Parthenon, in which all elements — the nude, the drapery, and the composition — blend into one glorious whole. Were they executed during the earlier half of the fifth century (470 to 460 B.C.), at the time of the building of the temple? then they give us the missing link long sought between the stern Ægina groups, and stiff, early Attic sculpture on the one hand, and the perfected marbles of the Parthenon on the other, — the latter, as we know, not completed until late in the latter half of the century. Unhappily, the architecture gives no sure answer, as in the case of the metopes, to this important question. Were it found, as in the so-called Theseion at Athens, that the sculptures of the pediments were finished before the roofing was put on, then the question would be settled at once. As it is, we are left to judge only from a comparison of the style of the monuments; and a strong support of the theory that these colossal pedimental groups are genuine archaic works, is their close kinship to the metopes of the same building, whose execution is known, from technical grounds, to have been previous to 460 B.C. Not only in the treatment of the nude and drapery, but also in the very extensive and peculiar use of color, this similarity is most marked. Thus, resemblances may be noticed between the rendering and cut of drapery, as seen in the Athena and Hesperid metopes, compared with the Hippodameia, as well as in the leathery folds of the Stymphalos metope, compared with the numerous figures of the west pediment and the kneeling nymph of the east pediment. The signs of a genuine archaic origin in these pediments, likewise seems evident in the exaggerated action already referred to, and in the peculiar types of

the ideal faces so very like those of the old, red-figured vases. In the details we may doubtless trace, not bungling, barbarous efforts of merely unskilful workmen of a late time, but genuine archaic strivings to perfect the form. Thus, from the set features of the Cladeos up to the impassive dignity of the Apollo, and graceful face of a fallen nymph, there is evident a steady advance. The eye passes from having a conventional almond-shape to pleasing and expressive curves. While there is much realism in the east pediment, cropping out also in the faces of the old slaves of the west pediment, still, in the latter, on the whole, a higher plane seems to be attained; and the forms of gods, contending heroes, and struggling women, are more successfully idealized. There can be no doubt, that different hands were engaged on these extensive sculptures: still, there is a unity of style in them not merely superficial, but deep-seated, and affecting composition as well as detail.

But what the school whence these pedimental figures emanated, and who the masters to whom they are to be ascribed, are questions of greatest interest. According to Pausanias, the quiet chariot-group was executed by a sculptor of Mende, an Ionian settlement in Northern Greece. This was Paionios, who executed, besides, a colossal flying Nike, also discovered in Olympia, and doubtless erected during the second half of the century. The inscription on that statue shows that Paionios was actually a representative of Ionian modes.[471]

According to Pausanias, the centaur conflict, of the opposite pediment, was by Alcamenes, whom he calls second only to Pheidias, and who, according to others, is called sometimes a native of Attica, and sometimes of Lemnos, an Ionian colony in the Ægean. Alcamenes is also termed the greatest scholar of the great Attic master.[472] If Pausanias is right in ascribing sculptures so full of tentative experimenting art to a master of so great fame as Alcamenes, then they must have been the work of his youth. Some have tried to explain Pausanias' statement, by supposing that Alcamenes made only small sketches, carried out afterwards by unskilful workmen; as he and other Attic masters may have been obliged to flee on account of the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war. But the shortcomings here are not alone those of a feeble copyist enlarging a master's model: they seem part and parcel of the original composition, as seen in the faulty grouping and exaggerated action. Moreover, their intimate relationship with the sculptures of Paionios' pediment forbid our divorcing them from those works. It is difficult to reconcile another statement by Pausanias, that Alcamenes was active as late as 404 B.C., with the statement that this master was employed on the temple sculptures; for this would give him a very long and well-nigh impossible career of about sixty-six years.[473]

In regarding these puzzling sculptures, Brunn has found in both pediments a more pictorial than statuesque mode of conception and expression, and, in

connection with the origin of Paionios and Alcamenes from the north, has propounded the theory that there existed in Northern Greece a peculiar school of sculpture.[474] To this school, he believes that both Alcamenes and Paionios belonged. As yet, there are few monuments from Northern-Greek soil to establish the foundations of this proposition; and, furthermore, tradition makes no mention of such a definite school. Comparison, however, of the groups of the west pediment with paintings on a Greek vase, now in Berlin, with red figures of the stern type, as well as of many single heads, with other vase-paintings dating from this century, confirm remarkably this prophetic theory, as far as it concerns the influence of painting, that strong point of Ionian art. Taking up Brunn's pregnant theory, Furtwängler has developed it more widely, believing that these works, so pictorial, and full of a bursting realism struggling for expression, are the creations of the Ionians of the northern provinces, from whom the people of Attica learned much, as is indicated by the part played by the Thasian Polygnotos, in Athens, during the early part of this century.[475] The similarity even between motives in these sculptures, and those of red-figured Attic vases of the sterner type, whose artists, as we know, drew their inspiration from the great foreign Ionian painters, is most striking. Thus, on a vase now in the Berlin Museum, is to be seen the same hero who, with arms raised and drapery falling, in the Olympia pediment, attacks the centaur on the left of Apollo, as well as that beautiful woman, whose bended head is wrapped in a graceful kerchief, and who is being carried off by a centaur. Besides, a further evidence of the influence of the old Ionian element here, is the striking similarity between these marbles and the quaint story-telling and pictorial terra-cotta reliefs found on the Greek islands of the Ægean, and mentioned on p. 234. The treatment of the hair, and the caps and gay bands adorning it, worn by women, were rendered by preference, according to tradition, by Polygnotos, and is clearly genuine Ionian. The faces, with their attempt to express the emotions of the moment, and the intense excitement of the scene; and, above all, the naturalistic forms of the old seers and fallen slaves, — call to mind the recorded fact that Polygnotos knew how to represent emotion and age as well as youth.[476] It is very probable that the idea of river-gods localizing the scene is also Ionian, and was later adopted by Pheidias for the pediments of the Parthenon at Athens.

It may be that different streams united in Olympia, and that to Elis came sculptors from far-off Mende and Lemnos, who worked in the lax archaic style, as well as others who produced the severer forms of Southern Greece; a comparison between these Olympia marbles and statues, found in Athens and elsewhere, seeming to favor this idea. Thus in the erect, nude male form of the so-called Apollo on the Omphalos, found at Athens, the copy of some celebrated old work, but of what master we do not know, there is in the treatment a certain resemblance to the Apollo of the west Olympia pediment;

and in the bronze priestess found at Tegea a resemblance may be traced to the stiff, precise drapery of the Hippodameia and the Athena of the Olympia metope.

But, whatever the final light which may be thrown upon the connections of these marbles, they already, like the temple structure for architecture, gloriously fill up a gap in the history of Greek sculpture just before it had reached its prime. While failing to meet the highest æsthetic demands, they lay the foundation-stones, and show us how many and varied were the tasks upon which the archaic sculptor ventured as he smoothed the way to the summit. Although he could not express individual passion, still he caught the general scheme, handing it on to be perfected by later times. Although he could not give the full benignity of the god, and his radiant character, still he made him nobler in form than mortals. Although he could not purge his realism, the fountain-source of his inspiration, of all its dross, still the stream was clearer which flowed from his creations; and we cannot fail to recognize here one of the great tributaries of the full-flowing art-current of the early half of the fifth century, which should bear on its bosom a Pheidias.

Passing from Olympia, we turn to consider art during the early half of this fifth century in the more northern parts of Greece. From Naupactos in Locris are the names of but two sculptors, Menaichmos and Soïdas, who executed an Artemis Laphria in gold and ivory as hunting.[477] From Thebes in Bœotia was one Pythodoros, who executed for the Temple of Hera at Coroneia a figure of the goddess, bearing on her hand Sirens.[478] Ascaros, also from Thebes, executed a thank-offering to stand in Olympia, commemorating the Phokian victory over the Thessalians. This offering was a Zeus crowned with flowers, and bearing a thunderbolt.[479] This latter artist, who lived in the time of Xerxes, was probably the scholar of some Sikyon master. Two other sculptors from Thebes, Aristomedes and Socrates, gain interest as connected with their great countryman, Pindar, who piously dedicated, at the entrance to his dwelling, a temple to Kybele. The statue of the goddess seated on a throne, for this temple, was erected by these artists; and Pausanias tells us that statue and throne were of one block of marble.[480]

Two monuments have been found in Bœotia which date certainly from this age, but the names of their sculptors are unknown. A fragment of the tombstone of one Agasinos was found near the modern village Proskyria, and is now built into the wall of a church.[481] We see the worthy man leaning on his staff, as in the tombstone by the Naxian Alxenor; but here the head is erect, and the drapery more natural and flowing in its lines. The shoulder and arm are admirably rendered; color still on the cornice above, and on beard and hair, shows that painting played an important part in its finish; but the face has, no doubt, suffered severely in the process of cleansing. The Pentelic marble

in which this pleasant low relief is carved, and its general style, call to mind Athenian work.

Remoter Northern Greece, as scanty historical records show, also produced masters of note. Here originated the celebrated painters, Aglaophon and Polygnotos, called the father of Greek painting; and Neseus, teacher of the far-famed Zeuxis. Among sculptors from this part of the world were masters like Paionios of Mende, Polygnotos, said to have been skilled in bronze as well as color, and possibly Alcamenes, Pheidias' reputed scholar and rival. Moreover, these shores of Thrace and the mountains of Chalkidike were rich in metal, and Thasos had quarries of marble; while the people that had settled there were of the artistically gifted Ionian race. Thus the materials necessary were at hand, and monuments prove that they were not neglected by this people.

In this remote part of the Greek world, inhabited by Ionians and other Greek tribes, we find more Oriental customs than in the remaining states. The reception which Xerxes received in Thrace and Chalkidike was characterized by a magnificence and splendor quite unknown to the frugal Greeks in the south, farther removed from the luxurious East. Judging from monuments, Northern Greece appears to have inherited also the spirit and methods of the near Orient in its art, which shows a character different from that of the works found in the Peloponnesos and Attica, but resembling that of Asia-Minor sculptures.[482] Ancient coins at first roused attention to peculiarities of style not to be met with in coins of Southern Greece.[483] The oldest of these are stamped with figures of unusual broadness and heaviness: they have schematic treatment of details, but skilful technique, doubtless inherited from Asia Minor, where a long practice had developed skill of hand. Coins of later date, from Acanthos in Chalkidike, show the same broad and heavy forms, although somewhat moderated. In these an undue fulness of the whole design, and a fatty appearance in the details, are to be seen; thus a lion's mane, and the folds in his neck, though technically excellent, are rendered in a schematic and decorative manner, spread over the whole surface of the coin. A succession of Northern-Greek coins, well represented in the British Museum, and marked by these peculiarities, has, moreover, been traced from far back in the sixth century B.C., through the time when archaic art was developing freer forms (480–450 B.C.), and down to a riper period.

But not coins alone witness to the artistic activity on these shores: reliefs recently discovered, and increasing in number, likewise throw light upon it. One of these, a fragmentary tomb-relief, found in Abdera (Thrace), and now preserved in Athens, represents the head of a youth, with a part of his shoulder. The generous fulness, and soft masses of regularly laid hair, in this work, are more pleasing to the eye than the rigid, harsh muscles and severe locks of such archaic works as the Æginetan statues. On nearer observation,

however, we find that in many of the forms, especially about the eyes, which are but narrow, shapeless slits, there is wanting the admirable correctness of the Æginetan marbles, as well as that inner life seen in Attic sculptures, in comparison with which this face is heavy and sleepy. The resemblance to Asia-Minor marbles, however, such as the early Ephesos reliefs, is strong; and it is probable that here we may trace another, but somewhat more advanced, phase of Ionian art.

A relief in the Louvre, from Pharsalos in Thessaly, is similar in style to this Abdera head, but a decided advance upon it. Over its surface there is spread a charm of dignity and quiet which wins the beholder's admiration at

Fig. 131. Relief from Pharsalos. Thessaly. Louvre.

once. The subject, for which no mythological interpretation has been found, is a simple one, and once decorated a tombstone (Fig. 131). It seems to be a happy variation of the stiff old motive in which a single flower — a symbol or offering — was held aloft, as we have seen in the Harpy monument and the Laconian tombstones (Figs. 88, 100). Here the figures do not seem to approach an image of the deceased; but we see two girls — friends, and perhaps sisters — offer each other flowers. How daintily they hold the buds, their hands themselves so gracefully grouped as to suggest a bunch of flowers! How absorbing the interest expressed in these bended heads! One of the flowers is raised high, and suggests to M. Heuzey the idea of worship; and he has therefore given the relief the graceful name, *l'exaltation de la fleur*.[484] So easy is the flow of lines and fulness of design, well-nigh covering the background, that one is tempted, at first glance, to assign to these forms the freedom of art in its full prime. A second look, however, at the fixed smile; the

eyes in full front view, although the face is in profile; at the schematic treatment of the hair-bands, and the absence of one breast, although the other is strongly marked; together with the neglect of the form below, which cannot be divined through the drapery, — shows how successfully the sculptor has blinded our eyes by the ease he has lent his work. How different the pleasing grace of line, and the agreeable gradations of light and shade, from the sharply defined and sterner reliefs found about Sparta. The effect seems akin to that produced by the painter, and is admirably adapted for purposes of decorative relief. The lack of that vigor and strong inner life seen in the head of the Attic disk-thrower, p. 217, marks well the difference between this work and early Attic reliefs, but approaches the negligent ease of Asia-Minor marbles, and may be another witness to the sources whence Attica drew its inspiration.

As further illustrating this early art in Northern Greece, and confirmatory of Brunn's observation of peculiarities of style, may be mentioned a fine tombstone from Thessalonica, now in Constantinople, representing a youthful warrior (cast in Munich); as well as two tombstones, recently discovered in Larissa in Thessaly, in a Turkish graveyard, but now removed to the Central Museum at Athens.[485] On one of these stands a female with slightly bended head, wearing a short veil, and clad in a heavy *chiton*. Over her head may be read, "I am Polyxenaia." With one hand she holds her veil, and in the other carries a pomegranate. That this lady is represented in the olden style, appears from the quaint form of her hands and drapery, her almond-shaped eyes, and the archaic letters of the inscription. The resemblance in the style of this graceful but faulty sculpture to the Pharsalos sisters is such as to allow us to class them together. To a somewhat later date belongs a second tombstone, that of a youth found in the same place. He holds out in one hand a cock, and raises, with the other, two small injured objects that look like pointed leaves.

In these marbles Brunn recognizes a pictorial element rendering the appearance of things, but lacking in actual statuesque character. With them may be grouped, on account of a similarity in style, the Philis tombstone from the neighboring Thasos (Selections, Plate II.), and the Olympia temple sculptures by Paionios and Alcamenes; thus teaching us of a large family of sculptures, which, with the kindred but humbler terra-cotta reliefs from the islands, show us, no doubt, old Ionian sculpture laying up a rich inheritance, to be passed on to its gifted daughter on Attic soil. Although the pictorial element evident in these is somewhat foreign to the strict spirit of statuary, we may believe it was a new feature of importance most necessary to perfection, and should, when rightly applied, be productive of most pleasing modifications in the stern forms of an art striving pre-eminently for correctness.

SICILY AND SOUTHERN ITALY.

From the artistic activity of the first half of the fifth century in Greece, we may pass over to Sicily and Southern Italy, where Tyrants, who, as has been seen, were great patrons of art, still held control over the people.

The name of but one master — Pythagoras — who was active in Rhegion is preserved, but an inscription found recently at Olympia informs us that he came from Ionian Samos.[486] Like his great fellow-countryman, the philosopher Pythagoras of an earlier day, he was reputed to have been exceedingly homely in feature. Pliny also tells us, that he was in his prime in Olymp. 90. He must, however, at that time have been a very old man, if the statement be true that he won the prize over his great contemporary, Myron, in the early part of the century.[487] Pausanias calls him a scholar of Clearchos of Rhegion, who, in the sixth century, had learned his profession of Spartan and Corinthian masters.[488] The material used by Pythagoras was exclusively bronze; and, judging from the records of the ancients, he must have lent a marked individuality to his creations. None of his original works have, however, been preserved; nor is a single reproduction of his many statues known to us with certainty. One god by Pythagoras, an Apollo shooting a serpent, perhaps the Python, cannot, as has been supposed, be echoed to us on small silver coins of Croton in Southern Italy, where such a scene is represented; since the composition seems planned directly for the coins.[489] For the son of Mnaseas of Kyrene, Cratisthenes, a victor in the chariot-race at Olympia, Pythagoras executed his statue in a chariot, and with steeds. Nike, the goddess of Victory, likewise occupied the chariot; and we are reminded, by this description, of a gold coin of the middle of the fourth century, from Kyrene, in which an archaic and statuesque Nike thus appears on the chariot, and is possibly a reminiscence from this group by Pythagoras, which must long have been celebrated among the Kyrenæans.[490] Europa on a steer, in bronze, was a work by this master, which was anciently in Tarentum.[491] His portrait of a Theban musician, in a long robe and with lyre, came to be called "the just," from the circumstance, that, when Thebes was devastated by Alexander in the following century, this statue faithfully guarded in the folds of its drapery money hidden there by a fugitive.[492] Of mythological heroes, Pythagoras is said to have represented the struggle of Eteocles and Polyneikes, the Theban brothers, as well as a Perseus with wings.[493] But his bronze figure of a wounded hero at Syracuse, probably Philoctetes, has become more celebrated than any of these.[494] In it the sufferings of this Trojan hero, "from a venomed wound made by a serpent's fangs," were so admirably expressed, that the figure received the name of the "limping statue." One poet puts into Philoctetes' mouth the sad lament, that the sculptor had made unending his pain, having embodied it in imperishable bronze.[495] Many are the scenes on gems, vases, and in bronze,

which represent this wounded hero; but whether any of them bear relationship to Pythagoras' statue we do not know. It is said of Pythagoras, moreover, that he was the first to evolve the expression of rhythm and symmetry; and it is possible, that, in one little gem representing Philoctetes, and now in Berlin, we have an intimation of these qualities, every part sharing in the motion of the whole. It is expressed partly in the crossing of the muscular action from one side of the body to the other. Thus, the left arm seems to share with the right leg the strained movement, while the right arm and lame left leg show their sympathy by a laxer motion.[496]

More numerous than his statues of gods, goddesses, and mythological heroes, were Pythagoras' athletes for the sacred grove at Olympia. Seven were seen by Pausanias, who, in spite of his usually succinct style, does not omit to praise several of them.[497] One was a statue of Euthymos, said to have been especially fine. Wherein its excellences consisted, Pausanias fails to tell us, only recounting the heroic honors received by this athlete, who, after winning in Olymp. 74, 76, and 77, in the struggle of boxers, was accredited with superiority to common mortals. He was said to have fought successfully with an ancient hero who held a virgin in durance in his temple. The victorious Euthymos, having freed her, took her to wife, and lived many years, until one day he miraculously disappeared, never to be seen again. The pedestal, but unfortunately not the statue, of this famous boxer, has been discovered at Olympia, with Pythagoras' name.[498] Other statues by this master were a wrestler, a racer in full armor, besides a pancratiast which stood in Delphi, and secured Pythagoras the prize over Myron.[499] That his athletes were not all portraits we can be sure; since an *iconic*, or portrait-statue, was allowed only to those who had been thrice victorious. This subordination of the portrait in statuary, doubtless caused the sculptor's energies to be directed to the careful rendering of the body; and it is said of Pythagoras in this regard, that he made the sinews and veins as had not been done before.[500] It is barely possible that the advance noticed from the older to the later Æginetan marbles in the representation of veins and muscles, may illustrate the changes attributed to Pythagoras in this direction. Previous to his time the treatment of the hair also had been conventional, its lines of mathematical regularity, or in stiff spirals. Here, also, Pythagoras is said to have introduced new ways. The difficulty of expressing in marble, or dark, harsh bronze, the softness and airiness of hair, with the thousand varying lights playing about it, together with the massed effect of nature, is felt even to-day. In works of sculptors, otherwise marked by originality, we find that the hair is conventionally treated; or, as the workmen in the studios express it, when asked for information, "the hair is always made so nowadays."

From such scattered notices is obtained our fragmentary knowledge of this great master. The only satisfactory conclusion is the general one, that, through

the introduction of continual and fine changes, he took steps which should lead up to greater truthfulness and perfect rhythmical motion.

The Tyrants of Sicily and people of Southern Italy were in intimate intercourse with Greece. Besides the Samian Pythagoras, they employed, to execute many thank-offerings for their Olympic shrines, masters from the parent-land. So, as we have seen, for the Tarentines, Onatas and Ageladas worked; Glaukias of Ægina for Gelon; Glaucos and Dionysos of Argos, for Smikythos of Rhegion; and for Hieron, Tyrant of Syracuse, we shall find that Calamis of Athens was employed.

Neither Southern Italy nor Sicily appears to have been favored with native marble; and the quarries of Carrara, in the north, were not discovered until the second century of our era. The old sculptors in Southern Italy were then obliged to use either stone or imported marble. Such a lack of suitable material must have been an obstacle in their way, and may partially explain the fact, that in Sicily and Southern Italy, though settled by people from Greece, marble sculpture, even in later times, never seems to have developed as in Greece itself.

Fig. 132. Phillo's Dedicatory Gift to Athena, a Canephoros in Bronze. From Paestum. Berlin Museum.

In Southern Italy very few archaic sculptural monuments have been discovered. The metopes of an old Doric temple at Pæstum, afterwards used in a Roman structure, are so seriously injured that it is well-nigh impossible to divine even their subjects.[501] In Metapontum, a few fragments of sculpture in relief, of an early transitional style, have very recently been discovered; at Tarentum, thousands of terracottas, some of which show a like early origin; and at Locri a few others of more agreeable composition.[502] Thus, little by little, the hidden things are coming out in Southern Italy, to throw light on the art of the early half of the fifth century. But as yet they are so fragmentary, that, for our knowledge of the art-life of these colonies at that time, we are still mainly dependent upon coins beautifully illustrated in Gardner's "Types of Greek Coins."

A small female figure, standing on an Ionic pillar, and once carrying a basket, all in bronze, was bought in Pæstum, where it was probably found, and is now in the Berlin Museum (Fig. 132). The archaic character and the mounting of this little work give it interest, as well as its old dedicatory inscription, and the religious usages it expresses. From literary sources we know that it was customary for young maidens of good family, spotless character, and beautiful person, to bear on the head, in religious processions, a basket containing objects necessary in the ritual.[503] The Attic basket-bearers, or *canephoroi*, in life were arrayed in rich robes, studded with gold-leaf, and bore

on their heads sacred baskets, likewise richly ornamented with precious metal. They were required to observe a solemn demeanor suited to their honored position as priestesses; and the effect of their persons was heightened by artificially colored cheeks and beautiful jewellery, the property, as we are told, of the temple. How inspiring to the sculptor the sight of these maidens must have been as they walked in stately procession, bearing their treasure! Their statues were, however, not due to æsthetic inspiration alone. The main cause was the pious custom of dedicating to deity an image, in remembrance of the duties performed in the ritual. Thus, in this bronze from Pæstum, we have one of these youthful priestesses, whom we should picture to ourselves as steadying lightly the basket, now gone, with one hand, and with the other lifting her long, trailing Ionian robes, as she advances one foot.

Fig. 133. Bronze Statuette with Eyes of Diamonds. British Museum.

An archaic verse, reading from right to left, encircles the top of the pillar, stating that Phillo dedicates this as a tithe to Athena; thus showing, that the office of *canephoros* must have had some remuneration, a tenth of the income being presented to the goddess. This quaint figure, exquisite in finish, and elaborate in its drapery, as it stood on its slender Ionic column, of which only the capital is preserved, indicates to us, besides, the variety in the ancient modes of mounting votive statuettes.

There is, in the British Museum, a beautiful bronze, which purports to come from Verona, but is, doubtless, the work of some genuine Greek master (Fig. 133). It is seven inches high, and exquisite in execution. This ancient lady has a round face of rare sweetness, but of decided strength; and out of her eyes gems still flash a tender, bewitching light. Her toilet is an elaborate old-fashioned one, very like that of Phillo, the basket-bearer of Pæstum; but her hair is differently arranged. This dainty figure, of whose grace and charm, like that of the first buds of spring, it is difficult to gain an adequate impression except in its presence, still stands on its tiny pedestal, and must have been, like Phillo's statuette, one of those votive gifts

so frequently consecrated to deity by pious worshippers of antiquity. The left hand with its symbol, which would give us a key to its name and office, is, alas! now gone. The gesture of the other hand is like that of the *canephoros* above described, and is worthy of notice. On old vase-paintings, Aphrodite, unlike the stern Athena, appears continually thus playing with her garment. On the handle of a mirror, in the British Museum, where she is accompanied by Eros, she raises her robe, as does this statuette. But other goddesses of archaic style also have this gesture, as seen in the figures found in Athens and on Delos, as well as in one with lions, perhaps Kybele, from a mirror-handle in the British Museum. As we have seen in Phillo's figure, it is not a gesture confined to goddesses, but shared by mortals. Its frequent recurrence in so many old works seems to suggest a movement taken from life of lifting trailing garments. This attitude came to be applied to statuary by artists who at first used it indiscriminately for different goddesses. In time it doubtless gained a special religious significance, and as such was adopted by the Romans to characterize their goddess Spes. In the exquisite face of this statuette in the British Museum; in its form, no longer buried, but hesitatingly reflected, by the quaint, regular drapery, bordered by a meander of inlaid silver and enamel, — the artist has produced a work which, although of inferior size, is great in art. How delicate his taste in representing the eyes! Our prepossession is not in favor of the inlaid eyes, said to have been commonly used in ancient Greek masterpieces. We suspect that they must have given a painfully lifelike expression; and so we prefer the dark, cavernous sockets, which we are accustomed to see, despoiled of their gems. But how tender and gentle the expression of life lent to this face by the sparkle of the diamonds! Instead of imitating the natural eye in its details, our artist has simply lodged a point of light in the dark silver eyeball. In view of such works, in which we still feel the bands binding the artist, but through them his striving to attain the beautiful, our admiration may well be enkindled.

That this work, so full of the Greek spirit, should have come from Verona, whither it may have floated in trade from the neighboring Etruria, should not surprise us; since a figure very like it, but wearing shorter garments, was found in the latter country.[504] There is much reason to believe, in consequence of comparisons made by modern study, that such fine archaic bronzes were not of Etruscan manufacture, but were imported from the Greek colonies in Southern Italy, and probably also from the corresponding cities in their parent-lands, whence came, as already seen, even so great a master as Pythagoras of Samos. To this family of archaic bronzes of grand style from Italy, but far too noble to be of Etruscan origin, must belong such works as the famous Chimæra in Florence, and the splendid Cortona lamp, full of the early Ionian spirit despite their Etruscan inscriptions, which were doubtless scratched in afterwards.[505]

Sicily offers somewhat more in archaic sculpture than do its neighboring states; its works being well-preserved temple-sculptures from Selinus, now in the museum at Palermo.[506] These are in stone, and decorated a temple built later than that to which the famous metopes of Selinus, described above, belonged (p. 221). Among the sculptures are scenes from the combats of gods with giants, — the same subject which, as we have seen (p. 211), had been employed by other and older sculptors to decorate the Megara treasury in Olympia. On one of these reliefs (Fig. 134), now in the Palermo Museum, a goddess, probably Athena, appears, planting one foot firmly on the leg of her fallen enemy,

Fig. 134. Athena slaying a Giant. From Selinus. Palermo.

who raises his arm as if to defend himself. As the upper half of the goddess is unfortunately gone, we can only imagine her gesture of attack or triumph. Her motion is full of swing, but not stormy, as may be seen from the quiet drapery. In keeping with ancient song, the giant here is shaped and armed like men, having a trim human form and warrior's helmet. His position is natural; but his stereotyped face, painfully regular hair and beard, and the position of Athena's farther foot, planted firmly on the ground when it should naturally be poised on the toes, show clearly that this relief has its place among those archaic works in which many features of the old still appear, but are vanishing before the strong new life.

CHAPTER XVI.

ADVANCED ARCHAIC SCULPTURE (*concluded*). — ATTICA.

Prominence of Attica. — Character of its Population. — National Customs, etc. — Influence of these on Art. — Themistocles. — Kimon. — Polygnotos. — Statues of Tyrant-slayers. — Critios and Nesiotes. — Hegias. — Notices of Artistic Activity. — Existing Monuments. — Relief of Charioteer mounting Chariot. — Relief of Hermes Criophoros. — Calamis and his Works. — Myron and his Works. — His Marsyas. — His Animals. — Myron's Cow. — The Discobolos. — The Athlete dropping Oil. — Athlete of the Vatican. — General Characteristics of the Art of this Period.

The interest of this fifth century culminates in Attica. During the Persian war, Athens had been the stronghold of patriotism. Athenians had fortified their city, and fallen on many battle-fields; while other states had lingered in the background, or fraternized with the enemy. It is not strange, then, that Athens reaped in time the richest harvest, and that the Attic state, although overrun, plundered, and twice burned, by the Persians, during the early part of the fifth century, was the seat of an artistic activity which should surpass that of its senior sisters of the Peloponnesos. From time immemorial the Ionian Athenians had, unlike the exclusive Spartans, hospitably received all new-comers, whether from the Peloponnesos, or Ionia in the East. Thus fresh life was poured into the state, and its civilization became a rich blossom of all that had gone before. The banished nobility of other states, the cream of the people, had been welcomed here; and, intermingling with the old Athenian aristocracy, these independent and more experienced families had formed a happy union with the old, native, conservative stock. From such union sprang men like Pericles and Alkibiades; and to this spirit was due the broad, generous policy so strongly contrasted to that of their exclusively mercantile neighbor Corinth, and the narrow-minded peoples of other parts of the Peloponnesos. A wise ordering of the state, and great regard for public and private duty, had prepared the Athenians for the stern ordeal of the Persian war, and brought them successfully through it. Children had been taught that obedience was a religious duty; and parents and guardians who neglected the children's welfare were called to account before the Areopagus, and subjected to public dishonor. The physical well-being of the youth was cared for by daily exercise in the *palæstra* and gymnasium, in which generations of robust, beautiful, and well-trained men were reared. Soul and mind were moulded by the

study of their classics, and by the cultivation of music. The Homeric *epos* awakened the heroic sense and a love for great deeds; while the hymns and lyric verse, with their pious aspirations, and rich fund of holy legend, aroused the religious sentiment in the breast of each free-born Athenian boy. Thus public-minded citizens were produced, broad in the scope of their character, and manifold in their interests; and the effect of this liberal training was to make the Athenians, first of all, citizens, and after that merchants, sailors, etc. Moreover, they clung affectionately to their ancient gods, who they believed had aided them in the ordeal of war, and given them the victory at Marathon. Pan, of old an honored Athenian deity, came, they believed, to their aid; and Theseus arose from the underworld to join his people in battle. It was said that the heroes Marathon and Echetlos were seen fighting even in the ranks. Simplicity also marked this age. The rich dwelt in unpretending houses, and only the gods were worthy of dwellings of beautiful stone and fine workmanship. The adherence of the Athenians to their old divinities was, moreover, mingled with deep, intensely human feelings. This more truly human spirit showed itself in the humblest departments of art. The Attic vase-painters no longer keep the stiff, conventional groupings, and well-nigh exclusively typical mythical scenes, they had learned from their neighbors.[507] They ascribe far more of the poetry of human life to the actions of their gods and heroes, and introduce, in addition, into their art, every-day scenes, such as pleasant pictures from the schoolroom, and the like. We long to be able to picture to ourselves, in detail, the Attic life of this century, which was bringing to blossom the flowers of a civilization richer than any that had gone before. To realize its perfect bloom, we need but call to mind the names of the poets, philosophers, and statesmen of this century, — Æschylos, Sophocles, Euripides, Socrates, Aristeides, Themistocles, and Pericles; and her sculptors, — a Myron, a Calamis, and a Pheidias.

In daily life, as we are told, the ceremonious linen robes of the men of the olden time, trailing upon the ground, came to be supplanted by a shorter, lighter garb, consisting of a woollen under-garment without sleeves, and a four-cornered mantle wrapped about the body, leaving the right shoulder bare. The hair was no longer left to grow, and be adorned with a golden *cicade*, nor the beard trimmed into a prim and pointed shape. The solemn, stately gait while treading the street, with slaves bearing cushioned chairs, was no longer in vogue. Dress and life became adapted to the earnest, active duties of citizens in a new state fermenting with fresh life.

According to tradition, the Daidalids had long practised their trade in Athens: but in the sixth century, according to the monuments, the influence of Asia Minor and the islands, especially Paros, prevailed in sculpture; and thus seeds pregnant with rich fruit had been sown on this susceptible Attic soil.

Under Themistocles, during the first decade of the fifth century, the walls

of threatened Athens steadily arose in the midst of difficulties as great as those met by Nehemiah and Ezra in a similar work. A law freed from taxation workmen and artists engaged in thus rebuilding and fortifying the city, and numbers were attracted thither to vie with one another and the native Athenians in their labors. Later, from Thasos came also Polygnotos, the father of Greek painting, destined to exercise a great influence on Attic art, and to assist Kimon in commencing to beautify Athens, — a work which Pericles and his associates should carry to highest perfection.

What we know of the Attic sculptors of the first part of this century is associated with a great political change which took place during the latter half of the preceding century. The later Tyrants of the house of Peisistratos, Hipparchos and Hippias, then assumed the bearing of luxurious foreign princes, rather than of free-born, frugal Greeks ; and their over-weening spirit awakened a general feeling of discontent among the Athenians. Hipparchos went so far as to insult a noble old Athenian family by refusing the daughter a place among the bearers of the sacred baskets in Athena's festive procession, as was her right with other high-born maidens of the city. Her offended brother, Harmodios, and his older friend, Aristogeiton, determined to have vengeance, and resolved to slay the Tyrants on the day of the festival. Tyrants and people were assembled, when the conspirators, believing themselves betrayed, rushed prematurely into the crowd ; and in the *mêlée* Hipparchos and Harmodios were slain. The enraged and affrighted Hippias, having quelled the disturbance, imprisoned those suspected, and put many of them to torture. In 510 B.C. Hippias was, however, obliged to flee ; and the two friends who had brought about this result were looked upon as the martyrs of freedom and the saviors of the people. Their statues, the work of Antenor, were set up in a public place in Athens in honor of the now deified heroes.[508] Offerings were made, and song brought its tribute, saying that Harmodios was not dead, but lived on the island of the blest, companion of Achilles and Diomedes. This group, by Antenor, was carried off by Xerxes, who robbed Athens in 480 B.C. of many of its precious ancient images. Long centuries after, a Greek conqueror, a successor of Alexander, returned these loved objects from far-off Ecbatana in Persia to Athens. Coming by way of Rhodes, the statues of the heroes were received with great religious pomp, and honored with a festival such as was held to the gods.

Still another Attic sculptor, Amphicrates, is known to us in connection with this bold attempt to slay the Athenian Tyrants.[509] Upon the death of Hipparchos, the surviving ruler, Hippias, put to torture the girl Leaina, Aristogeiton's friend, in order to force from her information concerning the conspiracy. The girl, however, kept silent, until death put an end to her sufferings. The good old Athenians, desirous to honor such courage, but unwilling, as the story goes, to honor a courtesan with a statue on the Acrop-

olis, ordered Amphicrates, as suggestive of her name, to execute the statue of a lioness, whose open, tongueless jaws should indicate the girl's steadfast silence. After Xerxes' plundering expedition, a new group, in bronze, of the two Tyrant-slayers was erected at Athens in place of the one carried off by the invader. This was done by Critios and Nesiotes, the latter, perhaps, from Naxos.[509a] Numerous repetitions of an excited group of two men rushing forward in attack, indicate that the original from which these works were derived was a very favorite one in antiquity. These are found on coins (*tetradrachmæ*), leaden

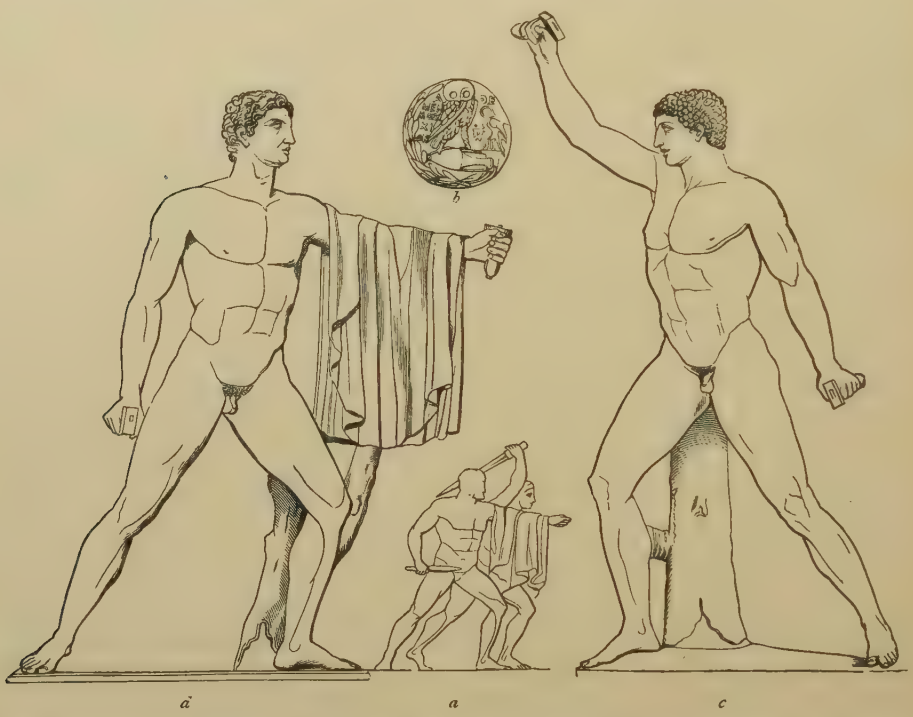

Fig. 135. Harmodios and Aristogeiton: (a) Relief from Chair in Athens; (b) Coin of Athens; (c, d) Statues in Naples, — all traceable to a Group by Critios and Nesiotes.

marks and vases from Athens, all of which are doubtless allied to the group by Critios and Nesiotes.[510] Instances of these repetitions of this subject are on the shield of an Athena, painted on a prize-vase now in the British Museum; on the arm of a marble chair found in Athens (Fig. 135 *a*); and on Athenian coins of the fifth century (*b*). It has also been recognized in the statues (*c*, *d*) now in Naples, restored as gladiators standing apart, and, where untouched by the restorer, having a lean and sinewy look. In Florence also is a *replica* of one of the statues, but executed without any archaism. In these groups the majority of archæologists recognize Aristogeiton in the older, bearded figure with extended arm, on which hangs his mantle; and in the younger Harmodios, who raises his arm as if to strike a blow. On a vase in Würzburg, this

same group appears, storming against a Tyrant, thus making well-nigh conclusive the relationship of all these monuments to the bronze figures of the Attic heroes by Critios and Nesiotes. The head of the Aristogeiton (*d*) in Naples is restored: and it is possible that a bearded head in Madrid, inscribed Pherekydes, may belong to it, as suggested by Treu; but the life which must have pulsated in the body of the energetic Tyrant-slayer is certainly not expressed in this neck, whose muscles seem inactive, and more suited to a statue in quiet. That Critios' and Nesiotes' group must have enjoyed a very great fame, appears from its frequent representation on so many different kinds of Athenian monuments, sometimes as seen from one side, and sometimes from the other. The fire of these excited companions, and the earnestness of their mission, moreover, seem exaggerated in expression, in true keeping with the olden time, to which the group must have belonged.

Critios, one of the sculptors of this celebrated group, is said to have been the head of a school which lasted for several generations; but, of the masters comprising it, we know little besides their names. It may be possible, in time, to trace in archaic Attic works its influence.[511] Several tantalizing inscriptions from pedestals have been found on the Acropolis, with the names of Critios and Nesiotes; but we learn nothing from them of their works and artistic style, compared by Lucian to that of the old writers, "compressed, sinewy, rigid, and sharply outlined."[512] Pliny styles these men the rivals of Pheidias; but they were, no doubt, much his seniors.[513]

Another old Attic master, Hegias, is also mentioned. His works are said by Pliny to have been an Athena; a Pyrrhos, son of Achilles; and the Dioscuri, seen in later days before the temple of Jupiter Tonans at Rome.[514] His *celetizontes pueri* may have been like those boys on horseback, connected with the graves, such as we have seen in painting decorated the tombstone of Lysias; and such a figure in the round, in the hard style of early art, has been discovered near Athens.[515] The general interest of this Athenian master lies, however, not so much in his works, termed harsh and stiff by the ancients, as in the fact that he was the first teacher of Pheidias.

From the scanty literary notices of artistic activity in Athens during the years previous to the Persian war, we learn that Miltiades consecrated a goat-footed Pan on the Acropolis, and that Themistocles put up a statue of a water-carrying maiden, as a warning against the abuse of water-privileges; the cost of the statue having been defrayed with moneys collected as fines for such abuse. This figure was carried off by the Persians with their other booty. When the wall of Athens, three years after the battle of Salamis, was to be built, in accordance with the decision of people and council, a statue of Hermes Agoraios was dedicated by the *archons*, — a work so fine, that, as we learn, it became thoroughly black from the continual moulds taken by later artists.[516]

Of existing Athenian monuments, dating from this time of transition, and showing the attainments of Attic artists, we have painfully few. Socrates the philosopher, son of Sophroniscos a sculptor, was said to have followed, in his youth, his father's profession; and the *ciceroni* about the Acropolis showed Pausanias a group of Graces said to have been from his hand.[517] Fragments of this work have probably been preserved to us in a relief on the Acropolis; but, if these graceless Graces were indeed executed by Socrates, we do not wonder that he exchanged his father's profession for that of philosopher.

One relief on the Acropolis shows us, however, all the beauty and grace of budding Attic art[518] (Fig. 136). It represents a draped figure mounting a

Fig. 136. Relief found in Athens. Chariot and Charioteer. Athens

chariot, while the horses seem to be standing still. As the head-dress is that generally worn by bearded figures, it is difficult to tell whether it is a male or female charioteer. The contrast to the sterner Æginetan art is evident in the easy bend of the form and the eager naturalness of gesture, showing clearly that exuberant life in Attic art which corresponds with ancient descriptions of the people. But the regularity of the folds of the drapery, and the carefully hanging zigzags, show that freedom is not yet attained; although there is a fascination about the quaintly graceful forms, like that of early buds promising a world of beauty when summer has unfolded their closed and delicate petals.

A no less beautiful work is a small altar, discovered in Athens, having all the features of genuine archaic art. On one side (Fig. 137) is seen Hermes, still bearded and elderly, carrying on his shoulders one of the rams of the flocks he protects, and holding his *kerykeion*, or *caduceus* (Hermes Criophoros).[519] On

another side of the altar is a gracefully draped goddess, perhaps Aphrodite. In the form of Hermes, there is all the grandeur and breadth of a well-nigh perfectly developed art, the hair and drapery alone betraying its origin before the climax had been reached. That this grand fragment is not a late imitation of some fine archaic original, but a genuine production of those old times, appears, moreover, from the ornament happily preserved on the upper cornice of the altar. Here there is still the restraint and extreme simplicity of old borders: while in archaistic reliefs, although attempts are made to give the human figure in all its stiffness, in the borders the artist revels in the full luxury of richly developed forms; instance the well-known marble standard of the Dresden Museum, where Apollo and Heracles contend for the sacred tripod. Such works as this unpretending altar, with its grandly conceived reliefs, calling to mind somewhat the noble simplicity of figures on the earlier red-figured vases, may, no doubt, give us a very high idea of the attainments of Attic art during the earlier half of the fifth century B.C.

Fig. 137. Relief of Hermes Criophoros. One Side of an Altar found in Athens. Athens.

A few single statues discovered in Athens show, moreover, that different streams of influence were probably here at work; and it is one of the great and absorbing problems of modern archæology to trace out these streams, and their effects on the time to come. One of these peculiar branches is represented by the figure of a boy discovered on the Acropolis at Athens. This statue has been published with a keen discernment of its peculiarities and affinities by Furtwängler.[520]

But there remain to be considered in Attica two masters of great importance, whose prime was in the first half of this century, — Calamis and Myron. Calamis is not positively stated to have been a native of Athens; but this may be inferred, since his works were principally there: and Praxias, his only scholar mentioned, is called an Athenian. The fact that Calamis executed for Pindar a statue of Zeus Ammon, which the poet dedicated in Thebes, must place his age before Olymp. 85, when the aged poet died.[521] Calamis' widely scattered works were most varied in subject and material. No less than three statues of Apollo are mentioned as coming from his hand. One of these, a bronze colossus 13.72 meters (45 feet) high, and reported to have cost five hundred talents (about six hundred thousand dollars), was in Apollonia on the Pontus, whence it was later removed to Rome.[522] Another was an Apollo Alexicacos (warder-

off of the pestilence), in the Kerameicos; and a third, in marble, is said by Pliny to have been in his day in the Servilian gardens at Rome.[523] For Hieron of Syracuse he executed two horses with their boy-riders, in honor of that ruler's Olympic victories (Olymp. 78), — another proof that Calamis belongs in this period.[524] This work was seen by Pausanias, together with Onatas' chariot.

Pliny tells us that still other chariots and horses were executed by him, the horses being always most excellent. The anecdote was told in antiquity, that a certain Praxiteles, in order that Calamis should not appear to be less able to represent men than horses, substituted for a charioteer by Calamis one from his own hand.[525] This Praxiteles is supposed by some to have been the grandfather of the celebrated Attic master of the following century, but, by the majority of scholars, that master himself.[526] From Calamis' hand, at Corinth, was a beardless Asclepios in gold and ivory, holding a sceptre and pineapple; and, in Tanagra, a Dionysos in Parian marble.[527] At Tanagra was also his Hermes Criophoros, carrying a ram on his shoulders.[528] The Tanagra Hermes was a thank-offering for the deliverance of the city from a plague. To purge the afflicted city, the god was believed to have walked about its walls, bearing on his shoulder a ram, the symbol of atonement. In after-times the most beautiful youths were chosen, at the yearly festival of this god, to carry a lamb about the walls in like manner. It has been shown by Professor von Duhn, that the graceful relief of Hermes bearing a ram, described above, cannot be a reflex of Calamis' celebrated statue of Hermes Criophoros.[528a]

For the people of Acragas, in Sicily, he executed, in thanks for the conquest of Motya, a votive gift of bronze boys, who, with right hands raised, seemed to be praying to the gods.[529]

Of Calamis' Nike, seen by Pausanias at Olympia, we know only that it was dedicated by the Mantineians, and was wingless, after the pattern of the old image of the goddess in Athens, probably representing Athena Nike herself.[530] At Athens, on the ascent to the Acropolis, was an Aphrodite by him, consecrated by one Callias.[531]

Calamis' fame seems due principally to the grace and charm of his female figures. Among these are found frequently mentioned Aphrodite, Hermione, Alcmene, and Sosandra; and his works are continually described as combining grace with archaic severity.[532] He seems to have thrown around the constrained members a *finesse* hitherto unknown, and, in addition, made the soul speak through the face. The fine critic, Lucian, bears testimony to this peculiar and modest beauty of Calamis' statues, in his description of the charms of a certain lady. He says, "She has the hair, forehead, eyebrows, and languishing eye of Praxiteles' Aphrodite; the cheek, front face, hands, and feet of Alcamenes' Aphrodite; the outline of feature, softness of cheek, and proportion of nose, of Pheidias' Lemnian Athena, and the mouth and neck of his Amazon;" but he crowns all by saying, "She has the bashful demeanor, the

unconscious and chaste smile, and the well-ordered and becoming drapery, of Calamis' Sosandra."[532a] Quintilian and Cicero further declare his works to have been less rigid than those of Canachos, but by no means free from harshness; and it is perhaps suitable, with Brunn, to compare his statues with the works of the pre-Raphaelites, the saints of Perugino or Francia, and the quaint, sweet faces and forms of Mino da Fiesole.[533] Many have been the attempts to trace existing works back to this celebrated master, but his peculiarities are too vaguely transmitted by the ancients for safe conclusions.

We are much happier with regard to Calamis' contemporary, Myron, who, although a native of Bœotia, lived mostly in Athens. Like Pheidias and Polycleitos, he was a scholar of old Ageladas of Argos. Of his later years, it is related, that, although his statues were scattered from Asia Minor to Sicily, he was so poor that no one cared to be his heir.[534] For Ægina he executed a wooden Hecate.[535] In Ephesos was an Apollo from his hand, which, after being carried off, was returned by Augustus, warned to do so, it was said, in a dream.[536] According to Cicero, another Apollo, having Myron's name inlaid on its thigh in fine silver letters, was robbed by Verres from a temple at Agrigentum.[537] His statue of Dionysos was taken from its shrine in Orchomenos by Sulla, and dedicated anew on Mount Helicon, — a dealing significantly called, among the Greeks, "burning before the gods incense which belongs to another."[538] Two statues of Heracles, as well as a group of Zeus, Athena, and Heracles, by Myron, also passed through Roman hands. The latter work was removed from the Temple of Hera at Samos, to Rome, by Antony, where Augustus took from it the Zeus, for which he built a chapel on the Capitol, returning the two remaining figures to Samos.[539] Myron also executed a Nike on a steer; a Perseus, who had slain the Gorgon; and an Erechtheus, seen by Pausanias in Athens, who declared it to be remarkably fine.[540]

Still one other group of a mythological character, Athena and Marsyas, is mentioned by Pliny as the work of Myron; and copies, or better suggestions, of this work, have, happily, been found on an Athenian coin, a vase, and a relief. We likewise have reminiscences of this work by Myron, in two statues, — one of life-size in marble, in the Lateran (Fig. 138); and the other a bronze, but little more than two feet high, in the British Museum, which came from Patras.[541] Athena, according to Greek myth, had invented the flute, making it sigh out the wails and hisses of the Gorgon sisters. While blowing it, the goddess noticed that her features were distorted, and in anger threw away the hated instrument. The music-loving satyr, Marsyas, caught it up, hoping by its charmed notes to excel even Apollo, the god of the solemn lyre. Myron's group, as described by the ancients, and represented on a vase found at Athens, must have shown the goddess in angry gesture, checking Marsyas in his eager advance to catch the flute. The Lateran statue, falsely restored as if dancing, should represent him as disappointed, and drawing back from Athena; and the

bronze of the British Museum repeats the motive, but in more slender forms. The Lateran figure was found in Rome in the ruins of an ancient studio, with many other statues and fragments, having sculptors' tools, such as saws, still in them. It represents admirably the satyr-like character of the eager musician, who has here lost all the reminiscences of his equine origin, found on Etruscan and Dodona statuettes, and has become fully human, — having, however, still much of the animal in the shape of the skull; the turned-up nose, with its low bridge, indicating sensuality; and the eyes set obliquely, as well as in the long ears, and full growth of bristling hair. The impression of the leap, as he retreats, is destroyed by the support necessary in the marble; but, by concealing this addition from the eye, there appears that lifelike motion so admirably rendered in Myron's Discobolos. There is, moreover, a leanness about the muscles, and a slight trace of archaic restraint in the details, which, when compared with the more slender figure of the British Museum, makes it probable that the marble approaches nearer the spirit of Myron's original than does the fine and elegant bronze. The intentness and concentration of movement on one side of this Marsyas, and the expression of a passing moment, seem to have characterized Myron's works, as preserved to us in copies from Roman times.

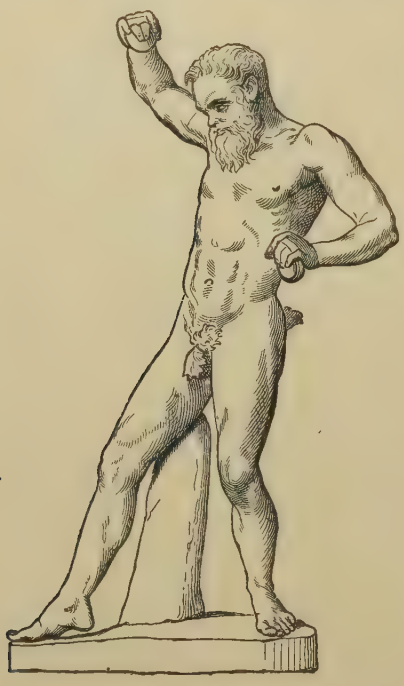

Fig. 138. Marsyas, traceable to an Original by Myron. Lateran Museum. Rome.

Myron's fame in antiquity was due more to his representations of animals than of mythological beings. His bronze cow attracted more attention than any other animal in the range of plastic art.[542] It was seen in Cicero's time on the Pnyx at Athens, and long afterwards in the Temple of Peace at Rome. In no less than thirty-six epigrams the ancient poets make her the subject of their pleasantries. "A lion," they said, to use Goethe's summary of them, "sprang upon her to tear her in pieces; tender calves sought her bronze udder; the shepherd threw his halter about her neck to lead her to pasture; some pelted her with stones, or lashed her with a whip; others even whistled to her; the farmer brought his plough to yoke her in for work; the gadfly settled on her hide; and even Myron himself was at a loss to distinguish her from the rest of his herd." But, from all these epigrammatic sayings, we gain, unhappily, no clear picture of the celebrated cow to aid us in recognizing a copy among existing monuments.

Four steers, by Myron, were taken by the rapacious Romans to their city, where they long stood in the portico of Apollo's temple on the Palatine.[543] Myron's *pristæ*, long thought to be some sea-monster, are now shown to mean sawyers; but how they were represented is unknown.[544]

We gladly turn now to a class of statues for which we find illustration in existing monuments. Like Pythagoras of Rhegion, Myron was famous for numerous statues of athletes represented as engaged in their recreation, or contending in the wild excitement of *stadion* or *palæstra*. Among the latter was a celebrated bronze of one Ladas, who arrived at the goal before his fellow-competitors in the foot-race, but soon died from the over-exertion, and was buried on the banks of the Eurotas. Myron's statue represented him just at the goal, and grasping for the wreath, while the last breath appeared to flit from his half-opened lips; and the ancients declared that it seemed as though the statue must leap from its pedestal to catch the victor's prize.[545]

Another statue by Myron represented Timanthes, victor in the *pancration* at Olympia. Of this man the story was told, that he was daily in the habit of spanning a strong bow. On one occasion, while on a journey, he neglected his daily practice, and, on returning home, found that he could no longer accomplish his wonted feat. Filled with chagrin, he built a fire, and, leaping into it, perished in the flames.[546] Two statues by Myron at Olympia were for one Lykinos, in thanks for victory in the race. Another was in honor of Philippos from Pallene, victor in the boxing-game of the boys, and at Delphi were, according to Pliny, *pancratiasts*, as well as winners in the *pentathlon*.[547]

Fig. 139. Discobolos, traceable to an Original by Myron. Rome.

More important for us, however, was Myron's statue, the Discobolos, representing a youth preparing to throw the disk.[548] Lucian saw it in Athens, and says of it, "You speak of the discus-thrower, who bends, preparatory to the throw, with the face turned towards the hand holding the disk, and with one leg bent, as though he meant to rise again after the throw."[548a] This description so well suits several extant statues, that there can be no doubt that they are free copies of Myron's celebrated bronze original.[549] The best of these (Fig. 139) is in marble, and was discovered on the Esquiline in 1781. It stood formerly in the Palazzo Massimi alle colonne, where it was jealously guarded from

the public. Its present owner, Prince Lancelotti, is equally miserly with this famous and beautiful work; and, in consequence, it has been impossible to obtain a proper illustration of it. The statue represents a youth preparing to hurl to the utmost possible distance a metallic disk, which in nature weighed about five pounds. The right arm is swung up with the heavy weight, while the body balances gracefully on the right foot, planted firmly on the ground. The left leg is drawn easily after it, as if the youth had just checked himself in running, to master greater force for the swing; and the head naturally follows the backward direction of the arm carrying the heavy weight. In another moment, with the forward swing of the arm, the disk will fly from the hand, and whiz away in the distance. This impetus to be given to the disk is shared by the whole body, even to the toes, which press the ground as if to gain a firmer hold. Thus the action of the whole statue is weighty, not only with the past, but with the future. We realize the steps the youth has taken, and await breathlessly for the next. This seizing the fleeting moment, so peculiar to Greek art, is here done with consummate skill, giving the figure an ease and naturalness which must be seen to be felt. The curve of the back, the skilful and correct rendering of the muscles, their tension on one side and contraction on the other, produce most pleasing variety. The ribs and muscles are marked off very decidedly, appearing, in fact, almost meagre. The lines of the outstretched arm, though not in themselves beautiful, do not awaken criticism, so thoroughly is our interest absorbed by the action they represent. The functions of inner life are also not neglected. The statue seems fairly to breathe. The chest dilates, the shoulders protrude, and the loins contract, producing the effect we see in a wood-cutter's strong frame when he swings upward his axe. The outer surface, thus made the mirror of inner surging life, reveals a most striking contrast to the Æginetan marbles. In the stony forms of the latter, we expect no expansion of the chest, or swelling of the muscles; but from this young athlete we await an explosive breath after his swing, and expect to see his chest take its form at rest, while he stands watching his disk fly over the ground. But Myron's statue, although lifelike, is not an exact copy of an individual. It is rather a type of the whole class of athletes, whom he continually saw in the gymnasiums or the games. He makes no attempt to have his work deceptively like nature by reproducing every accidental detail in skin, hair, and feature, like later masters who make us believe that we are looking at flesh and blood, and not bronze or marble. In harmony with what the ancients said of Myron, we find that he neglected the hair, which here falls in short, stiff curls, decidedly archaic, and inferior to the well-developed form, whose rhythm of motion we do not weary in admiring. The face, as Welcker appositely says, is one of the short, oval Attic faces, whose chaste lines attract the eye by "a severe beauty, like that of youth who have passed through the discipline of the *palæstra*," and are not effeminately luxurious in character or

person. But any expression of the soul, such as interest or enthusiasm in the game, is wanting; the power of the face lying solely in the perfect cut of the features.

Besides this Massimi Discobolos, there are several others, indicating the celebrity of Myron's great original. Among these, a copy in the Vatican (*Sala della Biga*) is a free but admirable one. The head and left fore-arm were restored by Thorwaldsen, who has, however, misconceived the movement of the head, as appears on following up the muscles of the chest into the neck, as well as on comparison with the Massimi statue, in which the head is antique, and corresponds to Lucian's description of the original. A small bronze copy of Myron's Discobolos is among the Munich antiques, and a fine marble is in the British Museum.[550]

Fig. 140. Athlete dropping Oil into Hand. Munich.

With the light thrown upon Myron's peculiarities through the Marsyas and Discobolos, Brunn has been able to associate with his school two other statues, hitherto like waifs in the collections of ancient works.[551] One of these is a youthful athlete, who stands quietly dropping oil into his hand, preparatory to rubbing himself, as was customary in connection with the games. A statue of this type exists in Dresden, but one in Munich seems to retain more of the originality of Myron's semi-archaic style. According to this Munich copy (Fig. 140), the athlete had the left hand open in front of him; but, by a meaningless restoration of the right hand as extended far out (omitted in the cut), the thought of the original is rendered obscure. Let us rather imagine the right arm raised, bent at the elbow, and holding in its hand a vase, in the act of dropping oil into the left hand, which should be partly closed, and held at such a point that the delicate operation of dropping just enough oil could be watched by the bended head. How pleasingly simple, then, the motive of the composition, which seems to play about a straight line dropped from the head through the half-opened hand to the firmly planted left foot! One side, as in the Discobolos and Marsyas, is contracted. Thus, on the left side, the arm is held close to the body, the muscles are drawn in, and the toes pressed firmly into the soil, the bend of the head enhancing the effect. The right side is quite the opposite. All is easy flow, from the raised arm to the gracefully bended leg at rest. In this statue.

as in the Marsyas and Discobolos, the action is concentrated in one single moment of prime interest. The head of this beautiful youth has that pleasant, short Attic oval, and strong brow, seen in the Discobolos, and the same lack of feeling or interest; the effect of the whole being mainly that of a sound mind dwelling in a sound body. The shortness of this torso and the length of the limbs giving the figure greater slenderness than most preserved figures of the fifth century B.C., make it probable, moreover, that, like the Marsyas of the British Museum, it is a late variation on the sturdier proportions of an original of Myron's time.

That beautiful standing athlete, in the Vatican, holding with one hand his ready disk, and with the other feeling the gathering strength in the fingers which shall hurl it, has been attributed by some to Alcamenes, and by others to an Argive master, Naukydes. But Brunn finds in it the same peculiar rhythm of parts, the one side strained and the other at rest, the same concentration of the attention on one point, and, finally, the same build of head and face, and pressure of the toes, as in the Discobolos, Marsyas, and Munich athlete. Hence, with much reason, he classes it among the works to be referred to Myron's influence.[552] Although all these creations can be only copies of the originals, which have been clouded in their clearness, still through them we are enabled to appreciate the high praise Myron received from the ancients The material used by this master was Æginetan bronze, which was doubtless well adapted to the representation of the sinewy, sunburnt frame of the athlete, and the muscular frame of the animal with all its pulsating life.

Judging from the statements of the ancients, in which praise of the varied motion, and of the great physical life expressed, predominates, Myron was pre-eminently the master who made the outward form reflect physical life in varied and bold positions.[553]

Thus, during the first half of this century, if we follow our literary sources, Pythagoras seems to have perfected the surface and the rhythm of the statue, Myron to have ventured upon boldest positions, the charm of the situation taking possession of him, and Calamis to have combined the dawning of soul-beauty in his works, with lines of severe grace. These sculptors, then, seem to have released the form hitherto imprisoned in marble or bronze, but did not succeed in fully satisfying the higher longing for ideal thoughts. That the beautiful material form might receive its worthy occupant, it must needs look to men possessed of still greater inspiration; and these men were Pheidias and his compeers.

THE AGE OF PHEIDIAS AND OF POLYCLEITOS;

OR,

PERFECTED GREEK SCULPTURE

DURING

THE SECOND HALF OF THE FIFTH CENTURY B.C.

FROM ABOUT 450 B.C. TO ABOUT 400 B.C.

CHAPTER XVII.

PHEIDIAS AND HIS WORKS.

Pheidias' Youth. — Condition of Athens. — Pheidias' Teachers. — His Early Works. — Amazon. — Statues of Athena. — Athena Promachos. — Olympic Zeus and its Sculptural Adornments. — Its Poetic Thought. — Reflexes of this Work. — Otricoli Head, etc. — Pheidias under Pericles. — Art-activity in Athens. — Change in the Times. — Athena Parthenos. — Its Vicissitudes. — Description of the Statue. — Its Shield, etc. — Its Artistic Character. — Other Statues. — Copies. — Roman Reports concerning Pheidias. — Other Works attributed to Pheidias. — His Fate.

THE course of Greek art, as it has thus far been followed, brings us to the threshold, as it were, of the highest sculptural achievements. As we enter upon their contemplation, the master who leads the way is Pheidias, son of Charmides, an Athenian by birth, as he inscribed himself on his colossal Zeus at Olympia.[554] Numerous and able were his pupils and rivals, and yet it is around his sublime genius that the memories of the Golden Age of Attic art cluster.

Calculating from the events of his life, and the fact that he represented himself as a bald old man on the shield of Athena Parthenos, it is supposed that he was born about 500 B.C., this making him a few years the senior of Sophocles. When the word Marathon was sounding from the lips of every exulting Athenian, he was probably a mere lad. During the years of his approaching manhood, the vengeance of the Persians broke out afresh upon his native land. The immense army of Xerxes crossed the Hellespont, and approached on the north, while Persian galleys swarmed in Greek waters. Anguish and distress accompanied their course: Athens became a waste; and the Athenians were fugitives on the neighboring shores, their homes and sacred places a prey to the flames. The Persians again were driven back, but carried off many art-treasures sacred to the Athenians. Such memories could not fail to leave their impression on the young Pheidias. His pulse must have quickened with feverish anxiety when the news came, that Greek soldiery had defended to the death the Pass of Thermopylæ; and his soul must have glowed with patriotic fervor as the shouts of victory rang through the streets after the battles of Plataiai, Salamis, and Mycale. Old Athens was destroyed; but, fired with new life, she was to be made powerful and glorious for the future. Her port, the Peiraieus, was laid out as became the centre of a great naval power;

and, although the private houses were hastily thrown together for the returning fugitives, her public buildings were begun in a truly monumental spirit. With the wisdom of a far-seeing statesman, Themistocles gave all strangers, at work on Athenian buildings, immunity from taxation; and artists of all kinds flocked to the opened gates from various parts of Greece. Such, then, were the favorable circumstances under which Pheidias came to manhood. Moreover, he belonged to an artistic family. But though his father, Charmides, seems to have been an artist, the youth was put under the tutelage of Hegias. The works of this sculptor are reported to have been stiff; and we are not surprised to learn, that the fame of a far greater man, Ageladas of Argos, early attracted Pheidias, as it did Myron and Polycleitos. From this Argive master, we may believe that the young Athenian sculptor learned principles of proportion and correctness, which, grafted on his native Attic genius, were to produce works of rare richness and perfection.

In the beginning of his career, Pheidias seems to have enjoyed the patronage of Kimon, Miltiades' great son, as appears from the subject of his first work. This was an extensive bronze group of thirteen figures for Delphi, commemorative of the battle of Marathon, and representing the victor, Miltiades, among gods and mythic heroes.[555] Among other works ascribed to Pheidias, which probably belonged to his youth, was a bronze Amazon, praised for the beauty of neck and mouth.[556] But it is a significant fact, that Pheidias' Amazon lost the prize in competition with one by his great Argive contemporary, Polycleitos, who is known to have excelled in representing formal beauty. Through the different museums are scattered several types of Amazons; but it is impossible, in ignorance of the composition of Pheidias' original, to trace to it any one of them with certainty; although, owing to the resemblance of the drapery of the Mattei Amazon in the Vatican to that of some of the Parthenon marbles, it was once supposed to represent the class which most nearly approaches the work by Pheidias.[556a]

It was, probably, during this earlier part of his artistic career, that Pheidias executed three statues of the goddess Athena, of which the one completed first was a gold and ivory statue for Pellene in the Peloponnesos.[557] For Plataiai, the decisive battle-field of the Persian war, he executed a colossal acrolith Athena in wood, with face, hands, and feet of Pentelic marble, and drapery of gold.[558] For this "warlike Athena," the Areia, as she was called, with her temple, adorned by Polygnotos with paintings, the patriotic little city expended no less than eighty talents ($194,000), its share of the booty after the battle. The third of these statues of Athena, like the one in Plataiai, was commemorative of the victories over the Persians, and must have formed, through all antiquity, one of the most prominent objects on the Athenian Acropolis, as it towered up by the great temple of the goddess.[559] It was a bronze colossus, now often falsely called Promachos. Pausanias' poetical

description of it, as overlooking the blue waters of the sea, so that Athenian sailors, off Cape Sunion, could see the point of Athena's lance and her crested helm glistening in the sunlight, has been shown by Michaelis to be an exaggeration; and the supposed pedestal has been proved to belong to some other monument.[560] Of the composition of this colossus, we have no means of forming a definite idea; the coins, bearing an effigy which might refer to it, differing greatly. Sometimes the goddess on these has her shield raised high on the left arm, and sometimes lowered to the ground, with the arm dropped. The shield, being unfinished by Pheidias, was chiselled later with scenes from the combats of the centaurs and Lapithæ by Mys, after designs by Parrhasios, the celebrated Ephesian painter. The only reference to this statue in later times is that made by Zosimos, according to which, as late as 395 A.D., if the usual reading of his text be correct, the figure still towered above the city, striking terror into the hearts of the conquering Alaric and his hordes.[561] But the celebrated colossus finally disappeared from sight in the black night which settled upon Athens soon after the invasions of the Goths.

Pheidias' ripest powers were not, however, to be exercised first in Athens. According to Loeschcke's satisfactory investigations, he was called to Elis, about Olymp. 80, to erect in the new temple there a statue of the great Zeus.[562] This new view of Pheidias' life, making the Zeus at Olympia precede his Athena for the Parthenon at Athens, is shown to be in harmony with the statements of Pausanias, and places the execution of the Zeus immediately after the completion of its temple at Olympia, which we know from the excavations was Olymp. 80. From this time Pheidias was probably engaged at Olympia during three Olympiads, whereupon he returned to Athens; his activity in his native city being attested to by the works he was there called to execute: the date, Olymp. 83, after he had completed the Zeus, is, moreover, given by Pliny as his prime.[563]

To the quiet vale of Olympia, then, the master repaired soon after 460 B.C., accompanied by his kinsman (the painter Panainos), and some of his scholars. Near the holy grove a workshop, seen afterwards by Pausanias, was built, and in its centre an altar to the twelve great gods, invoked by the artists when they commenced their various work.[564] The god to be represented was not the ruler of a single state, but of all Greece, — the Olympian Zeus, "whose power," as Homeric poetry says, "surpasses all the power of gods and men." For its execution costly materials were placed at Pheidias' disposal, — gold, ivory, silver, gems, bronze, and choice woods, — making the work most complicated in its construction. A genius for grand composition was required for conceiving the whole, an architect's skill in building up the colossal wooden framework, the carver's subtle fancy and fingers to give form to the delicate ivory, and a metal-worker's knowledge in dealing with the broad masses or elaborate finish of the gold-work. The wooden frame was supported by in-

serted iron stays, and incrusted with thin sheets of ivory, made pliable by fire, and then modelled and fitted together with consummate skill; the creamy color and texture well representing the natural skin.[565] Appurtenances of drapery, weapons and hair, were of massive gold, or of silver gilded, and the eyes of lambent gems; all these materials making up the fabric of the *chryselephantine colossi* of the gods, which were the masterpieces of the Pheidian age, but were seldom executed in the following century. Pheidias represented the god as seated on an imposing throne, which rested on a low pedestal, measuring 6.50 by 9.50 meters, as the excavations have shown, and standing out some distance from the rear of the *cella*.[566] The uncovered space in front of the statue, from which it received light, was divided off by a partition, extending part of the way between the pillars, and may have been the portion of the work painted by Panainos.[567]

The *altis* being damp, oil was used to prevent the decay of the wood and ivory of the statue; and the channels by which oil and water were carried off have now been discovered. But even with such precautions, and the care with which the descendants of Pheidias watched over the statue, about sixty years after its completion cracks appeared in the ivory, rendering repairs necessary, which were made by Damophon of Messene. Still later, two of its ponderous golden locks were stolen.[568] In Cæsar's time, the statue was struck by lightning. Caligula, seized with a desire to remove it to Rome, and to supplant the head by a portrait of himself, was prevented from carrying out his impious design, as was popularly believed, by miracles.[569] The workmen put hands to the statue to remove it; but, according to Suetonius, a tremendous peal of scornful laughter burst from its otherwise silent lips, and put them to flight, fearful and trembling; while, at the same time, a thunderbolt consumed the ship which was waiting to receive the sacred form. The statue occupied its temple until the time of Theodosius II., about 408 A.D., when the celebration of the Olympic games ceased, and the temple fell a prey to the flames. The statue, doubtless, either perished in that fire, or in the devastations of the Goths, who shortly after swept over the Peloponnesos.

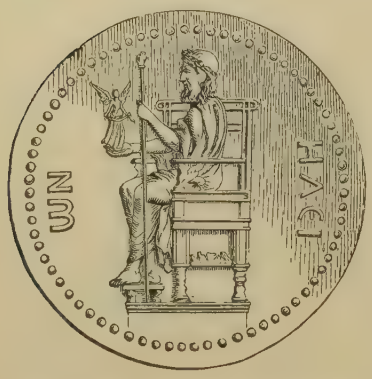

Fig. 141. Coin of Elis representing the Olympic Zeus by Pheidias.

The most faithful representation of this Pheidian work is probably to be found on a small coin of Hadrian's time (Fig. 141). According to the ancients, the seated colossus towered up so that it awakened the feeling that for such a god no temple made by man could suffice.[570] Peacefully enthroned, he held in one hand the sceptre crowned with his eagle, and glittering with precious metal. On the other hand, which rested on the arm of his seat, Nike appeared

bearing a fillet (*tænia*). If we may believe the testimony of coins, the older Zeus of Olympia and Arcadia was also conceived as seated, but held in the outstretched hand his eagle. In all probability, the significant idea of letting the bringer of victory rest on the god's hand was a beautiful innovation made by Pheidias on this older scheme.[570a] The nude parts of the master's great Zeus were of fine ivory: a golden mantle fell over the left shoulder and arm, and lay in folds over the legs. It was studded with lilies and small figures in enamel. Sandals, likewise of gold, shod the feet: an olive-wreath, symbolical, perhaps, of the Olympic prize, rested on the golden locks, as if to suggest the thought, "With thee, our god, is the fulness of victory." The sceptre was not menacingly raised, but held so as least to obstruct the view of the benignant head.

Not the statue alone was sublime in form and thought: seat, footstool, and pedestal were a world of art in themselves, and replete with sacred import to the Greeks. The throne was massive in its build, as suited the immovable seat of the great god: sculpture and painting beautified it with significant forms. Spaces in front of the throne were colored blue, thus, it may be, setting off the feet and golden drapery against a darker background; while the three sides, probably, of the partition around it, were adorned with paintings by Panainos representing mythic scenes. On each side of the feet were four single figures, illustrative of the different sacred games usual in Elis. One of these figures had disappeared by Pausanias' time. One represented a Diadumenos, — a youth winding about his head a fillet of victory. This statue, according to ancient report, purported to be that of the boy Pantarkes, said to have been a favorite of Pheidias, and successful competitor in 432 B.C. But there is every reason to believe that this was a late scandal. It is more likely, that Pantarkes in reality lived at a much later date, and having chosen as the motive for a statue of himself this Diadumenos, which he saw on the throne of the great Zeus, nothing would have been easier for a gossip-loving age than subsequently to bring the later and the earlier work together in time, and date Pantarkes' statue from the age of Pheidias.[571]

Around the other sides of the seat were twenty-nine figures, representing the mythic combats of the Greeks, under Heracles and Theseus, with the turbulent Amazons; besides, the goddess of victory, Nike, appeared repeatedly, to pass on, as it were, the hymn of praise around the seat of the Almighty, and corresponding, perhaps, in thought, to the angel-choirs about the God-Father in Christian art. Higher up on the throne came reliefs representing Niobe's family, — symbols of the punishment which follows pride. Sphinxes, each holding a youth in her relentless grasp, supported the arms of the throne. Besides such sculptures calculated to inspire fear, there were others indicating the benignity of the god. His "welcome daughters," the "Three Hours," who, in Homeric words, "bring to mortals the day of reward," as well as the three

joyous Graces, crowned the back of the throne. The footstool supporting the feet rested on lions, and was enriched with representations of the combat between Theseus and the Amazons. The whole rested on a low pedestal, which discoveries show to have been of stone, incrusted with metal plates. On these appeared the seventeen figures, seen by Pausanias, representing the birth of Aphrodite, goddess of love, as she arose from the sea, and was welcomed by the gods of Olympos. The chariot of Helios, the sun-god, at one end of the composition, was seen emerging from the ocean, while Selene's car of the night was descending into the deep at the opposite end. These are noteworthy; since the same ideas were repeated in Pheidias' representation of Athena's birth, in the sunrise pediment of the Parthenon.

How sublime seems this conception of the supreme deity of Greece, when compared with older ideals of the god! Judging from archaic sculptures and vase-paintings, the character of Zeus had been expressed by putting in his hands the winged lightnings, which should strike terror into the hearts of offenders. But Pheidias seems to have caught a diviner spirit in his sacred Homeric poet; for, when asked what pattern he intended to follow, he quoted that passage in which the Mighty One, complying with the pleading of a mother for her son, is said to have given —

> "The nod with his dark brows.
> The ambrosial curls upon the sovereign one's immortal head
> Were shaken, and with them the mighty Mount Olympos trembled." [572]

Thus Pheidias' conception of his god united that mildness which listens to a mother's prayer, with the power which makes the mighty dwelling of the immortals quake. It is related that Pheidias, upon the completion of the statue, humbly prayed the unseen Zeus to grant some sign of his favorable recognition, when suddenly a thunderbolt flashed from the high heaven through the open roof, and struck the temple-floor. Antiquity marked the spot by an urn placed in the pavement; and a curious rent still exists, recalling the memorable story.

Fig. 142. Coin of Elis, with the Head of the Olympic Zeus by Pheidias.

Gladly would we search the galleries of existing sculptures, or ponder over coins, to find a clearer reflex of this great Zeus. One beautiful Elis coin, from Hadrian's time, is thought to give the most faithful hint of the benignant head (Fig. 142).[573] Here the hair rolls gently up from the forehead, and falls in easy, quiet masses under a wreath. In the broad, serene brow, strong eyebrows, firm but gentle mouth, power seems coupled with unspeakable mildness. Sculp-

tures, however, that may suggest the Zeus of Pheidias, are marked by an elaborate exaggeration, altogether unlike the simple truthfulness of the Parthenon marbles, those authentic works of the Pheidian school. In the latter the outlines are quiet, the passages between the muscles gentle, and there is nothing extreme in their treatment. On the other hand, the famous Roman Otricoli head (Fig. 143),[574] long considered the best copy of Pheidias' Zeus, is painfully unquiet in detail, especially about forehead and eyebrows, where ex-

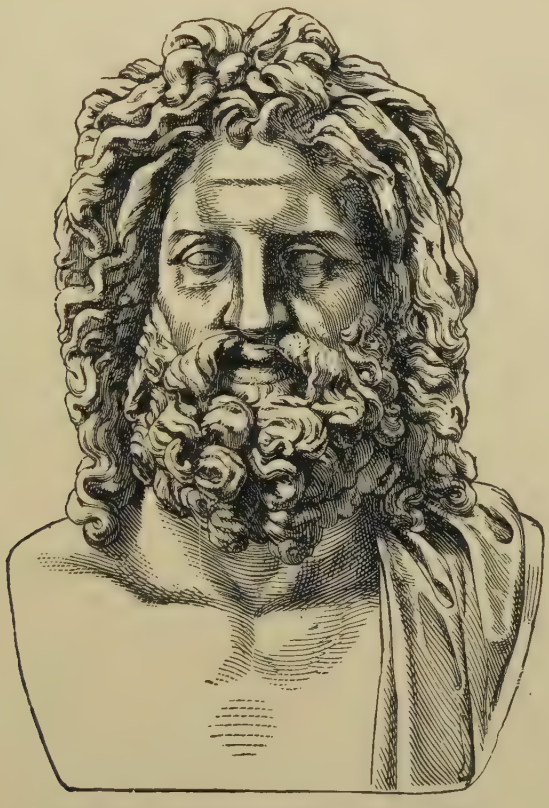

Fig. 143. Head of Zeus found at Otricoli. Vatican.

cessive elevations and furrows altogether destroy the grand and simple effect which characterizes the lifelike masses of the Parthenon marbles. The head of Pheidias' statue, as belonging to that age when fullest, freest forms had not yet been developed, must, we imagine, have had a certain severity about it; but such was its grandeur, that a host of ancient writers unite in its unbounded praise. One of these writes, "Pheidias alone has seen likenesses of the gods, or he alone has made them visible;"[575] another, "No one who has seen Pheidias' Zeus can imagine any other semblance of the god."[576] Still another devoutly says, "To reveal his likeness to thee, Zeus came down to earth; or thou thyself, Pheidias, didst go to see the god."[577] He was considered an un-

happy mortal who had never looked upon Pheidias' Zeus; and Lucian, the fine-art critic, was so impressed by it, that he wrote, "Those who enter the temple no longer think that they see ivory from the Indus, or beaten gold from Thrace, but the son of Cronos and Rhea, transferred to earth by Pheidias." [578] Quintilian declares, that "the Athena Parthenos and Olympian Zeus added new power to the established faith, so nearly did the grandeur of the work equal the divinity of the god." [579] Cicero says, "The great artist, when he was moulding his Jupiter or Minerva, was not looking at any form for these deities of which he might make a copy; but there dwelt in his mind a certain kind of surpassing beauty, the sight and intense contemplation of which directed his art and hand to produce a similitude." [580] Even Paulus Æmilius, the stern Roman soldier, was overcome by its sight, when on his conquering march he came to Olympia.[581] He entered the temple glorying in the Capitoline Jupiter, whose earthly dwelling was on one of the seven hills of Rome, but came out subdued, and ordered richer sacrifices than were customary to be made to the god of the conquered people, saying that "Pheidias alone had formed the Zeus of Homer." More beautifully than all others did Dio Chrysostom express the devotion awakened, saying, "Were any one so heavily burdened with cares, and afflicted with sorrows, that even sweet sleep would not refresh him, standing before thy statue he would, I firmly believe, forget all that was fearful and crushing in life, so wondrously hast thou, O Pheidias! conceived and completed thy work, such heavenly light and grace is in thy art." [582]

Having completed this great statue, the master must have returned to Athens, where his powers were to be spent in the friendship and service of the great Pericles. The old temples and many sacred semblances had perished in the fires of the Persian invasion. Long years had elapsed; and, though Themistocles and Kimon had commenced the work of restoration, many temples lay still in ruins, and many vows remained unfulfilled. It was to rebuild and repeople these temples, that the powers of Pheidias were now called into play. But for their full exercise was needed the patronage of a Pericles, guiding the helm of state. As the Greeks had united against the barbarians, so Pericles believed that they should unitedly celebrate their triumph; and he therefore sent ambassadors — veterans from the Persian war — to invite delegates to Athens for the purpose of deliberating upon the restoration of the national sanctuaries. Jealousy of Athens causing the failure of this great scheme, Attica concentrated her energies upon rebuilding her own capital and wasted temples. The wealth of the citizens was not to be devoted to private luxury, but to the public weal, and the honoring of the gods. To the same objects was extensively applied the Persian booty, — a treasure so great that the frugal Greeks marvelled how the Oriental monarch could have desired their barren, rugged land. The silver-mines of Laurion, and especially the annual tribute from a thousand Greek towns and cities, paid into the national treasury as a return for Athenian

protection, constituted still other sources of revenue. This treasure, kept, up to about 454 B.C., in Apollo's sanctuary on the quiet island of Delos, was then removed to Athens, — a change which, it is thought, was brought about by Pericles, one of whose favorite maxims it was, that Athens' political pre-eminence depended upon abundant revenues. The city, now prosperous and wealthy, must have been more than ever the centre of attraction to artists, for whose works abundant material was provided. Costly woods and ivory were brought from the far East. The imported Parian marble used by earlier sculptors was now supplanted by a golden-toned, but cheaper sort, from the neighboring Pentelicos. In a few years there arose temples, theatres, and other public buildings, with richly sculptured decorations, and sheltering statues of sacred import and new beauty. Cape Sunion, the sailors' shrine, was graced with a temple to Athena; and its columns, some of which still stand, were visible far off at sea. A theatre also adorned the sloping shores, where the people gathered to watch competitive naval sports. In quiet Rhamnus, near Marathon, a new temple was built to Nemesis. At Eleusis a costly one, capable of holding an immense gathering, was completed. The Peiraieus, originally abounding in narrow, crooked lanes, was rebuilt by the Ionian Hippodamos, its harbors greatly improved, and a temple to Aphrodite erected on the shores. Athens itself was beautified by buildings of world-wide fame, such as the Parthenon, the Erechtheion, the Propylaia, the Gymnasion with its marble colonnades, and the spacious Odeion for musical purposes. Immense treasure was spent upon these costly edifices and their decoration. The golden drapery of one statue alone weighed forty-four talents (fifty-three thousand dollars): the Propylaia cost the art-loving Athenians two thousand and twelve talents (two million dollars), or twice the income of Attica a few decades later. Even had the marvels of architecture and sculpture studding Attic soil utterly perished, these sums alone would bear witness to the religious spirit and the munificence in art-matters of the Athenian state during this time of her glory. The brilliant pontificates of Leo X. and Julius II., when Raphael and Michel Angelo adorned Rome, and artists flocked to the Eternal City, pale before these golden but fleeting years.

But the impulse which the intellectual and æsthetic spirit of the nation had received made it impossible servilely to replace the ancient forms. The proud triumphs over a well-nigh irresistible foe, and the close contact with the culture of Ionia and other lands, had stimulated the Athenian people to a life which could not turn quietly back into the old channels. Progressive ideas, although looked upon with jealous, doubtful eye by the old and conservative party, the warriors of Marathon, found favor in the city. The great Anaxagoras from Ionia, Diogenes from Apollonia, and Hippodamos, philosopher as well as architect, with extreme views of reform, were welcome guests in the houses of the rich. The unquestioning spirit of the past was giving place to a restless

inquiry; and, while the masses still clung to the old dogmas, the leading minds had risen above them, and caught glimpses of higher ethical truths. Pericles, for one, shared in the change; and, from the character of Pheidias' works, we must believe that he also felt its influence: and although the sacred wooden idol of Athena, a time-honored relic which had been worshipped for ages, could not, indeed, be changed, other statues might be produced, which by nobler forms, expressing higher ideals, should attune the souls of men to truer devotion. All this artistic activity was guided, Plutarch tells us, by Pheidias, to whose ruling genius men of celebrity, architects, sculptors, and painters, gladly yielded. Moreover, to him was intrusted the highest mission which Attica could offer: this was to erect a statue of the virgin goddess of Athens, Athena Parthenos, to be set up in her new and glorious shrine, the Parthenon, raised on the wasted site of an older temple. For this purpose, the same costly materials — gold, ivory, silver, gems, and rare woods — used in the execution of the Zeus were put at his disposal. The rich materials of this statue are abundantly borne witness to by an inscription recently found on the Acropolis.[583]

The statue of Athena was six times the height of a man, over 11.59 meters (thirty-eight feet), and must have filled the beholder with an overpowering sense of its presence, as it stood in the holy place (*cella*), which was less than 19.82 meters (sixty-five feet) high, and but little over 30.50 meters (one hundred feet) long. The air of the Acropolis being dry, water was applied to the statue to prevent shrinkage in the wooden framework, and consequent displacement of the ivory incrustations. In 437 B.C. this golden colossus stood complete in its sanctuary; but, notwithstanding the precautions taken, as early as 397 B.C. it needed to be repaired.[584] A few decades later (Olymp. 120, 297 B.C.) the statue was despoiled of its golden *ægis*, and of all its movable drapery, by the impious hand of the tyrant Lachares. Being obliged, however, to flee before his enemy, disguised as a peasant, he probably took away only what he could carry about his person, leaving the bulk of his booty behind him, since several centuries later Pausanias saw the statue still fully clad in gold.[585] In 375 A.D. it was still in Athens, and is reported — with little probability, however — to have been in Constantinople as late as the tenth century A.D.[586] Whatever its fate may have been, with its disappearance a priceless treasure of art was lost; and we ask, is there nothing which can bring before us the form in which Pheidias represented the great goddess of his people? With regret comes the answer, that only in a few feeble copies can we recognize a correspondence to the descriptions of Pausanias, Pliny, and others. Of these copies and variations on the great work, thirteen in statuary are scattered through the museums of Athens, Rome, Turin, Madrid, and the Louvre; while still others are constantly coming to view.[587] One was recently discovered at Pergamon; but by far the most complete copy of the Athena by Phei-

Fig. 144. Statuette of Athena Parthenos. Athens.

dias was brought to light during the reparation of a street in Athens in 1880 (Fig. 144). This marble statuette, found in what was doubtless the chapel (*sacrarium*) of a private dwelling, may have been an object of worship to some

pious Athenian of later days, who, for his family shrine, had the great original by Pheidias copied.[588] This little figure, executed with all the punctilious finish characterizing statues of Roman times, is not a meter high (three feet); and yet its proportions are precisely those of the great statue, as given by Pausanias, and produce the impression of great size. Moreover, that it was thus exactly reduced from that larger statue, and by mechanical means, is evident from the points (*puntelli*) on the back of the figure.

Connecting the appearance of this statuette with Pausanias' description of the golden colossus, it appears that Pheidias represented the goddess as standing quietly erect, and wearing garments simple in form, and made of gold. A long, flowing robe, the *chiton*, dropped to the feet, and, where open on the right side, was graceful in detail, though recalling the regular zigzag folds of earlier art. The length of the *chiton* was broken by a shorter garment, the *diploïdion*, falling over it, and girt at the waist. But these perpendicular folds, regular hollows, sharply bent and under-cut edges, as well as loosely hanging bobs, are so harsh in the statuette, that doubts may arise as to their beauty, even in the drapery of the Pheidian original. It should be remembered, however, that that was not in marble, but in metal; and the malleable properties of gold would lend themselves gracefully to a treatment which would be thoroughly harsh and unpleasant when applied to unbending, ponderous stone. The effects of gold bent at will into broad or small folds, and of ivory, laid over wood, shaped easily by the turner's wheel, must have been altogether unlike those to which marble consents. Hence, doubtless, the misleading and disappointing impression given by many copies of ancient statues. Besides, what would be beautifully elaborate in these brilliant materials would offend in dull marble. The mere money value of gold, and its sheen, may indeed suffice to satisfy a lower taste; but when its dazzling lights have been toned down, and its rich color combined with beautiful form, then, whether in the tiny jewel or chryselephantine colossus, it will meet the highest demands. It was, doubtless, not the mere following of traditional custom, but to break these disturbing lights, that the finish of a chryselephantine statue was so elaborate, the drapery enamelled, necklace, ear-rings, and bracelets added, and all accessories, as helmet, sceptre, or shield, covered with marks of the goldsmith's skill. Could we, then, imagine the folds of this marble statuette as of gold, their surfaces broken by smaller ones neutralizing the disturbing reflexes of the shining metal, and then translate the whole into colossal forms to be viewed, not in the full blaze of the sun, but in the mellowed temple-light falling from above, we should realize that the grandeur of the drapery was worthy of the dignity of the goddess. How imposing, moreover, must have been the effect of this style of drapery in large proportions, may be inferred to-day from the colossal copy of the Parthenos found at Pergamon, and now set up in the Berlin Museum on what seems its ancient pedestal. Here there is a grandeur in the deep shadows and regular

lines of the drapery, as the light falls upon them, not to be met with in other and smaller *replicas*.

The Athenian statuette reminds us also that Pheidias' colossal golden Athena wore the *ægis*, her ancient weapon, with its circling border of serpents; but it is no longer the enveloping armor of the warrior-goddess of old, falling down her back well-nigh to her feet, and over her arms, as seen on black-figured vases, or in archaic statues like the Æginetan Athena. Reduced in size, the *ægis* is here simply a broad but graceful collar, falling over the bosom and shoulders, and more becoming to the peace-bestowing character which Pheidias seems to have divined in his Attic deity. The Gorgon head in the centre of the *ægis* of the statuette has also felt the master's touch, giving it a place between the repulsive creations of earlier times, as seen in the metope of Selinus (Fig. 111), and the beautiful faces of later times, such as the Rondanini Medusa, now in Munich. Although the grinning jaws of the older Medusa are here closed, and the disgusting tongue drawn in, yet the lips are still thick, and the nose broad and flat. That terror which the earlier artist sought to inspire by exaggeration amounting to caricature, is here expressed by the furrowed brow, knitted eyebrows, and a homely, materialistic face, which, on the other hand, is utterly void of the ideal and tragic conception given this Gorgon in later times.

Resting on the maidenly locks of Pheidias' Athena, appeared the close-fitting, plumed Attic helmet, 1.45 meter (nearly five feet) high, its laps raised, and crest so lofty, judging from the statuette, as to seem top-heavy, and even awkward. But here also we must not forget the peculiar material, and the position the helmet occupied raised so high above the eye of the beholder as to be subject to the effects of perspective. A sphinx crouched on its summit, forming a standard for its feathery crest, and having a sacred meaning, as Pausanias tells us. On the sides of the helmet hovered winged Pegasi, emblematical, perhaps, of the wild power in nature tamed by Athena. Griffins seem to have decorated the cheek-pieces of the helmet; and across its visor, according to Attic *tetradrachms*, appeared still other decoration; sometimes these coins have horses' heads, and as often owls.[589] Bracelets, which pleasantly enlivened the creamy surface of the arm, clasped the wrist in graceful coils. Ear-rings and necklace, doubtless, added their finish to the golden colossus; for they may be seen in copies on gems and coins, although wisely omitted in most marble copies. Upon Athena's outstretched hand, as upon that of the master's Zeus, a small figure, the winged goddess Nike, or Victory, appeared; and her position, as preserved in the statuette, shows the great thoughts which Pheidias expressed, while holding to the traditional forms, in retaining the attribute on the goddess's hand, and the column supporting it. As, in Pheidias' original, this Victory of gold was six feet high, and weighed more than four hundred pounds, we can easily understand, with Lange, how difficult it would have been for the extended arm of the colossus to hold such a weight

without a substantial support like the column, which was 5.15 meters in height (nearly 17 feet). Early coins, moreover, seem to show that such columns were common under the extended arms of very ancient idols. In these earlier works, the column or support gives the impression of an arbitrary addition; while in later art it is intimately associated with the figure, so as to seem an integral part of the composition. Here, also, Pheidias takes a place midway between the old and the new. Although retaining the traditional pillar as such, he has so worked it into the composition, that without it the effect would be one-sided: an unpleasant vacant space is thus filled at Athena's right hand. How Victory with her golden wreath alighted on Athena's hand in Pheidias' golden colossus has been much discussed, but this statuette solves the problem. Nike, the victory-bearer, could not bring triumph to the goddess, in whom dwells the fulness of victory; nor yet does she turn her back to the divinity, but flies obliquely towards the devout worshipper, whom, in imagination, we see at her feet, awaiting his crown. Nike, thus bringing the reward, forms a beautiful link between the great goddess looking off into infinity, all sufficient in herself, and the dependent, suppliant mortal at her feet. Athena's lance, which does not appear in the marble statuette, as well as her massive shield, were lowered; the latter, according to recently discovered inscriptions, having been of silver, gilded. Under it coiled her serpent, doubtless symbolical of the earth-born people of Athens finding protection at the feet of their goddess. Scenes taking place on the steep declivities of the Areopagus at Athens, and representing combats between mythic Greek heroes and turbulent Amazons, those enemies of law and order, decorated the outer surface of the shield. Among these, Pheidias, as Plutarch tells us, represented himself as a bald-headed old man, hurling a stone; and Pericles, in full armor, swinging a spear so as to conceal the middle of his face.[590] The shield of Pheidias was repeatedly copied in antiquity, the best preserved imitation being a marble relief in the Elgin room (Fig. 145). On its rudely executed surface we can make out the portraits of Pheidias and Pericles, corresponding to this description. In earlier art we have seen that the stereotyped decoration of shields was composed of concentric rows; but here the figures of warriors and Amazons are scattered about the Gorgon head in the centre, as if in the confusion of battle. The inner side of the shield was also adorned with significant relief, representing the combats of gods with rebellious and heaven-daring giants, in which, according to myth, Athena bore an important part, receiving from her father Zeus the glittering *ægis* as her reward. But how Pheidias conceived this composition on the shield against which the serpent must have rested, we do not know. Still other mythic combats between Greek heroes and wild centaurs adorned the high sandals worn by the colossus, but which, of course, do not appear on the minute reproductions preserved to us. Around the low pedestal was represented the creation of Pandora, the Eve of the Greeks. She was formed, according to myth,

in the presence of twenty gods, out of moist clay, by Hephaistos, who gave her a human voice, and the stature and face of the immortal goddesses. Aphrodite threw grace and loveliness about her head. Hermes gave her a modest bearing and quiet spirit. The Hours and Graces girded her with a golden belt, and decked her with flowers, making her a charm for gods and men. Athena taught her skill of hand and cunning workmanship, — the traditional source of the skill and taste of Athenian women. Of this scene and its figures, only the rudest possible trace remains in a tiny marble copy of the Parthenos found

Fig. 145. Copy of the Outside of the Shield of Athena Parthenos. British Museum.

on the so-called Pnyx, and of which casts may be seen in nearly every museum: it is possible that a part of this scene is also represented in the graceful figures on the pedestal of the Pergamon colossus in Berlin.

The impression which we receive concerning the great original by Pheidias is, that it must have combined richness of significant detail with a grand simplicity, bordering on severity, in the composition. The massive breadth of the shoulders, length of the torso, and narrowness of the hips, are in strong contrast to the lithe and swelling curves of later times, as seen, for instance, in the Athena on the Great Pergamon Altar (Selections, Plate XV.). But the goddess does not, as in older figures, stand firmly on both feet; for the left leg is bent. This unfreighted leg is not, however, drawn easily back, but simply to

the side, assuming a pose difficult to maintain, as experiment will prove. Moreover, the poise of the trunk is not made to harmonize with this concentration of weight on one leg; the shoulders being on a level, instead of naturally following the bend of the knee. Severity also appears in the pose of the head, which, although not painfully erect, as in older works, does not bend, as in later ones. In these archaic traits of his temple-statue, Pheidias seems still to have been influenced by tradition. And yet, in its standing position, it seems an advance on the seated pose of his Zeus. So great is the contrast of this Athena to the dramatic, tempestuous compositions of the Parthenon pediments, that we are tempted to believe that the study for it was made at an earlier period, — perhaps when the building of its temple was begun, about 447 B.C. The sculptural decoration of the pediments would naturally be undertaken later, as the building advanced, when the master had grown into that marvellous freedom evident in every line of the Parthenon groups. That, however, so emphatically a religious work of art should have retained the old traditional type, and have been represented as standing still in imposing quiet while receiving the offerings and prayers of worshippers, seems most appropriate; besides, its very size would have rendered excited motion out of place, especially within the temple. But, in order fully to realize the master's wisdom and taste, we must call to mind again the setting of imposing columns, by which his colossus was immediately surrounded on three sides; the incorrectness of the old plans of the interior, which made the statue stand in a niche, having been shown by Dörpfeld's admirable investigations (see p. 229). This arrangement of the columns around the statue was thus richer than in the older temple at Olympia, where the rear row was omitted. As at Olympia, however, the golden colossus was set out some distance into the enclosure; the pedestal having been 4.17 meters in front of the rear colonnade, but approaching nearer the columns at the side. The statue, lighted by the opening in the roof, stood resplendent with color, and abounding in costly decorations: we would fain recall its surfaces in agreeable contrast to the darker, deep-red background, and its gently varying outlines, set off by the regular fluted forms of the columns occurring at intervals about it. Directly in front of this beautifully placed image of the goddess was, as at Olympia, a space partitioned off, where, in all probability, stood the altar for sacrifice.

In Pheidias' conception of the goddess, we have a worthy exemplification of the artistic tendencies of his sublime age. Athena is no longer the fierce warrior of olden times, brandishing her lance, or raising her shield, as on archaic vases and reliefs; but she blesses her people in peace. The barbarian being vanquished, her implements of war are lowered. Victory flies from her hand, freighted with good things; and the serpent, symbolical of the people, finds shelter at her feet. The whole statue, even to the remotest details, seems to sound a hymn of praise to the Athenian deity for the triumph of right over

wrong. From this time on, we find that Pheidias' supremely humane conception of his goddess supplanted the older, more vengeful one: Attic reliefs, after his time, always represent the goddess in an attitude of peace, following the lines of his colossus.[591]

Seven times, we learn, did Pheidias, during his long career, represent the great goddess Athena, — twice in statues of gold and ivory; once for Athens in the statue just described; once in earlier days, for Pellene (p. 300); and three times in bronze. These latter were the Promachos of his youth; the Athena on the Acropolis, for the people of Lemnos, probably executed about the time of the Parthenos; and one taken to Rome by Paulus Æmilius, and consecrated in the Temple of Fortuna.[592] Pheidias' other statues of the goddess were the acrolith of wood, marble, and gold, for Plataiai, above described, besides a statue in rivalry with Alcamenes, as to the material of which we are not informed.[593] It is said that the Athenians, wishing to erect two statues of Athena in a high place, ordered them of Pheidias and Alcamenes. Upon their completion, the people at first united in giving the preference to that by Alcamenes, disapproving of the widely opened lips and distended nostrils of Pheidias' work. But when the statues were raised above the level of the eye, upon their pedestals, opinion suddenly changed in favor of Pheidias' Athena, which now appeared more correct than that of his rival, — an impression due, no doubt, to a regard for the laws of perspective and optical effect.

It would be a delightful task to trace with assurance these great originals in the different types of Athena found in our museums. Of the large Athena statues, many are marked by such dignity, combined with maiden-like grace, that it would seem as though Pheidias' great originals had left their abiding impress on the works of his successors. Of existing Athena statues, none is more majestic than a colossal statue in Pentelic marble, now in the École des Beaux Arts at Paris, but originally among the marbles in the Villa Medici in Rome, and, consequently, popularly called the Minerva Medici (Selections, Plate II.). Here we see massive shoulders and a firm build, like that of the Parthenos; here the same arrangement of the *ægis;* while the drapery differs, being richer in certain details as it falls over the bent right leg. Unfortunately, the head and both arms are wanting; but the quiet attitude, the grand and simple lines of the form, and exquisite rendering of the drapery, as well as its undulating border, mark it as a great Greek original of the Pheidian age, very near of kin to the Parthenon marbles. The contrast between the drapery of this great figure, combining strength with grace, and the more pictorial and lax character of Philis' garments, represented in the same plate, is well brought out by such juxtaposition, and beautifully shows how different the methods pursued in statuary and in relief, in widely separated parts of the ancient world.

Futile were the endeavor to trace back to Pheidias' varied originals, as we

are tempted to do, many of the later statues, such as the Minerva Giustiniani in the Vatican, executed in Roman times, when the style and spirit of art were diametrically opposed to the severe and unpretending simplicity and grace of the Pheidian age in Athens.

Of the goddess Aphrodite, Pheidias executed three statues. One, an Aphrodite Urania, in gold and ivory, was in Elis, and rested her foot on a turtle, the symbol of woman's domestic seclusion.[594] Of the two others, we only know that an Aphrodite Urania, in Parian marble, stood in Athens, not far from the Kerameicos; and that another, in marble, said to have been of great beauty, was taken to Rome.[595] Of the gods besides Zeus, Pheidias is known to have represented Apollo in a bronze, as the warder-off of locusts (*Parnopios*), which was on the Acropolis; as well as a Hermes in marble, at the entrance of a temple in Thebes, and, consequently, called Pronaos.[596]

These creations of Pheidias, with the exception of the Miltiades of the Delphic group, all of them belong to the realms of religion and myth. One statue of a priestess with a temple-key (*cleiduchos*), and one of a bronze athlete (not Pantarkes) at Olympia, putting on the fillet of victory, are the only subjects we know of from a sphere nearer life.[597]

In Roman times many other works were attributed to him, just as at present pictures are fictitiously ascribed to such masters as Raphael, Titian, Michel Angelo, or Correggio. Among the works thus falsely ascribed to Pheidias, is one of the Horse-tamers, on the Monte Cavallo in Rome, from Constantine's time, or even later, but bearing on its pedestal the inscription, *Opus Phidiæ*. Its general character, and the style of the armor, mark it as a Roman work, based, doubtless, on some Greek original.[598]

Pheidias, like other ancient masters, is reputed to have been skilful also in enchasing works of minute size, among which are mentioned, but with how much truth is uncertain, a bee and a fly. Pliny ascribes to him skill in painting.[599] The great variety of Pheidias' subjects and technique must lead to an exalted opinion of the versatility of his powers. Thus, a master in miniature chasing, he also executed colossal chryselephantine statues, in themselves architectural achievements: he cast in bronze, carved in marble, and worked in wood, ivory, and gold. The latter materials seem to have been his preference, as better adapted to express his subjects, which were not the skilled athletes of Myron and Pythagoras, nor the fleet steeds, and forms of delicate feminine grace, in which Calamis excelled. His themes were, as we have seen, the gods themselves, and these not the minor gentler deities of Olympos, but Zeus and Athena, the sublimest ideals of the Greek religion. He placed in the temples of the Greeks higher conceptions of their supreme gods than had ever before met the gaze of the devout, being thus an ideal sculptor in the loftiest sense.[600]

But Pheidias must only too soon have suffered the penalty of his friendship to Pericles, whose enemies were gaining in power. Immediately upon the dedi-

cation of his great Parthenos, 438 B.C., scandalous reports were spread about his private life. Menon, one of his assistants, placed himself in the market-place, and with olive-branch in hand, as was customary in bringing charges against those in power, begged for protection while inveighing against his master. This being granted by the fickle people, he charged Pheidias with having appropriated to his private use some of the gold intrusted to him for the drapery of his statue, the Athena Parthenos. Fortunately, this had been so constructed, in accordance with Pericles' advice, that it could be removed and weighed.[600a] This being done, the gold was found intact, and Pheidias' innocence proved. But this was not sufficient: it had been discovered, that, on the goddess's shield, Pheidias had dared to portray himself and Pericles. Even the influence of the latter could no longer save the master from the charges of blasphemy which were now brought against him. The people demanded his arrest, as of one dangerous to the state; and Pheidias, who had done, perhaps, more for the glory of Athens than any other citizen, was led as a criminal to prison, while his lying enemy, Menon, received distinction and favor. It is said, that, before the completion of the trial, Pheidias breathed his last within those dungeon-walls, the victim either of grief and age, or of poison. Another story, that he fled from Athens to Elis, and there executed the statue of Zeus, but, suffering similar charges, was finally put to death, has been shown, by Loeschke and Curtius, to be utterly without foundation, and to have arisen from a confusion of facts.[600b] There can be no doubt, then, that towards the close of the century, when party strife and bitter contention filled Athens and threatened the land, Pheidias fell before the political enemies of his great friend and patron Pericles. But, in spite of his country's ingratitude, later ages have done him the honor which was his due; holding, that had Greece produced but one great man, and that Pheidias, it would have fulfilled a worthy mission: and the preservation of his last great creation, the Parthenon marbles, and the reverential honor they receive, seem just, although tardy, amends for his bitter and undeserved fate.

CHAPTER XVIII.

SCHOLARS AND CONTEMPORARIES OF PHEIDIAS AND OF MYRON.

Agoracritos. — Colotes. — Theocosmos. — Thrasymedes. — Alcamenes. — His Works. — Other Sculptors. — Lykios. — Myronic Statues. — Cresilas. — Statues of Amazons. — Portrait of Pericles. — Strongylion. — Callimachos. — Demetrios. — His Characteristics. — Other Artists.

Around Pheidias a few men seem to have clustered as his scholars, among whom Agoracritos of Paros is called his favorite. As the story goes, this partiality for the Parian youth was so great, that the master often gave finishing touches to statues from his hand, and even presented Agoracritos with statues upon which the scholar was allowed to inscribe Pheidias' name, to the great perplexity of all later critics.[601]

Agoracritos executed statues of Zeus and Athena in bronze, for a temple at Coroneia in Bœotia: this Zeus, called Hades by Strabo, was possibly a variation on Pheidias' Olympic Zeus.[602] But his most famous work was a Nemesis in marble at Rhamnus, the fragments of which show, that it was a dignified, quiet statue, 4.57 meters (fifteen feet) high, its pose suitable for an object of worship.[603] The goddess wore a crown of equal height all around, on which were represented goddesses of victory, and deers, in relief. In one hand she carried an apple-branch, and in the other a *patera*, probably to receive libations. The base was richly decorated with mythic scenes, one of which conceived Nemesis as mother of Helen, giving her child into Leda's charge. According to one story, the statue was originally an Aphrodite Urania, executed in rivalry with Alcamenes, but, losing the prize, was changed to a Nemesis.[604]

Colotes, also a native of Paros, and a reputed pupil of one Pasiteles, is said to have been intimately associated with Pheidias in the execution of the Olympic Zeus.[605] In Elis stood a statue attributed to Colotes, representing Athena in gold and ivory, and having a shield painted by Panainos: another authority calls it the work of Pheidias.[606] This connection of Colotes' name with that of Pheidias clearly intimates a relationship between the two men. An Asclepios by Colotes, in Elis, likewise in gold and ivory, is greatly praised by Strabo.[607] In the Temple of Zeus, at Olympia, stood a costly table of gold and ivory by this master, on which were laid the wreaths for the competitors in the games.[608] On it were represented many of the great gods, besides

scenes referring to the games, and others which, owing to obscurity in Pausanias' text, cannot be determined. In this use of gold and ivory, Colotes resembles Pheidias; but Pliny tells us that he also executed in bronze figures of philosophers.[609]

Theocosmos of Megara, near Athens, we are informed, commenced for his native city a chryselephantine Zeus, in which he was aided by Pheidias.[610] The breaking out of the Peloponnesian war, however, prevented the completion of the statue, which Pausanias saw centuries after in a still unfinished state. The face was of costly material; but the remainder was hastily put together with clay and plaster, an interesting evidence that plaster was used as early as the Pheidian age. Theocosmos' throned Zeus seems to have resembled Pheidias' Olympian Zeus in having on the back of the throne two groups of three goddesses each, in this case the Hours and Fates. The momentous naval victory won by the Spartans over the Athenians at Aigospotamoi in 405 B.C., gave rise to Theocosmos' second known work. The conquerors ordered an extensive votive gift in bronze for Delphi. Among its numerous statues, mostly by masters of the Argive school, was a portrait-statue by Theocosmos of Hermon, the helmsman of the ship on which rode during the battle the victorious Spartan commander, Lysander.[611]

Fig. 146. Coin of Epidauros, with Image of Asclepios, probably by Thrasymedes.

Thrasymedes of Paros was also reckoned among those who came under Pheidias' influence. Later ages ascribed one of his works to the great master. This was the statue in gold and ivory of the bearded Asclepios at Epidauros, reputed to have been the birthplace of this god of cures, and the most celebrated healing shrine in all Greece.[612] This statue, half the size of Pheidias' Zeus at Olympia, was enthroned, and rested one hand on the head of the snake, Asclepios' symbol of ever-renewing youth; while the other hand held his staff. A dog, the companion of Asclepios' childhood, had a place here also; and the seat was richly decorated with reliefs, representing the deeds of the Argive heroes, — Bellerophoron combating the Chimæra, and Perseus beheading the Gorgon. Thrasymedes' costly colossus was once thought to be reflected in coins found at Epidauros (Fig. 146).[612a] Aside from a general resemblance in composition to the Pheidian Zeus, these coins are interesting because of the figure of a dog lying under the throne, — a motive which, in later times, seems to have been introduced into such works as the seated statue of the Torlonia collection, to be discussed later.

But the master who has long enjoyed the reputation of being Pheidias' most important pupil is Alcamenes, by some called also his rival. He worked in gold, ivory, bronze, and marble; thus showing his wide range of material, and an ideal tendency, apparently, similar to that of his great senior, Pheidias. Alcamenes' recorded works were statues of gods and heroes, with the single exception of one athlete.

Aphrodite he represented twice. The more celebrated of these two, and, indeed, the most so of all his works, was the marble statue of this goddess, as Urania, for a garden outside of Athens, and hence called ἐν Κήποις. Great praise is bestowed upon the modelling of the cheeks, the graceful outline of the face, the rhythm of the wrists, and the hand with its delicate fingers. From the name, Urania, we may believe that Aphrodite was here conceived as fully draped.[613] There exists one beautiful draped figure in our museums which is found so frequently repeated that there can be no doubt its original was most celebrated. In style, moreover, it is so contained, and yet so coy, resembling in many respects the Parthenon marbles, that the original, no doubt, was created in the Pheidian age; and we may, perhaps, venture to connect it with the celebrated draped Aphrodite of the Garden, with exquisite fingers and gently modelled face by Alcamenes. The best-preserved *replica* of this subject, in which the head has been untampered with, is in the Louvre; while a graceful terra-cotta, recently discovered at Myrina, in Asia Minor, repeats the same motive, and has, besides, in the left hand, the missing symbol, — an apple or pomegranate.[614] The goddess here stands before us wearing a transparent *chiton* ungirded, and draws upward her veil with her right hand, — a motive, as we have seen, met with in the Olympia pedimental figures. On Roman coins, where this statue appears, it is called Venus Genetrix, clearly an adaptation of an old Greek Aphrodite; and by this name this beautiful statue has unfortunately come to be best known. But, fully to realize its beauty, we must look more closely at the grand features as they are preserved to us in a head in Parian marble, now in the Berlin Museum (Plate II.). It was purchased in 1873 in Rome, where it must have been originally introduced from Greece: it is clearly the work of a Greek chisel of the best age, and in its type is identical with the head of the Myrina terra-cotta and the Louvre statue. In its presence, with an exquisite freshness, spared from the restorer's touch, one feels the rare qualities of highest Attic art. The gentle, subtle life, wreathing lips and cheeks; the soulful look about eyes and brow, — are met nowhere else in such perfection. The plate gives us a dawning of this beaming life, and shows us the exquisite round oval, the beautifully but closely waving hair, and the dignity of a face full of strength and vigor, yet graced with every gentle, womanly charm. We imagine its possessor as loving and being loved with an intense and unwavering devotion. The head-dress in which the flowing locks behind are closely gathered, the clear cut of the forehead, the strong but graceful chin, and slight bend of the head, combined with the chaste maidenly expression, are familiar to us from the heads of the maidens in the frieze of the Parthenon, and show what must have been the grandeur of the statues of that day. If Alcamenes indeed created the original of this beautiful statue, it indicates a great advance upon his sculptures at Olympia, described on p. 266, and must have been the work of his ripest years. That the masters of this age

did progress thus rapidly seems proven by Paionios' case, between whose temple sculptures and flying Nike there is so great a gap.

Athena was represented by Alcamenes in a statue already described, in rivalry with Pheidias; Alcamenes losing the prize, it is said, on account of his deficient knowledge of the laws of optical effect.[615] The weird and spectral Hecate he appears to have represented in an original manner, in a shrine which stood near the Temple of Nike Apteros, on the Acropolis.[616] Hecate's realm was triple, — heaven, earth, and sea: to her the traveller prayed, and to her the gates were sacred. Roadside chapels were erected to her; and in her honor monthly offerings of food were placed at all street-crossings and in public squares, to be consumed by the poor. She was thought to come through the silent, moonlit street, where she was greeted by the dismal baying of dogs, her sacred animals. This goddess Alcamenes represented in triple form, thus establishing the artistic tradition which has been distinctly transmitted to us in many bronzes and statuettes representing three figures around a pillar. In the limping smith-god, Hephaistos, from his hand, in Athens, he was said to have rendered the infirmity, without, however, detracting any thing from the dignity, of the god.[617] An Ares, by Alcamenes, stood in the temple of that god in Athens; a Dionysos of gold and ivory in the god's ancient shrine, near an Athenian theatre; and an Asclepios by him adorned a temple in Mantineia in the Peloponnesos.[618]

His last reputed work (referred to on p. 271) associates him with the triumph of the Athenians over the Thirty Tyrants 403 B.C. But, if he was one of the sculptors engaged in the execution of the Olympia marbles, his age would have been so great at this time as to cast doubt on his authorship of this group, and render it possible that it was by another Alcamenes, perhaps his son. As the success of the Athenians had been greatly due to the aid of Thebes, they resolved to erect votive statues, both to Attic and Theban gods. The master, according to tradition, was therefore commissioned to execute a group for one of the Theban temples. This he did in statues, probably in Pentelic marble, of the Theban hero, Heracles, associated with Athena, which stood for centuries in the Temple of Heracles at Thebes.

Of his bronze athlete, with the name Encrinomenos (most excellent), we only know that it represented a combatant in the *pentathlon*.[619] So vaguely are Alcamenes' ideals described to us, that it would be futile to attempt to trace back to them any other existing works: but it is interesting to notice, that like his fellow-scholars, Colotes and Thrasymedes, he represented Asclepios, and now assisted in spreading ripened Attic art to other parts of Greece; that is, to the Peloponnesos and Bœotia.

Besides these few associates of Pheidias, Athens harbored at this time the pupils of still other sculptors. The quaint but graceful Calamis had a scholar

Praxias, who began architectural sculptures for the pediment of the temple at Delphi; but, death interrupting his labors, the work was completed by another Athenian, Androsthenes. In the front pediment were represented Apollo, his mother Leto, sister Artemis, and the Muses: in the other appeared Helios as the setting sun, and Dionysos with the Thyads.[620]

Of still other sculptors in Athens, some are thought to have followed Myron: others cannot be assigned to any school. Among Myron's followers are reckoned masters who, like him, did not give expression to the loftiest ideals, but found their field of activity in humbler realms. Only one is mentioned as his direct scholar, — his own son, Lykios, who, like his father, worked in bronze. For Apollonia, Lykios executed an extensive bronze group of thirteen figures, a thank-offering for the conquest of Thronion in Epeiros: accompanied by a dedicatory inscription, this group stood on a semicircular base in the open air at Olympia, near the Temple of Hippodameia.[621] The scene, like that of Onatas' group (p. 239), was from epic story. Here Achilles and Memnon prepared for conflict, accompanied each by his country's heroes, — Achilles by Odysseus, Menelaos, Diomedes, and Ajax, over against the barbarians Memnon, Helenos, Alexandros, Æneas, and Deïphobos. In the centre was Zeus, whose aid was being sought by Thetis, the mother of Achilles, on one side, and by Hemera, the mother of Memnon, on the other. Whatever details the sculptor may have introduced, we see that his composition was a strictly symmetrical one, which, in its semicircular arrangement, reminds us of the neighboring group by Onatas.

To two other works by Lykios far greater importance is attached, both by Pliny and Pausanias.[622] These were two statues of boys engaged in the temple service. One of them, in bronze, with the basin for holy water, stood at the entrance to the Temple of Artemis Brauronia on the Acropolis at Athens. A part of the ritual of the Greek temple consisted in the frequent use of consecrated water, a basin of which stood at the entrance to every holy place. With it the priest sprinkled the altar and worshippers. It is possible that Lykios' boy formed the pedestal of such a vessel, into which was dipped the firebrand from the altar, or the laurel-branch, for purification; and the subject is of interest as being apparently taken from life, and used as decoration in a temple. As such it would naturally be less subservient to worship than actual votive offerings, and may mark one of those steps which should lead eventually to the thorough emancipation of ancient art in some branches from the service of religion, and in so far bring it nearer to modern *genre*. Of a similar character seems to have been Lykios' second statue, a boy blowing up a fire for incense, and described as worthy of his father, Myron.[623] The use of incense, no less than holy water, was a part of the Greek ritual; and hence it is possible that this figure likewise was decorative, standing before the statue of the god, or at the entrance to the temple. Myron had expressed

intense physical life and strong breathing in his exhausted runner Ladas, and his Discobolos; and Lykios' boy blowing the embers seems a happy continuation of the father's tendency. The only athlete recorded as from Lykios' hands, is that of the pancratiast Autolycos, who, according to Xenophon, was a model Attic youth: of Lykios' other works, called indefinitely Argonauts by Pliny, we are left in ignorance.[624]

Styppax, a native of Cyprus, has been associated with Myron, on account of a statue by him in Athens, similar in subject to Lykios' boy blowing the embers. Styppax's statue (*Splanchnoptes*) was probably of a youth blowing with full cheeks a fire where the entrails of the sacrificial beast were roasting. This statue was dedicated to Athena, by Pericles, in commemoration of a miraculous cure wrought upon a favorite slave.[625] During the building of the Propylaia this slave, the most efficient of the workmen, while engaged about his work, fell from the lofty building, and was so seriously injured that physicians declared his case to be hopeless. The goddess, however, appeared in a dream to Pericles, and directed him to use an herb growing on the Acropolis. Upon its application the beloved slave rapidly recovered; and, in thanks, Pericles caused a bronze statue of Athena Hygieia to be put up on the Acropolis by one Pyrrhos, and, by Styppax, a statue of the slave. The pedestal of the Athena, with the dedicatory inscription, is still to be seen; but the site where Styppax's statue stood is unknown.[626]

In spirit like these youths of the Myronic school seems to be the celebrated bronze boy of the Capitol, pulling out a thorn from his foot. He is greatly absorbed in the action; and his meagre, lean form shows quaint traits, which, even though it be admitted that they are only an imitation, in all probability mirror to us the pleasing spirit and the abilities of this school.[627]

Another foreigner, Cresilas, from Kydonia in Crete, was active in Athens during the age of Pericles. His name is preserved to us in an inscription found on the Acropolis at Athens.[628] An epigram speaks of him, and several of his works are fully described. Among these was a Doryphoros, or athlete carrying a spear; an Amazon executed in rivalry with Pheidias, Polycleitos, and others; a portrait of Pericles; another of the Attic general Diïtrephes, consecrated by his son on the Acropolis at Athens; and, finally, a wounded, dying man, by some thought to be the Diïtrephes in whose statue, as Pliny blindly says, "one could see how much life was still in him."[629] Attempts have been made to trace back frequently recurring statues of wounded Amazons to Cresilas' original; but, as types of this subject are numerous, it is doubtful whether any one of them can with certainty be ascribed to him. We may notice, however, that in the extant *replicas* of wounded Amazons, although the blood is trickling from the gash, and there is, in face and pose, a certain sternness and gloomy earnestness, still no shade of overwhelming sorrow, or quick pain quivering through the body, is to be read in the faces; and the forms have

the massive, strong build given in this century to the female as well as the male shape. The portrait of Pericles, by Cresilas, may have stood on the Acropolis, where Pausanias saw a statue of the statesman. A weighty task it must have been to represent worthily this man who had won the first place among the gifted Athenians; but so well did Cresilas accomplish it, that his portrait was said to be worthy to be called Olympian, as Pericles himself was styled; in it, as Pliny says, "it might be seen how noble men were made nobler." Three helmeted busts in London, Rome, and Munich, it is thought may have been derived from this celebrated original.[630] The one in the British Museum was found inscribed with the statesman's name in the ruins of Hadrian's villa at Tivoli, and, with the one in the Vatican (Fig. 147), seems best to render the reserved and earnest character of the Athenian leader. It is not, like portraits of a later day, an accurate reproduction of individual peculiarities. The likeness is generalized; we see it only as through a veil of ideality: the hair and beard, in keeping with the treatment of the face, are formally rendered. The lack of any thing Olympian about it may be due to the failure of the copyist to preserve the grandeur of the original. Pericles' head, owing to its shape, became the butt of many a joke on the Athenian comic stage, where he was called the "onion-headed." Plutarch tells the story, that, on account of this peculiarity, Pericles refused to allow his portrait to be taken without a helmet; but comparison with heads of other ancient generals, which are often helmeted, shows that the helmet is here simply a sign of office.

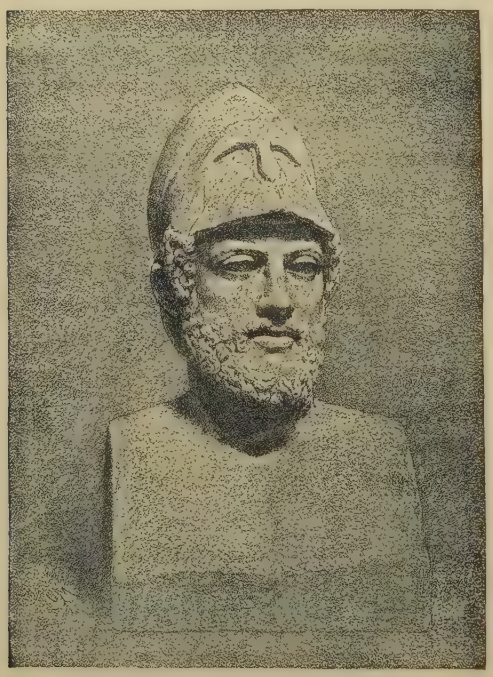

Fig. 147. Portrait of Pericles. Vatican.

The name of another artist, Strongylion, is associated with representations of animals which were very famous. Shortly before 415 B.C. (Olymp. 91. 2), a colossal bronze steed, from his hand, was placed on the Acropolis at Athens, a votive offering from an Attic citizen.[631] The size and novelty of the subject — the Trojan horse, out of which peered the Greek heroes — made it town-talk, and it figures in Aristophanes' "Birds;" but to-day the pedestal, 3.35 meters (eleven feet) long, bearing the dedicatory inscription and Strongylion's name, is all that is left. In Megara was to be seen a statue of Artemis Soteira, from

Strongylion's hand, very like one in Pagai, as Pausanias tells us.[632] Coins of this latter city show us, probably, a reflex of this image: here, though an object of worship, Artemis does not stand quietly to receive adoration, but seems to be running rapidly. Three Muses by this master, on Mount Helicon, were grouped with three by Olympiosthenes, and three by Kephisodotos, the father of Praxiteles.[633] Of an Amazon by Strongylion, we only know that it was famous on account of the beauty of its thighs, being called Eucnemon; and that Nero was reported to have taken the statue with him on journeys.[634] For another statue of a young boy by Strongylion, Brutus, who fell at Philippi, was said to have conceived a violent passion, which caused it to receive the name of Philippiensis.[635] In view of Pausanias' praise of Strongylion's steers and horses, and the emphasized beauty of his physical forms, the theory is entertained by Brunn, that he shared the Myronic tendency in Attic art.[636]

Callimachos, the reputed inventor of the Corinthian column, is not distinctly stated to have been an Athenian; but his golden lamp in the Erechtheion, with undying flame, although filled but once a year, indicates his intimate relationship with Athens.[637] Of a bridal Hera for Plataiai, and dancing Lakedaimonian women, ascribed to Callimachos, we are told that their extreme finish destroyed their grace.[638] Different authors speak of his painful particularity in detail, and hence he has been ranked second to the great masters.[639]

A contemporary of the men thus far described, one Demetrios, born in the Attic *demos* Alopeke, judging from the descriptions of his works, seems to stand somewhat apart from his fellows, following a realistic tendency, which crops out, however, also in vase-painters of this time. Of gods, one figure only, that of the goddess Athena, is recorded from his hand; the remainder of his works being portraits, two of which were of wrinkled old age.[640] One represented a priestess who had served her shrine for sixty-four years; and the other Pelichos, a Corinthian general. The inscription of the former is probably preserved to us.[641] The latter is vividly described by Lucian, who says, "Have you not seen, on entering the court, that excellent statue by Demetrios? I mean the old man with round belly, bald head, and beard, of which some hairs seem blown by the wind, and with a body half-bared, having swollen veins, and like that of a man who enjoys the good things of life." Quintilian's blame of Demetrios, that he cared more for resemblance than beauty, seems to indicate in him a realism foreign to the general spirit of the sculptures of this time.[642]

Among other sculptors of this latter half of the fifth century, was one Nikeratos, who represented Alkibiades and his mother, Demarate, offering with a burning lamp.[643] Micon, the painter, and sculptor as well, and the scholars of Critios, were also now active, and with numerous others, of many of whom the names only are preserved in fragmentary inscriptions, witness to the tremendous artistic life of Athens.[644]

And so we turn gladly from this dubitable land, where report and conjecture rule, to the monuments themselves, — those eloquent, although sadly mutilated, witnesses to the greatness of Attic art, — and eagerly question them as to the secrets of that great age.

CHAPTER XIX.

ATTIC SCULPTURES OF THE SECOND HALF OF THE FIFTH CENTURY B.C. THE PARTHENON.

The Sacred Acropolis. — The Destruction and Rebuilding of its Holy Places. — Vicissitudes of the Parthenon. — Changes made in Byzantine Times. — Destruction by the Venetians. — Wide Dispersion of Fragments. — Rescue of Elgin Marbles. — Carrey's Drawings. — Extent of Sculptures of Parthenon. — The Metopes. — Diversity of their Style. — Compared with Olympia Marbles. — The Frieze. — Subjects treated. — The Gods. — Sacrificial Scene. — Panathenaic Procession. — The Sculptures of the Pediments. — Reports of the Ancients. — Present Condition. — East Pediment. — Central Scene. — Remaining Figures. — West Pediment. — Its Subject. — Tragic Fate of the most of its Sculptures. — Athena Group. — Poseidon Group. — Characteristics of Style and Treatment of Pedimental Sculptures. — Superiority to many Great Works of Antiquity. — Admirable Adaptation to Temple Adornment. — Influences which produced these Achievements in Sculpture. — Opinions concerning them. — Their Charm not dependent upon Material used. — Majesty of the Thought.

THE costly chryselephantine colossi and the less pretending bronzes which did service in the temples have perished; but priceless marbles have outlived the buffettings of time, witnesses to the marvellous activity in Athens during the latter half of the fifth century B.C. In the very front rank are the marbles which adorned the temple of Pheidias' golden Athena Parthenos, erected on the summit of the Acropolis.

This height had been from time immemorial the most sacred spot in the eyes of the Athenians. There, through centuries, the holy flame had burned; there Poseidon's sacred spring and Athena's olive had been jealously guarded; and there her time-honored wooden image had been worshipped, and her treasure hoarded. But the wasting fires of the Persian occupation had desecrated this spot, and burned down its temples. To rebuild these, the Athenians, under Pericles, set resolutely to work; and, about 447 B.C., the glorious structure of the Parthenon (Virgin's Shrine) was begun, to be finished, probably, about 434 B.C.[645] Could we have visited the Attic capital during this time, we should have seen the people thronging the site of the building, and the artists' workshops. We should have seen blocks of Pentelic marble pass up the steep sides of the Acropolis, drawn on carts, or carried on the backs of mules. If we may believe ancient story, even these beasts of burden took an interest in the raising of the structure. We are told that an octogenarian mule, dismissed from service on account of age, still joined the procession of carts, plodding

energetically by the side of its younger comrades, and, as a reward for faithfulness, received a lifelong pension from the state.[646]

By 437 B.C. the statue of Athena Parthenos stood nearly complete, and was consecrated in that year in connection with the great festival in honor of Athena; but it is probable that the temple pediments were not completed until about three years later. As a great religious centre of ancient Hellas, this temple received gifts from all. Even long after Athens' political glory had faded, monarchs such as Alexander, and Attalos of Pergamon, continued to send thither their gifts. In and about it were placed statues, even on the steps leading up to the colonnade. So numerous were the treasures, that one ancient writer found material to fill four, and another fifteen, books, simply in describing these votive gifts.

The history of the building, and the storms which it has braved, might fill a volume of breathless interest. Sulla, the Roman conqueror, was satisfied with despoiling the Acropolis of only fifty pounds of gold, and six hundred of silver; and, more than five hundred years after its completion, men wondered at the freshness of the temple and its statue. It was with the fall of the ancient world before Christianity, approximately in the fifth century A.D., that this temple of the pagan virgin-goddess of wisdom first suffered much change, being turned into a church of the saint of wisdom, Sophia, and, still later, made sacred to the virgin mother of God.[647] The east entrance was closed up by an apsis built against it. The *cella* was covered with an arching roof, which left the colonnade open, and the frieze exposed; and two niches were broken through the west pediment. The walls of the interior were covered with the stiff forms of Byzantine art, traces of which are still to be recognized. Rude inscriptions, scratched by the Christians, may still be seen, touching ejaculatory prayers, like those in Roman catacombs, but strangely out of place on these glorious columns. In 1458 the building passed into the hands of the Turks, who soon turned it into a mosque, making little change, except the addition of a minaret. In the seventeenth century the Turks, besieged by the Venetians, retired to the Acropolis; and a deserter bringing the news that the enemy were using the Parthenon as a powder-magazine, the Venetian commander, Morosini, gave orders to make a target of the building. On the evening of Friday, Sept. 26, 1687, a fatal bomb fell into the midst of the temple; and, in the catastrophe which followed, all that was left of the glorious Parthenon was a part of the *cella*-wall and pediments, with remnants of sculpture, and a few columns. With the capitulation of the Turks, two days later, the work of spoliation commenced. Orders were given to tear the steeds from Athena's chariot in the west pediment; but in being lowered they fell, and were shattered into a thousand pieces. A fatal passion for possession seems to have seized those who visited Greece in the eighteenth century; and the work of destruction was accelerated by the Athenians themselves, who burned many fragments to obtain

lime. Finally, in the years 1801–03, Lord Elgin happily appeared to rescue much of the remainder. After long delay, and many perils, the marbles arrived in England, exciting great interest, and awakening much diversity of opinion.[648] Even accredited authorities in art-matters declared them to be "not originals," but from "Hadrian's time," and the work of "journeymen not deserving the name of artists." As praiseworthy exceptions, Benjamin West, the American painter, and Haydon, the English sculptor, recognized the artistic value of the marbles immediately; the latter pleading for them in an appeal to Parliament. In 1816 they were acquired by the British Government for the sum of thirty-five thousand pounds, and received shelter in the British Museum. The remaining fragments from the Parthenon are scattered far and wide in Copenhagen, Baden, Paris, Vienna, and elsewhere; and some still cling to the temple-ruins.[649] Their material is not costly imported Parian marble, but from the quarries on Mount Pentelicos, near Athens; and its golden hue may still be recognized on many of the slabs of the frieze, which are protected by glass cases in the Elgin room: while the pedimental groups are hopelessly stained with the gray city-fog.

Fortunately, before the demons of war were let loose, and powder shattered those time-honored walls, a French artist, Jacques Carrey, had made hasty sketches of the sculptures in fourteen days. These drawings have proved of the greatest importance in studying the composition of the ruined marbles, and bring home to us a sense of our great loss.[650] In 1676 two English travellers, Spon and Wheler, forerunners of the present throng of tourists, visited Athens, and confirmed the correctness of Carrey's drawings by their quaint descriptions.

The sculptures adorning the exterior of the Parthenon comprised (compare Fig. 113) (*a*) detached groups, which gave emphasis to the metopes of a ponderous entablature surrounding the entire building; (*d*) a graceful band or frieze, which enriched the top of the sacred place, or *cella*, — this frieze, raised 12.20 meters (forty feet) above the eye, and visible to those walking under the colonnades, alone having had a length of 128.60 meters (five hundred and twenty feet); and (*b*) statues in dramatic composition, which occupied the east and west pediments. How impossible a task it would have been for one man, in a few short years, to produce this work, comprising several thousand square feet of relief, well-nigh fifty colossal marble statues, besides several colossi of gold and ivory, is apparent: and while the conception of the whole, and, doubtless, designs for some of the details, emanated from Pheidias, the execution must have been by other hands; and, indeed, it seems evident, from inscriptions recently found, that the pedimental sculptures were not completed until after his death.[651]

THE METOPES.

The metopes of the strong Doric frieze surrounding the Parthenon, ninety-two in number, were all sculptured, requiring an expenditure of labor not found on the metopes of any other existing temple; judging from their style, they were executed before the remaining sculptures of the building. Forty-one of these mutilated groups still crown the lofty pillars; one is in Athens, detached from the building; eighteen are entirely gone; the best preserved, fifteen in number, are in the British Museum; and one is in the Louvre. These sculptured squares (1.28 by 1.21 meter) present varied scenes, the exact relationship of which to one another and the rest of the temple-marbles is not in every case clear, on account of their ruined condition. On the east front seems to be represented the battle of gods with giants, those personifications of evil over whom the deities of Olympos came off victorious, chiefly through the courage of Athena, who, with Zeus and Heracles, destroyed the "fierce brood." On one of the metopes, still on the building, it is possible to recognize the goddess herself in conflict with her foe. On the west side the subject seems to be either the mythic conflict of Greeks with Amazons, or the battle of Marathon. In either case the meaning seems to be the expulsion of invaders, and establishment of order. The scenes of the longer, the north and south, sides, are from the conquest of Troy, and the conflicts with the centaurs which arose at the wedding of the Lapith king, Peirithoös. On one of them, according to Carrey's drawing, were represented two females, apparently taking refuge by the stiff image of a god. Others represent the bearing off of the women of the bridal party by the centaurs, or the conflicts of these monsters with the Greeks; victory seeming now to turn to the side of the warriors, and now to that of their foe. In each metope two figures are wrestling; and so well expressed are the positions, that it would be well-nigh impossible to change the grip of a hand, or thrust of a foot, without breaking down the whole artistic structure. In some this vigorous composition is coupled with a harshness of execution, both in the nude and drapery, in striking contrast to the perfect freedom in others. An amusing but reliable characteristic of the better metopes is to be found in the centaurs' tails. It will be seen throughout, that, where they are thrown up, the sculpture is lively and excellent; but, where they drop to the ground, there is much harsh archaism in the forms, calling to mind in many instances the centaur-groups of the Olympia pediment by which the sculptors of these metopes were evidently greatly influenced.[652] To the harsher class belongs that metope in the British Museum in which the bellicose centaur rears up, while a youth thrusts one knee against his ponderous weight, and catches him by the ear and hair. With an expression of great surprise, but sly determination, the centaur clutches his antagonist by the throat, and slings the front hoof around the Greek's raised leg, leaving us in uncertainty as to the

issue. The youth's face, devoid of any emotion, retains the immobility of archaic features. The centaur's eyebrows arch like a crescent, his forehead and cheeks are full of wrinkles, his hair is dishevelled, and his low-bridged nose, and broad, spreading nostrils, give him a brutal look, very like the centaurs of Olympia. In this metope, and the one placed next to it, in the Elgin room, we find the centaurs' equine bodies disagreeably slender; the tails falling straight to the ground, and the youths' forms meagre. In another metope, belonging to this harsher class, a rearing centaur catches a fallen Lapith by the hair as he sinks on one knee (Fig. 148). We feel that the warrior must either the next moment spring up to save himself, or perish. With one hand he catches a stone at his side, and with the other pushes off the ponderous enemy bearing down upon him. The mantle, slipping from his right shoulder, must soon fall off entirely in the fierce *mêlée;* although its leathery folds call to mind the earlier, coarser work at Olympia, yet its lines throw out well the surface of the body, and pleasantly fill up the relief. The Lapith's form is severe in outline, and his face shows something of suffering. His eyebrows are knitted, and his forehead slightly wrinkled; but his closed mouth can utter no cry. He endures heroically. The centaur's tail, which falls straight to the ground, is apparently an unfinished mass, the details probably once having been expressed by color. On still another metope a rearing centaur has his arms thrown up, as if swinging a rough club; and his brutal face is full of jeering assurance of triumph. The standing youth vigorously pushes back his enemy's arms, and plants his foot against the hostile bulk, but reaches it only with his toes, making us fear that they must soon slip off. The youth's drapery flies in low relief behind: the forms are harsh, and the centaur's tail is unnaturally rigid.

Fig. 148. Metope from Parthenon. Conflict between Centaur and Lapith. British Museum.

Of the superior class of metopes, in which the centaur's tail is raised, there is one in which a centaur bears off a woman. A stone, which he has dropped, lies on the ground: his frail victim pulls at his strong wrist, as at Olympia, to loosen his grasp, and violently throws herself. Her thin drapery shares the agitation: it has partially dropped from her bosom, and flutters about her in countless folds. The centaur's self-satisfied face, less brutal than that of his senior at Olympia, bears a striking resemblance to the portraits of Socrates, who, on account of his ugly features, was the butt of the Attic stage. The form of this centaur combines strong, full proportions with an admirable rendering

of skin and veins: the space above his back is pleasantly occupied by the woman's mantle flying in the breeze made by his canter. Still another metope represents a centaur seizing a powerfully built woman, who is in such rapid flight that her *chiton* flies open, exposing one leg. The centaur's clutch has torn the garment from her shoulder; and she, like her companion of the last-mentioned metope, struggles to unlock his grasp. These two metopes stood one on each side of a third, in which seems reflected the imposing form of the Apollo of the Olympia pediment. In these three metopes, then, we have, as Furtwängler believes, the central composition of the west pediment at Olympia sundered into three groups, losing, however, thereby, something of the freshness and intensity of those older marbles.[652a] On another metope, a centaur raises on high a huge vase, doubtless one of the wine-jars of the feast, soon to descend with fatal crash on the head of his enemy. The centaur-face has here a more human expression than elsewhere, which is enhanced by the well-shapen skull, and orderly beard and hair. The Lapith foe holds on his left arm a shield, and supports himself in his fall: around his head is bound a fillet, and his face wears only a shade of apprehension. The foreshortening of his farther leg is interesting, as the only example in the metopes of the British Museum, and is a mode of treating relief not generally practised until later. As may readily be supposed, in this excellent metope the centaur's tail is thrown up, the extreme tip falling over on to the haunches. On still another, a Greek, planting one knee on the centaur's back, has brought him to the ground, and, seizing him by the neck, is about to deal the fatal blow. The centaur, with widely opened mouth, is screaming in his distress; for, unlike the heroic Greek, the beast succumbs to fear. We admire the anatomy of his fallen form, and its skilful union of the human and equine, as well as the robust and pliable shape of the warrior. Again (Fig. 149), a powerful Greek has caught a centaur from behind, and seems to be causing him much trouble, as with his left arm he seizes the brute's hair, and, with right extended, probably prepares to deal a fatal blow. Let us note how his full mantle, spread out behind, well fills out the background of the sculpture, and throws out its vigorous forms. Crowning all, is the metope (Fig. 150) in which the struggle is past, and the semi-beast gallops away over the body of his fallen foe, waving triumphantly his lion's skin. The whole form seems to swell with joy, a striking contrast to the prostrate Greek, who lies on his mantle, his head hanging

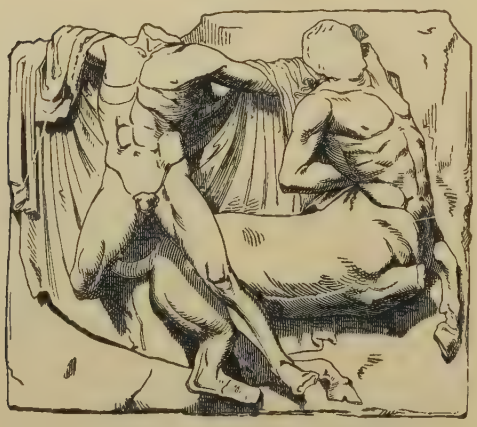

Fig. 149. Metope from Parthenon. British Museum.

over a rock, and his muscles relaxed in death. Would that the face had been preserved, for it might have revealed to us how the Attic artists then expressed the pangs of death! Comparing this body with other fallen warriors, such as those from the friezes of the Theseus temple, from Phigaleia and Xanthos, or with the fallen sons of Niobe, we shall feel at once its simple boldness and ideal truth.

With few exceptions, these metopes, representing the battles of the centaurs, as we have seen, not only in their composition, but also in their very mode of treatment, seem to be dependent upon the older sculptures at Olympia. As Furtwängler well expresses it, these sculptures in Attica are evidently a current from the great art-stream which flowed in Olympia. But what seemed like a mighty river there, here flows in a narrower bed, and is quieter and more clear. The fulness and broadness there, is here reduced to meagreness; the exaggerated, to moderation, — showing improvements being made by the later Attic masters upon what we believe to be their Ionian models. How admirably sculptural the old motives have become, appears on considering the relationship of these metopes to the architecture; their bold, horizontal lines, strongly contrasted with the perpendiculars of the triglyphs; the strong lights and deep shadows of their high relief, sometimes jutting over the edge; and the dark background of color, traces of which are still left, — giving a solidity of effect eminently suited to the massive Doric entablature of the imposing temple-exterior.

Fig. 160. Metope from Parthenon. Triumph of Centaur over Dead Lapith. British Museum.

THE FRIEZE.

Turning from the metopes (Fig. 113 *a*), on the exterior of the building we may contemplate the unbroken frieze (Fig. 113 *d*) which encircled the top of the wall of the *cella*, or body of the temple. Here, within the massive columns, under the roof of the colonnade, this frieze, 128.60 meters (520 feet) in length, and about one meter in height, ran along the entablature of the *pronaos* and *opisthodomos*, as well as the north and south walls of the *hecatompedos* and Parthenon (see temple-plan, Fig. 112). This long, unbroken frieze here most beautifully takes the place occupied by metopes and triglyphs in the older Doric temple at Olympia, but shows its Doric affinities by retaining the tri

glyph in the rudimentary form of its *regulæ*.[653] About 122 meters of this frieze now line the Elgin room; one beautiful slab is in the Louvre; fragments of others are in Vienna, Carlsruhe, and Athens; and much of the remainder is still attached to the ruins.[653a] In studying this frieze, Carrey's drawings are invaluable assistants, supplementing many details now lost.

In this sculptured band, which surrounded the temple-walls, a procession passes before our eyes, such as wound through the streets of Athens at the great festival in honor of Athena, founded, it was believed, in mythic ages, by Erichthonios, Athena's adopted son, and renewed by Theseus, the great hero of Attica. This Panathenaic festival fell in high summer, and consisted, originally, in an annual sacrifice, athletic competitive games, and the bringing of the *peplos*, a piece of richly embroidered apparel, for the goddess.[654] Peisistratos enhanced the attractions of the festival by adding a competition of rhapsodists, who delivered, in a free manner, Homeric poems; and the public-spirited Pericles increased the number of these musical and poetical contests. Not Athens alone brought hecatombs for offering, but also her colonial cities, each of which sent a spotless cow and two sheep for offering. The first four days were passed in games and rivalries, in music and song. The prize awarded was an olive-wreath, and a vase containing sacred oil from Athena's olives. On the recurrence of each Olympiad, every fifth year, the procession was made richer than at the annual festivals. On the last day, the traditional anniversary of Athena's birth, a new and beautiful *peplos*, embroidered by high-born Attic maidens and matrons with heroic scenes, — especially the combat of the goddess herself with the giants, — was carried in solemn procession to the Acropolis, there to be clothed upon her ancient idol. Choice sacrifices were then brought to the goddess, a bounteous repast spread before the people, and captives were set free. All Attica took part, old and young, mother and maiden, free-born and alien. Even the freed slaves shared in the rejoicings, decorating the market-place with oak-leaves. In the procession, as we learn from literature, native-born Athenian ladies carried vessels and vases for offering, attended by their less fortunate alien sisters with umbrellas and chairs. Only maidens of highest rank and of blameless character and person, prepared by several days of abstinence and seclusion, were allowed to bear in baskets, to the altar, sashes to wreathe the victim, and set it apart as holy, sacrificial knives, and corn to strew upon the offering. In the procession were to be seen envoys in charge of the beasts for sacrifice; gray-haired sires, chosen for their beauty, bearers of branches from Athena's sacred olive-tree; heavy-armed men of Athens; and youths on horseback or in chariots, — the whole being under the direction of marshals. And all this fleeting mortal beauty, which was to be seen in Athens over twenty-three hundred years ago, has been made immortal by the sculptor in the ideal splendor of his art.

In the east frieze, on the front of the temple, there reigned in the com-

position a quiet beseeming the approach to the sacred building. Single groups from this eastern frieze, showing the true beauty of the forms, and exquisite surface-rendering, appear in Selections, Plates III. and IV.; and the centre which occupied the space over the temple-entrance is represented in Fig. 151. Here a sacred rite is being observed, in which five standing mortals participate. On each side the gods themselves are enthroned as honored guests in the midst of the people, who stand or approach beyond them. But the gods are conceived as unseen by the multitude, as the first approaching figures have their backs turned upon these deities. Directly over the entrance a stately woman (Fig. 151, *a*), doubtless a priestess, takes a chair from the head of a smaller female attendant, and will, in like manner, soon relieve a second who approaches with her burden, and looks back seemingly at the procession, of which this group is doubtless conceived as a part.[655] Beside the priestess, a dignified bearded man (*b*) is engaged in taking from or handing to a beautiful youth a robe; or, it may be, he aids in folding it. This scene is often explained as the ceremonious handing of the embroidered *peplos* to a priest within the temple; but the presence of the priestess and her two maidens makes it more probable that this is a sacrificial scene outside the building, where preparations are being made for the offering of the victims represented in the frieze as approaching.[656] Brunn first suggested that the folded robe in question was probably nothing else than the priest's own mantle (*himation*); since he alone of the bearded men of the procession is not wrapped in this robe, worn over the long *chiton*. Moreover, the strong resemblance of this folded cloth to the mantles worn by the rest, having the same undulating border and ample size, but no indication of embroidery, conflicts with the theory that it is the *peplos*. On the supposition, then, that this is a sacrificial scene, we may believe that the priest here lays off his cumbrous garment, and hands it to his attendant, preparatory to the solemn act of slaying the victims. The representation on an Attic relief of a priest in the same untrammelled dress, and holding the knife, is, moreover, strongly confirmatory of this explanation. While the priest is thus engaged, the priestess lowers the chairs that are to be occupied by him and her during the approach of the procession. When all is ready, the priestess will lift up a prayer, the priest will slay the victim, and lay its flesh upon the altar to be burned, a sweet-smelling and acceptable offering before the gods.[657] Such is, in all probability, the sacred

Fig. 151. Central Groups of the East Frieze of the Parthenon: (a) Priestess; (b) Priest; (c) Zeus; (d) Hera; (e) Iris; (f) Athena; (g) Hephaistos.

rite suggested in this scene by the laying off of a garment and the receiving a chair, acts insignificant in themselves.

On each side of this central scene, the sculptor has placed divinities, seven gods and goddesses on a side; their superiority to mortals being indicated by their greater size. It is claimed by some, that these are all Attic deities; but by others the conjecture is, that they represent a wider circle, the twelve great Olympic gods (Zeus, Hera, Athena, Hephaistos, Poseidon, Hermes, Ares, Apollo, Artemis, Aphrodite, Demeter, and Hestia), whose worship was, according to Thukydides, established by Peisistratos in Athens, who erected an altar to them in the market-place, a part of the inscription of which has recently been discovered.[658] The supporters of this theory claim, that, changes being usual in local worship, one female deity, perhaps Hestia, is replaced in this frieze by Dionysos, who was especially honored in Athens.[659] At the right of the central scene (Fig. 151, *c*), first and mightiest is Zeus, the king of gods, majestically seated upon a throne adorned with sphinxes, and more elaborate than the rest. A rich mantle leaves his powerful chest exposed, but drops fully about his limbs to the sandalled feet. One hand holds easily the royal sceptre; and his left arm rests upon the back of his regal throne, partly covered by the folds of his mantle. Beside him sits his spouse, the matronly, fully draped Hera (*d*), who unveils to him alone her beauty. By the two a smaller figure (*e*) — whose standing posture and wings mark her as one of the minor goddesses — is, probably, Iris of the "golden wings," Zeus' messenger, and Hera's constant attendant, the one who prepared their couch, and executed their commands. Somewhat separated from them are four youthful divinities, seen in diminutive form in Fig. 151, and in full in Selections, Plate III. The first of these is, perhaps, the stormy Ares, who clasps his knee, — a pose which is thought, in ancient art, to have expressed struggling with inner emotion. The sculptor could not show in a seated figure all the wild passion of the war-god, and so takes this subtle way of hinting Ares' fierce nature, indicated also in the broad, strong chest. The seated Ares in the Villa Ludovisi, with sword and shield, has the same attitude; and Eros, playing under his seat, shows that thoughts of love there keep the fierce god from war. In the frieze of Lysicrates' Choragic monument of the fourth century B.C., a satyr (Fig. 203) sits thus clasping his knee; his uneasy pose, while the battle rages beyond him, expressing here also restrained excitement. In this Ares of the east frieze of the Parthenon, the attractions of the coming procession seem to bind, for the hour, the passions of the war-god. The choice and forms of the gods grouped with this fiery Ares are eminently appropriate. Opposite to him, but likewise facing the procession, is one shod with high boots, ready for the journey, and holding on his lap his broad hat, or *petasos*. This can be no other than Hermes, the messenger-god. We almost expect, at a moment's warning, to see him spring from his seat, draw on his mantle, as is usual with this god buttoned over the arm,

put on his broad-brimmed hat, and speedily disappear. Leaning on Hermes' shoulder is a youth of noble form and bearing, raised on a cushion higher than the others, and with head turned to watch the coming procession. His left arm is raised as if supported on a long sceptre, once represented in bronze; while rich, full drapery falls over his lap. Facing him is a goddess, enthroned in like manner. The position of these figures, as Flasch has shown, aids in their identification. They cannot be husband and wife, or lovers; for, if such, they would sit side by side. Seated as they are, opposite one another, with intertwining limbs, their relationship is clearly that of brother and sister, — doubtless the twin gods, Apollo and Artemis. Here Artemis, the restless huntress, carries her attribute, the torch, and is bent forward, with right hand holding her drapery, which threatens to slip off, while she looks through her brother's upraised arms at the procession. Her long, maidenly locks fall over her shoulders; and her virgin form is so little developed, as to have led some to imagine it to be that of a god. Only a shattered outline is left of all the heads of this group, but how clearly in every line of drapery and form do we read ease and grace coupled with exuberant strength![659a]

In the corresponding group of six great gods on the opposite, the left, side of the central sacrificial scene, we see Athena (*f*), the beloved goddess of Athens, and daughter of Zeus, seated in a place of honor, equal to that given her father. Her implements of war are laid aside, and she appears radiant in her maidenly beauty. Her hair flows freely down the back; and a long *chiton*, girded at the waist, falls over her faultless form. The lap is too high for folds of drapery alone, and on it we may discern the fringing serpents of her *ægis* partly covered by her hand.

The contrast is striking between Athena and her neighbor (*g*), who, leaning on his staff, looks back towards her. These massive shoulders and this short neck can belong to no other than the lame blacksmith-god Hephaistos, who, in the Homeric description, on leaving his forge to enter the assemblage of the Olympic deities, "wiped with a sponge his face, both hands, stout neck, and hairy chest," and caused "an inextinguishable laughter" to break "from all the blessed gods, as they beheld him laboring o'er the palace-floor," even though their assemblage had just been filled with bitter rancorings.[659b] We almost imagine, on comparing the stately form of Zeus with this of Hephaistos, that we can see in the latter the brawny muscles swollen from labor, and the fingers crooked from long holding the hammer and tongs. Athena here grouped with the artist-god, her unsuccessful lover, corresponds to Hera with Zeus on the opposite side. It will be noticed, that monotony is avoided by alternating the position of the male and female figures, and by the different ages of the two goddesses, as well as the variety in the pose of hands and feet.

Next to Athena and Hephaistos, but separated from them by a narrow space, is a group of four deities, and the boy-god Eros, still attached to the

temple, as may be seen from Fig. 113; that they corresponded to the four youthful figures beyond Zeus and Hera on the opposite side appears from Fig. 151. In Fig. 152 this group appears on a larger scale; and we see, first, Poseidon, the ruler of the seas, his head bound about with a sacred fillet, and his locks falling as though wet, and clinging to his neck. The strongly developed forehead, the arched upper lid almost touching the eyebrow, as well as the widely opened lower one, give the god an air of self-sufficiency: but his attitude is not that of easy repose; leaning forward, as well becomes the stormy sea-god, he seems to force himself to reserve and quiet. In the raised hand,

Fig. 152. A Part of the East Frieze of the Parthenon. Athens.

as indicated by holes in the marble, he once held some symbol, doubtless a trident of bronze, it being evident that the whole frieze was finished with adjuncts of metal. Grouped with Poseidon, and apparently engaged in pleasant converse, is a god whose type, and graceful laxity of pose, have won for him from some the name of Dionysos: by others he is called Apollo.[660] On his drapery we see that fluted edge, like the finished-off end of woven stuffs, a striking characteristic of the sculptures of the Pheidian age, but disappearing in those of the next century, when an exact and well-laid seam takes its place. Note the similarity and yet great diversity in these two seated figures. In one the arm is raised, with drapery gracefully falling over it. The legs are quietly crossed, and the face turned, affording a front view of its beardless features. In the other a strict profile is observed. The sandalled feet are uneasily in

motion; one of the arms is dropped, revealing a marvellous play of skin, veins, and muscles. Heightening by contrast the beauty of these two manly forms, there follow two female figures, attended by the winged Eros. Only a part of one of these appears in the engraving; but so noble and ravishing is its beauty, that, in its contemplation, we would hush the murmur of conjecture as to whom it represents. Let us note the grandeur of the form, the broad shoulders and strong build, not entirely hidden by the rich drapery. How exquisite the contrast between the fine, clinging folds of the *chiton*, unbuttoned, and slipping from the left shoulder, and the sweep of the heavier mantle across the lap! Around the head is bound a kerchief, concealing a part of the hair, and reminding us much of the severer head of Philis on her tombstone, pictured in Selections, Plate II. This head-dress appears from vases sometimes to have been the house-cap of Greek women; and if, with Flasch, we consider this figure to be the goddess Demeter, it may here mark her motherly and home character. Female servants, also, often wear it. And if this goddess represents Peitho, Aphrodite's attendant, as others would have us think, it would, perhaps, indicate her subjection to that great goddess. However this may be, this exquisite but impersonal face is one of the most precious witnesses to that ideal treatment, so pronounced in the Pheidian school, which seems to have seized the general features of beauty, and avoided portraiture or fleeting emotion. Reclining against the knee of this goddess is the form of a fascinating goddess, whose upper part, now sadly injured, in Carrey's time was still intact. This easy pose, graceful form, and rich veil, are unmistakably those of Aphrodite. Her beautiful son and constant attendant, the winged Eros, a full-grown lad, leans against her knee, holding an umbrella, while she points over his shoulder to the coming procession (Fig. 151).

The four seated figures composing this group are contrasted strongly, in their quiet repose, to the corresponding energetic and restless ones on the opposite side adjoining Zeus and Hera, as a glance at Fig. 152, and at Selections, Plate III., will prove. Standing long before the assemblage of all these gods, the eye catches, in the composition, infinite modulations of rhythm, which, like gentle diminuendos, alternate with powerful crescendos, revealing a subtle grace, transfiguring without supplanting symmetry. Thus, the full rhythm is started in the figure of Zeus, easily reclining on his throne, and is continued in the proud Hera, the position of whose arms is quietly repeated in those of Iris by her side. In the next group of the youthful gods, after a sudden break, the play of the rhythm is more energetic and abrupt, sinking away, at last, in Hermes' lowered arms. On the opposite side is a corresponding though varied play of the lines, and this conformity to rhythmic law appears also in the position of the heads. Zeus and Athena, on each side of the centre, are in profile. Beyond them come the full faces of Hera and Hephaistos, corresponding to, and contrasted with, one another.

But let us turn to the approaching procession, towards which Aphrodite points, and Hermes looks. Directly beyond these gods on each side, evidently unconscious of their august presence, are groups of men, perhaps magistrates of Athens, leaning on their staves, and, in true Attic style, engaging in quiet converse. Next approach maidens, walking in couples, and bearing temple and sacrificial utensils; one group being represented in Selections, Plate IV. On the one side two of the dignified men heading the procession have turned to receive these graceful maidens, the first of whom appears to have lowered her basket. Two others bear between them what seems to be a tall, slender censer. The remainder carry in the right hand flat saucers or slender vases, for use in the ritual, and mentioned in inscriptions as being of precious metal. The grace and modest dignity of these Attic girls seem to mirror the solemnity of the time and place. Only two, carrying between them a heavy censer, appear to be speaking. Though few in number, how wonderfully, by their dignified and slow advance, do they suggest a long and stately line to follow. The broad, strong shoulders, the erect pose, and rich drapery falling to the ground, give them a column-like appearance, gracefully varied by the womanly bend of the heads, and the marvellous details of arms and hands. These hands, a study in themselves, surpass all others, except perhaps those of Raphael's Madonnas, from which, however, they differ, as does classic from modern art. The costume is nearly the same throughout, but the constantly varied drapery always reflects the form with delicate shades of change. The principal garment is the long *chiton*, the upper part of which was folded over from the shoulders, and, falling to the waist, was called the *diploïs*. The lower part, falling to the feet, was caught up at the waist in a baggy fold (*kolpos*). From the shoulders of many hangs behind a small additional mantle. Although the whole build of the form here, with its broad shoulders and narrow hips, has still far more of the masculine about it than the sloping, curving lines given to the female form in later days, does it not express with greater force true feminine grace and dignity? Most of the heads are, alas! gone; but the remaining fragments mark them as belonging to the same robust stock as the youths of this frieze, and show a strong relationship to the less graceful Philis head. All passion or emotion appears to lie dormant in their strongly cut faces, in harmony with the dignified style of the age. Of every one of these maidens we almost hear the ancient poet sing, as he did of Hero, the Lesbian maid, —

> "As through the temple passed the Lesbian maid,
> Her face a softened dignity displayed:
> Thus as she shone superior to the rest,
> In the sweet bloom of youth and beauty dressed,
> Such softness tempered with majestic mien,
> The earthly priestess matched the heavenly queen."

Beyond these maidens, and concluding the reliefs to the right, on the east side, stands one of the marshals of the procession. The corresponding closing figures to the left are lost.

Thus, as we have seen, on the front, or eastern, end of the temple, the sacrificial scene occupied the centre, set apart, as it were, by enthroned gods on either side; while men and maidens approached with a composure beseeming the temple and a solemn service.

Turning the corners of the temple, we should find the procession on the long sides was in full motion towards the front. In contrast to the quiet of

Fig. 153. A Part of the South Frieze of the Parthenon. Cows led to Sacrifice. British Museum.

the front, here there was infinite variety of life and action. On each side appeared first the victims for sacrifice, cows and sheep, — on the south doubtless those brought by Athens herself to the goddess. Here cows, of which there were originally at least nine, stepped quietly forward, or struggled to break away from strong youths (Fig. 153). Even though we do not supply in imagination the bronze cords which once held them, how powerful is that group of the south side, where the youth has nearly lost his garment in the endeavor to check his wildly springing charge! The next cow catches her unruly spirit; and confusion threatens to spread in the orderly ranks, did not a fellow-attendant now come to the rescue, and seize the powerful beast by the horn.

On the north side the animals seem symbolical of the offerings from abroad,

as is indicated by the two sheep, since we know that the colonies sent hecatombs of diverse animals to the Panathenaic festival. These two sheep are choice beasts, whose fleece is expressed with marvellous dexterity by a few broad strokes. All the animals are attended by two or more youths each, who, like priests chosen for the service of the goddess, advance beside their charge with thoughtful mien, heads bowed, and, in one case, the full mantle drawn up, even over the mouth. Perhaps the usual escort of high-born youths, sent to present their cities' gifts to the Athenian shrine, are here represented.

Close upon these sacrificial beasts of the north side, to which similar

Fig. 154. A Part of the North Frieze of the Parthenon. Bearers of Vases with Liquid Offerings. Athens.

figures on the south, but now lost, doubtless corresponded, came youths bearing trays with cakes for offering, and others with heavy vases (Fig. 154). Broad, flat trays (*scaphoi*) formed a part of the treasures of the Parthenon, and were of silver or bronze. The vases having two handles, represented in the sculpture, probably contained the wine used in the Panathenaic festival; and the youths bearing them are, no doubt, aliens, who were obliged to perform the more menial part of the service. That their burdens are heavy, appears from the care in supporting the jars with both hands, while the last one even rests his for a moment on the ground. A glance at the dignified bearing, and subtle, varied beauty in the details of drapery, while the general flow is the same in all, will assure us how great a treasure was recovered when in 1833 this slab was found within the peristyle of the Parthenon. Following close upon

the beasts of sacrifice, and offerings of cake and wine, musicians naturally had their place. In Carrey's drawings appear four flute-players, and four others striking the lyre, as from the north side, parts of which only are preserved. On the south side a corresponding group was probably also to be seen.

Thus far, on the north and south of the temple, the figures seem to have proceeded in single numbers and column-like regularity, broken only by the occasional excitement of checking an unruly beast of sacrifice. After the musicians, however, the figures were more massed. A dense group, mostly of bearded men, now appeared, partially preserved on both the north and south sides. The holes about their hands indicate that some object was once attached to them. One of the rivalries of the Panathenaic festival, according to inscriptions, concerned manly beauty. From each tribe (*phyle*) the most comely men were chosen; the wealthy among the citizens defraying the expenses of their vestments, thus performing a public service, like that of training choirs of boys, or providing other entertainment for the people. These groups may, then, represent elderly men singled out for their beauty, to bear in their hands branches of sacred olive, considered the gift of the goddess. Their dense numbers gracefully suggest the masses of the procession, which, even though it had been possible to represent it in full, would have been monotonous from the necessary repetition of perpendicular lines. A painter, by the charm of color, atmospheric effects, and perspective, may make a crowd interesting; but such picturesque treatment of masses we never find attempted in sculpture by the Greeks before the late Hellenistic age. On the north side the last of these beautiful men, startled by the advancing chariots, has nearly lost his mantle. This action breaks up the regularity of the groups, and prepares the eye for the extreme motion which follows. Four fiery steeds plunge forward, drawing a graceful two-wheeled chariot. Behind them follow a glorious parade of other chariots with prancing horses, growing more quiet, like a retiring wave towards the beginning of the line. Here the steeds are being fed by the groom, and the charioteer is awaiting his time. Of the ten chariots which originally adorned the north side, nine are partially preserved: of the eight on the south side, only five exist. Each one is accompanied by a warrior in armor, either sitting beside the charioteer, or springing off and on, keeping pace with the chariot in full motion, — feats fabled to have been introduced into the races in mythic times by the Attic hero Erichthonios. The warrior naturally ran on the left side, the other being occupied by the charioteer. This fact, like that of the girls uniformly carrying sacred vessels in the right hand, produces pleasing variety. Thus, on the north the warriors appear on the nearer side of the chariot, while on the south they are always beyond them. The long, flowing robes of the charioteers give them a resemblance to women; but on vases, coins, and several of the Mausoleum reliefs, such long-robed charioteers appear, showing that this habit was customary

with men of this profession. Among the plunging chariot-steeds, marshals keep order; their animated, graceful forms and excited drapery creating variety, and filling up the unoccupied spaces above the horses' backs.

On both the north and south sides, close upon the chariots, approached the pride of Attica's youths, mounted on fiery steeds, prancing along (Fig. 155), or standing impatient to join the rest. On the slabs of the south side this beautiful array presses somewhat uniformly forward, becoming quieter near the chariots. On those of the north side, however, the action is far more varied

Fig. 155. A Part of the North Frieze of the Parthenon. Procession of Mounted Youths. British Museum.

and intense, swelling now like a mighty wave, and, again, dying gently away. A few wear full armor; others are only partially armed; while many are clad in the simple, girded *chiton* and mantle, or the mantle alone. Sometimes they wear a crested helmet; sometimes a leathern cap similar to that common among the Persians, and which may have been adopted after the Persian war; sometimes a broad-brimmed hat; but generally they are bareheaded. Many are shod with buskins having leathern tops, which flap with the motion of the riders: others are barefooted. The seat of these riders is uniformly firm, and charmingly natural, be the horses quiet or prancing, with two, three, or even all four, feet quite off the ground; and the drapery responds to the form it covers, and the motion of the steed. In the north frieze the first few figures,

fortunately well preserved, are quietly preparing to join those already under way. Here stands a horse, by whose side the youth arranges the folds of his *chiton* with the aid of a small attendant, who bears on his shoulders the rider's mantle. Beyond this first group the figures become denser; and in the glorious riders, sometimes three, and sometimes seven, deep, the movement rapidly grows intense, and reaches its height, to subside again as it advances towards the front. In the south frieze the movement is more quiet: the riders do not appear to be so many abreast, and the horses are less spirited in the slabs preserved; but many are, unfortunately, seriously damaged. These steeds are all evidently of that breed described by the ancient horse-fancier Xenophon, when advising his friend what manner of horse to buy.[661] In looking at them, we almost hear his words: "Legs firm and bony, not muscular; joints flexible; the chest broad, contributing both to beauty and strength; the neck not falling forward like a boar's, but growing upwards like a cock's; head small and bony; eyes prominent and vigilant; nostrils wide, convenient for breathing, and terrific in appearance; ears small; shoulders high; loins compact; barrel round and short, and haunches high;" while, in observing the management of these steeds, we almost believe these youths to be following directions, like those given by this general when he says, "If it should happen to any owner of a horse, that, as tribune or commander of cavalry, he should have to lead a column, he should be careful, not so to display himself that he alone should have a splendid appearance, but much rather that the whole squadron should be worthy of admiration. If, having put his horse upon his mettle, he lead his troops neither too rapidly nor too slowly, but advance at a speed suitable to horses of great spirit, high courage, fine figure, and good bottom, there will be a perpetual stamping, neighing, and snorting; and not he alone, but every one in the whole line, will appear worthy of the highest admiration." This the sculptor seems also to feel, keeping alive the interest by infinite modifications of the same action seen in the playful variation of the lines, and intricacy and multiplicity of the intersecting limbs. As has been well said, "Before we have well examined one figure, another quite different diverts the attention. At one moment we are engaged in admiring a horse's forehead, and at the next the haunches of another attract our notice; the eye is rapidly hurried from one object to another; the varied forms and altered situations chase through the mind, and produce the effect of actual motion;"[662] while the order which reigns throughout gives the impression of that self-control urged by the veteran Xenophon, and more highly esteemed by the Greeks than all other accomplishments. The figures in repose show the strength which could be aroused to intense action: the rearing horse and powerful beast for offering do not drag these youths into any wild or unbridled action, and we are confident of their final mastery. Thus a sublime morality seems to speak from each marble form, telling of a firm and symmetrical character.

Passing to the west end, the rear of the temple, we should find that only one beautiful slab (Selections, Plate V.) has been removed from the Parthenon. The general quiet of this west frieze is enlivened by motion in its centre. The procession is forming, doubtless as it often did in reality, in the outer *Kerameicos;* a horse is being bridled; a marshal seems expostulating about delay; two figures tighten their sandals, and look up at those already mounted; another puts on his garments; others still stand quietly by their steeds, one of which appears to be brushing a fly off his front leg; another horseman swings a whip at his unruly beast. Here and there are couples already under way, and galloping on to join those of the north side, as we see in the first group, just before they reach the angle (Selections, Plate V.). How beautiful, in these two figures, the impatience of the steeds and the joyous self-reliance of the youths! Happily the face of one in full front view is preserved. The graceful movement of this youth as if to adjust a wreath, and the turn of the head of many another, give us charming touches of nature. The direction of the procession, diverging to pass around the two sides of the building, is without harsh disturbance of the lines ingeniously started on this west side, by a horse who breaks loose among the youths facing the north, and turns to run in the opposite direction.[663] His keeper struggles to check him, while a comrade comes to his assistance. The line being thus broken, the eye accepts, although unconsciously, the opposite direction, soon taken by the whole of the procession along the south side. This masterly group of the rearing horse and his keeper may have suggested the similar motive of the "Horse Tamers," on Monte Cavallo at Rome. This and other figures from the frieze seem to have been familiar motives; since they appear on various later monuments, such as the Nereid monument, and also on vases and terra-cottas.[664]

In these fascinating rows of horsemen, no two sit just alike. The usual pose is in profile, but at intervals riders break the uniformity by turning the body to speak or beckon to those following. Note the back of a rider from whose shoulders the mantle has fallen, or the front of the one who looks back, and raises his hand to his head as if to adjust his wreath (Selections, Plate V.). The perfectly easy and natural manner in which the hands are used is a beautiful study in itself. Sometimes they stroke caressingly the mane, as if to quiet the fiery steed; again, they pull the ear, the horse's most sensitive part; or swing the whip; or, as in the majority of cases, simply hold the bridle. All this is done with such subtle and beautiful variations in attitude, and in pose of arms and fingers, as to make their study a true delight, showing us how simple and yet effective the changes made on a single theme. The farther feet of only a few of the horsemen are given, the great majority being apparently covered by the nearer foot, or perhaps originally indicated by color, of which, however, no traces are now to be found. Wherever given, the farther foot is rendered with great skill; and its omission cannot possibly be an

oversight, but may rather have been intended to avoid confusion in the composition where the ranks were several figures deep. This explanation, however, does not suffice for the single horseman, where also frequently but one foot is to be seen.

Throughout the reliefs of this frieze, neither sameness nor conventionality marks the nude. A suitable proportion is preserved between the broad, strong shoulders and the loins, which are never too meagre, as was often the case in earlier art. The muscles are decided, though expressed without that display of the anatomical structure, met with in later art. On the other hand, the generalization of the broader surfaces to a neglect of detail, seen in the older style, is no longer visible. The veins, in their intricate network, and the subtile tissues and rich folds of the skin, are rendered in the horses' strong forms, as well as in those of youths and maidens. These details are, however, so skilfully subordinated to the whole, that they never thrust themselves into the foreground, to detract from the general impression. The drapery, with its graceful, undulating border, has lost all traces of stiffness, and, besides, thoroughly reflects the form beneath. True to its nature, it never seems executed on its own account, or shows the trivially elaborate folds and surfaces often met with in later times. Thus, in these reliefs, there is a golden mean between the excessive generality and conventionalism of the earlier, and the pronounced individuality and realism of the later, styles. The master, imbued with the beautiful nature which surrounded him, has caught from her fleeting moments exquisite tones of ease and grace, — the bend of the head, the quick movement of the body, the stroking of the mane, the adjusting of a garment, and the like; but he has moulded the whole into truly ideal forms, pervaded by a sense of the noblest artistic style. In the few faces preserved, there is a grandeur and simplicity, combining the last faint echo of the olden time with a new and freer life. The shape of the skull, round rather than square, is full and faultless; the ear correctly placed; the eye perfectly shaped, as well in profile as in front view, but not deeply set, as in later art; while the chin is strong, and the neck gracefully poised. No archaic precision is evident in the treatment of beard or hair; nor are they, on the other hand, luxuriant, but exceedingly simple. Little individuality or emotion is, besides, expressed by these gods, sages, warriors, and maidens; for the joyous healthfulness of a harmonious being alone pervades them all. They seem to us elevated by their sublime nature above the ills of ordinary mortals. As the wounds of the Homeric gods were said to have healed without leaving a scar; so, on the faces of the gods and mortals of the Parthenon frieze, the expressions of passion, love, sorrow, or anger seem to have passed over, leaving no traces of their power. And all this life, grace, and subtle detail is given in relief much less than four inches in depth; so that we constantly ask ourselves how this multitude of figures, this intricate tracery of veins, and gently flowing skin, could have been

expressed on so flat a plane, and still be as clear as limpid water, and as truthful as nature. This lowness of the relief was, moreover, eminently appropriate for the running, border-like character of the frieze. The surface-plane is everywhere uniform, the background alone being varied by unequal depth. None of those unpleasant projecting parts, seeming to start out from the general level, occur, which are often met with in Roman and mediæval works. The relief of the upper parts of the figures is more pronounced than that of the lower, doubtless to counterbalance any unpleasant perspective which might have been felt by those looking up from the colonnades below. The uniformly gentle elevations, with subdued light and shade, assist the eye in its passage from one scene to the other, and make this frieze admirably suited for its place as an encircling band in the architecture. The relief is, moreover, truly sculptural, but without the harshness of many archaic works; there being added here a pictorial element evident in the groupings, as well as in the subtle grading of the shadows of the nude and the drapery. Foreshortening is sparingly used: and the profile view, better suited to relief, is generally employed; while it is pleasantly varied at intervals by a form in full front view. No meaningless figures are introduced simply to fill up the vacant space. This is often occupied in an exceedingly interesting and simple manner, by giving riders and footmen an equal height. This deviation from life (*isokephalia*) we have noticed in early Greek art, where, however, it was most crudely employed. Here the archaic tradition is retained without its suggestion of untruth and exaggeration. This height of the figures, besides, is often used to express distinctions of rank. Thus, the seated gods are larger than the standing figures of men; and, of the latter, the menials are smaller than the rest. Among the youths, the grooms are smaller than their masters. The relief was doubtless enhanced by a background of color; and many of the appurtenances, such as the trappings, the olive-branches, and attributes of the gods, were of bronze. A difference is noticeable between different parts of the frieze in the excellence of the carving, and use of these adjuncts. In many cases, that of the south side is sketchy and unfinished, several of the horses having their manes simply blocked out. On the west frieze, the first marshal is inferior to all the other figures; while the horse, brushing off a fly, seems scarcely to belong among the rest, so meagre are his proportions. A few of the limbs of men and horses were, evidently, first made too slight, and the mistakes afterwards remedied, in part, by tracing a deep outline around the faulty parts, and by cutting the background away, as in the case of a youth of the west side, with a broad-brimmed hat, and bridling his horse. But the skilfulness of execution of these reliefs, as a whole, is astonishing, especially when we consider that they were probably carved after the slabs were built into the temple-walls, and not, according to the custom now prevalent, in the sculptor's convenient studio. This is indicated by parts of figures on different slabs, which could not have

been matched so exactly had they been carved separately, as well as by the analogy of other ancient works; as, for instance, the sculptures of the Zeus temple at Olympia, and the reliefs of the Nereid monument, which also bear marks of having been executed on the wall. This manner of working doubtless accounts for much of the delightful harmony in composition and detail which makes this picture of a bringing of offerings one of the sublimest of votive sculptures to the gods.

Fig. 156. The East Pediment of the Parthenon, according to Carrey's Drawing (A.D. 1674).

THE PEDIMENTS.

But leaving this charming, quiet scene, where Athenians are seen doing honor to their divinities, and which encircled the *cella*-walls, let us consider the sculptures in the pediments of the temple. The front of the Parthenon faced the east, where lay the mountains and plain of Attica; while its opposite end looked off over the sparkling bay, where the ships passed in and out. Pausanias saw the sculptures raised high up in these two pediments; but, with his pious regard for myth alone, he only tells us, "that the sculptures over the entrance all related to the birth of Athena, and those at the other end to her successful contest with Poseidon for the possession of Attica," thus, we see, illustrating two great articles of faith in the Attic religion.[665] In these pediments, triangular spaces 28.36 meters (93 feet) long, 3.456 meters (11 feet) high at the central and loftiest point, and 94 centimeters (about three feet) deep, were no less than forty-four colossal statues in Pentelic marble. Of these only fifteen large fragments are preserved, — thirteen of them being in the British Museum; two, ruined almost beyond recognition, still in the pediment; while many other smaller fragments are divided between Athens and London.

In the East Pediment, Pausanias saw represented the birth of Athena; but, alas! a yawning gap, many feet long, now occupies all its centre, as it did in Carrey's time, as may be seen from his drawing (Fig. 156). Conjecture is unable to charm back the creation of Pheidias, and tell us how the mythical birth of the goddess was represented, — whether Zeus here awaited the issue of his daughter from his head, or whether she had already appeared, "golden, all

radiant, in warlike armor clad, the wonder of the assembled gods," as she is described in Homeric hymn.[665a] That Pheidias should have pictured the scene in the naïve style of old black-figured vases, where Athena, a puppet in full armor, has half-way issued from the head of Zeus, while Hephaistos or Prometheus stands by with the axe that has given the blow on the Thunderer's head, is inconsistent with the prevailing style of the Parthenon sculptures. Neither is it probable, judging from the excited fragments, that the portentous moment before the birth was chosen when Athena was still awaited. The conjecture which has most in its favor is, that, "near her father, Pallas Athena, all radiant," appeared, to rejoice the surrounding gods. In Madrid a *puteal* has recently come to light which represents the scene more worthily

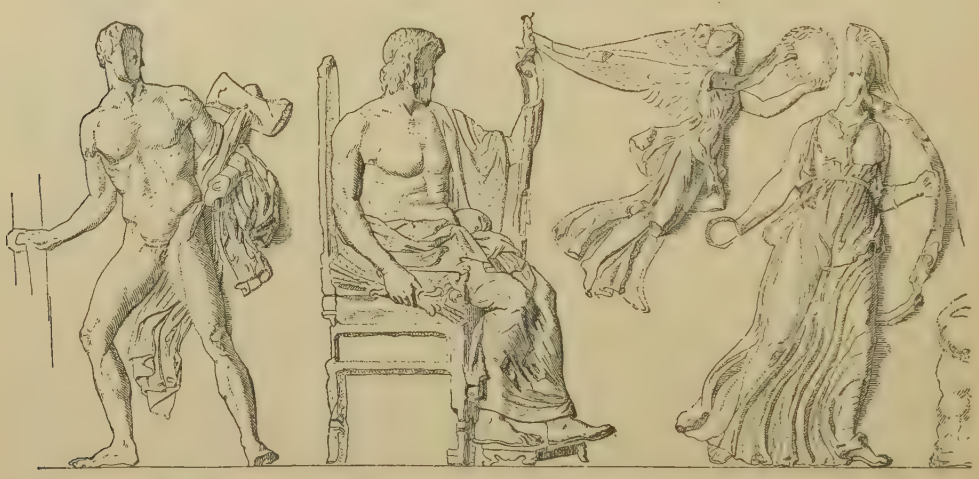

Fig. 157. The Birth of Athena. Part of a Relief from a Puteal. Madrid.

than any object hitherto discovered, and may perhaps remotely echo Pheidias' composition, although varied from the sloping group of the pediment, and adapted to a relief of equal width (Fig. 157).[666] Here Zeus is quietly seated; Athena glides rapidly away to his left, crowned by Nike; and Hephaistos, or more probably Prometheus, starts back astonished at the sight of what his blow has brought forth. From the original central group of the Parthenon pediment, one colossal torso, now in Athens, is the only fragment certainly preserved. The powerful back, protruding shoulders, and upraised stumps of arms, can have belonged only to him who gave the blow, — probably Prometheus. These fragmentary arms suggest either the raising of the axe to give the blow which should release Athena, or, more probably, the blow having been given, they are checked in mid-air by the god, astonished at the sight of the "cerulean-eyed goddess."

Concerning the remaining figures from the extremities of this pediment, conjecture has been most busy. Twenty-one different theories, at least, exist;

but still the question must be considered unsettled.[667] One point is clear, that, as on the pedestal of Pheidias' Zeus at Olympia, the rising Helios and sinking Selene bounded the scene of Aphrodite's birth; so here, on one side the fiery steeds of Helios plunged snorting out of the water, and, on the other, those of Selene watchfully descended into the deep (Fig. 156). Helios and his four steeds occupied the extreme left of the pediment: two of the latter are still in Athens, and two are in London. The horses are represented as coming up out of the ocean, whose conventional marble-waves, doubtless once covered with blue or golden color, still play about the god's neck and powerful arms, which scarce control the fiery steeds of the breaking day, plunging impetuously out of the depths into the ether above. They seem to shake from their proud heads the ocean-foam, and we almost hear their impatient snort. Holes in the mane, behind the ear, indicate that the bridle and reins were of metal. The muscles of the arms which once held them are delicately but strongly given, with a masterly tracery of veins, even on the inner unseen side. The rhythm of the whole comes out, even when standing at the back of Helios, who appears to be fairly drawn up out of the waves by his powerful steeds: while, in front, the loss of his face detracts somewhat from the force of the motion. At the other extremity of the pediment was Selene, the goddess of night, guiding carefully her chariot on its downward way. Her head was turned, looking back, thus uniting her with the rest of the group. Here, again, arms and head are gone; but the body, bent forward, clad in the charioteer's costume, — a long *chiton* girded at the waist, and secured by straps across the chest, — indicates her direction. A fluttering mantle, traces of which still exist, swelled out behind, making clearer this idea of motion; while the caution with which she descended into unseen depths must have appeared in her form, bent watchfully forward, and arms extended, holding tightly the reins. Her steeds — one in London and the other in Athens — seem shy of the dark abyss. The animated, protruding eye and distended nostril of the one in the British Museum show intensity of watchful action.[668] His head was dropped partly over the cornice; thus breaking, in a masterly manner, the rigid architectural lines. It is marked by a strong, bony frame, length of proportion, and a subtle, delicate treatment of the skin. Compared with horses' heads of both earlier and later periods, — instance those from Olympia or the Mausoleum, — it is truly sublime. In the earlier of these, though often natural and interesting, we are continually reminded that the horses are of stone; and, in those of later times, there is a lack of ideality, suggesting forcibly the dray or war horse, thoroughly subjected to the human will. But these fiery beasts of the Parthenon, we seem to feel, could be controlled by superhuman hands alone.

But let us study the figures of the goddesses themselves, to the right and left of the central group (Selections, Plate VI., and Fig. 156). A wind-fleet figure first meets us, perhaps the rainbow Iris of Homeric verse, who, in her

lightning speed, knew not time or space, and in art is usually represented as winged. This goddess hastens, doubtless, to announce to all the joyous news of Athena's birth. The head, as indicated by the break of the neck, was turned towards the scene whence she came; and, by this, her office of messenger seems made plain. Her girlish, undeveloped form is beautifully echoed by the simple folds of her *chiton*, which cling to her breast, and, blowing out into grand masses below, open on one side, revealing gracefully her limb and foot still poised in air. This goddess catches her mantle, which, swollen by the wind, seems to assume the significant form of a rainbow. The figure seated next to her becomes aware that she approaches, joyfully intent on her distant errand. At first glance it might seem as though this seated goddess raised her arm in surprise, and is about to rise; but her right foot, poised on the side, shows that this cannot be the case, as will be readily perceived if the experiment be tried. The raised arm probably held an attribute. The turn of the head, traceable in the neck, and the whole movement of this seated figure, reveal her interest in the good news, as she communicates it to her companion, who sits with one hand in her lap, and one resting affectionately on the other's shoulder, her head being turned as if to listen. These two seated goddesses are possibly Demeter and Core, — that mother and daughter who enjoyed especial honor in Attica. Both are seated, not on rocks, but square thrones, over which is laid folded drapery; and both wear the long, girded *chiton* of a heavy material, which shows wondrously the majestic forms, as it falls in rich folds over the bosoms and about the waists; their mantles, apparently of the same texture, and with a gently undulating border, utter a harmony inexpressible in words, as they are thrown across the ample shoulders, and sweep around the bended limbs in graceful and strong masses, affording, by lights and deep shadows, a contrast delightful and restful to the eye. It is noteworthy, that, for some unknown reason, the sculptor has seen fit, in the larger of these figures, to contract the parts about the middle; so that the body seems short, — a peculiarity met with in very many seated figures of Greek art, and which we have noticed in the case of the relief of Philis (Selections, Plate II.). Viewed from the back, this Parthenon group is no less attractive than from the front. The round, mellow contours of the arms, which once followed the slope of the pediment, contrast pleasantly with the upright sweep of the drapery, and the quiet of the forms; their significant pose revealing, besides, the affection that existed between these goddesses.

Following these draped female forms, on a rocky elevation, over which is thrown a skin, reclines a powerful, nude youth (Fig. 158), occupying that corner of the pediment where, as the chariot of Helios emerged from the waves, his rays would first be cast (compare Fig. 156). This figure, of heroic build, has been called, in turn, Theseus, Heracles, and Dionysos. But its vigorous type and semi-active attitude seem most appropriate to the personification of

a mountain, thought by Brunn to be sacred Olympos, the local seat of the gods, and scene of Athena's birth, illumined by the first rays of the rising sun.[669] The head still rests upon the powerful shoulders, showing that manly beauty belonging to Attic art in the time of Pheidias. The skull has those strong, square proportions peculiar to intellectually superior races; and the face, with its fulness about the chin and cheeks, is a round oval, not the pointed one of the Æginetan heads. The forehead is enlivened by a gentle projection of the frontal bone above the nose, which, however, is not, as in later heads, extended

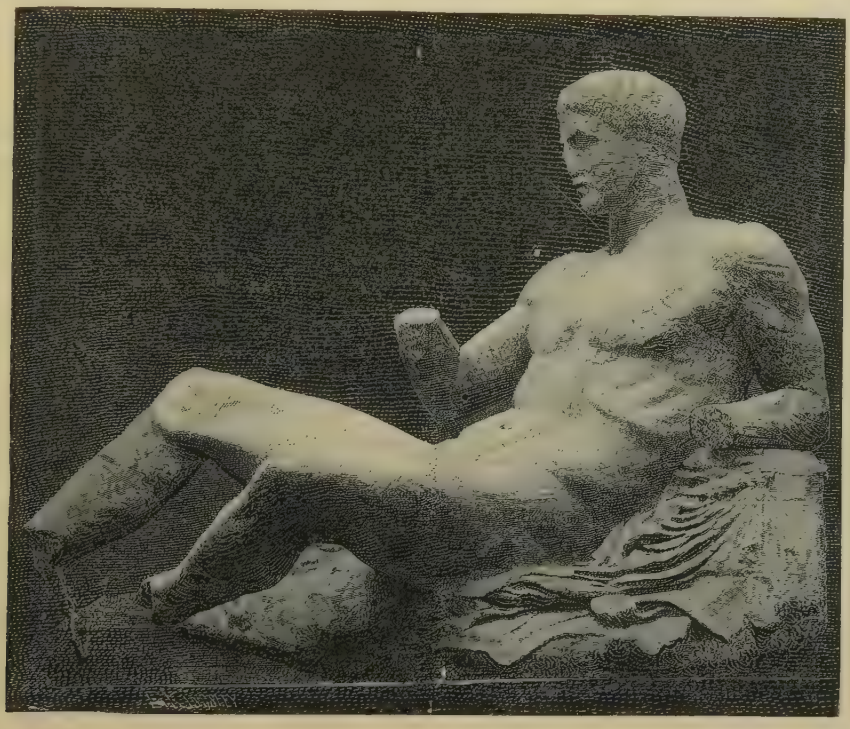

Fig. 158. A Seated God, perhaps Olympos, from the South End of the East Pediment of the Parthenon. British Museum.

towards the temples. There is no luxurious sweep of the lower jaw, as in the Apollo Belvedere: it is more upright and chaste in its outlines. The neck is strong and columnar, and quite suited to bear such a head. Contrast these massive shoulders, this broad chest, with the liquid form of the well-known river-god of the west pediment (Selections, Plate IV.), and the tremendous power of this rocky character will appear. The harmony of its proportions is so subtle and overpowering, that, though strict anatomical precision is sometimes disregarded, as where one collar-bone is found to be shorter than the other, our admiration is thereby only increased for the genius which has given the spirit without being bound by the letter. One knee projected ten inches beyond the cornice, thus breaking the architectural lines, which might have seemed too rigidly to confine the composition; while the other lines of the statue, as would

appear were the feet still attached, quietly fell in with those of the pediment towards its declining angle. This form, of such ideal beauty and strength, has inspired many modern sculptors, among whom none has better expressed its sublimity than the great Dannecker, who wrote concerning it, "This statue is so true to nature, that one is tempted to say the master must have formed his model directly on the limbs and body of some beautiful youth; and yet," he adds, "no such heroic youth ever meets us, or ever could have walked the earth." [670]

But the group of all groups occupies the opposite end of the pediment (Selections, Plate VI. and Figs. 156 and 159). These statues, like the Olympos, have

Fig. 159. Triad, perhaps the Clouds, from the North End of the East Pediment of the Parthenon. British Museum

received many different names. The Fates, the daughters of Kecrops, Hestia, Peitho, and Aphrodite, are some of them. But, again, Brunn offers so poetical an interpretation, that we are tempted to receive it, especially as it harmonizes with the character of the statues, and the place they occupy, next to Selene, the goddess of night.[671] He considers them personifications of the graceful, fleeting clouds gathering about the setting sun. By a recent correction in the placing of the reclining figure, in conformity with its original position in the pediment, lines of unexpected beauty in the composition of Pheidias have been revealed to us. These appear in the bended form and deeper shadows of the central figure, as contrasted with the erect and lighter ones of the first, and the flowing form of the third; and this will best be seen in the phototype taken from the group in its new position (Selections, Plate VI.). The figure nearest the centre of the pediment, and looking towards the scene of Athena's birth,

seems to catch life from what there takes place, and is about to rise from her rocky seat. She wears a fine, soft under-garment, which is rendered, even in its larger oblique folds between the breasts, with masterly simplicity and grace. Her heavier mantle, thrown around the form and across the lap, seems ready to be lifted by the first gust, so easy is its fall. Each broad fold can be traced to its faint beginning, and each deep shadow is as exquisitely rendered as though done with a painter's subtle power. The glorious form of womanhood in its perfect maturity is not lost in this drapery, but rather by it enhanced in beauty. The grandeur of the shoulders, neck, and bended form, the natural curve and ease of the remaining toe of the sandalled but shattered foot, reveal how great is our loss in the lack of head and arms. The feeling of the living, throbbing form under the drapery, as well as the harmonious contrast between the large folds of the mantle and the finer tissues of the *chiton*, are to be obtained even from the back of the statue, — a view which could not have been enjoyed when it was raised high up in its place in the pediment.

What inexpressible beauty marks the remaining figures of the triad! Here seems held up to view the intimacy of the gods. One, reclining, rests on the bosom of a sister goddess, who, bending forward, draws in her feet to make more easy the repose of her charge, besides encircling her with one arm. How rich, in this statue, is the plastic truth in each detail! and with what enthusiastic love for his work has the sculptor carried the finish, to the deepest recesses about the feet, which, even as the statues now stand, are almost lost to view, and must have been entirely beyond inspection when they were elevated in the pediment! But, if these sister statues are so ravishing in beauty, what shall be said of the reclining figure? When Carrey saw the group, this goddess gazed off towards Selene's steeds, her very thought and attitude in harmony with the quiet of coming evening, and gently suiting the slope of the pediment. Majesty of form is here combined with ethereal grace, re-echoed interminably in the countless quietly fluttering folds of the drapery. There exists here a most subtle tenderness, as well as an exquisite harmony between the form and the folds through which the marble glows with life. Seen in a fresh cast, with its unsullied lights and shadows deepening around the waist and limbs, and growing broader and more quiet in the drapery thrown over the rock, this group seems, not material, but a dream of beauty and queenly majesty which must vanish from our sight. Viewed from whatever point, unlike most groups of sculpture, new and charming lines reveal themselves. No fold is laid simply to break an ugly line, or for effect; but each falls as the nature of the material requires, and each exquisite detail is held subordinate to the higher ends of the work. So admirably are these sculptures adapted to the unswerving architectural lines of the pediment, that even these seem made to do the sculptor's bidding. The limitations placed upon Pheidias, as was the case with Raphael in frescoing the *Stanze* of the Vatican, seem only to have

quickened and ennobled the play of his imagination. The symmetry striven for in earlier Greek sculpture is most skilfully maintained in the composition, but is veiled by such contrasts as the plunging steeds on one side over against the cautious ones on the other, and the majestic nude Olympos counterpoised by the fluttering drapery and delicious form of the gently reclining goddess at the other end of the pediment.

In the West Pediment of the Parthenon, Pheidias represented another favorite article of faith with the people of Attica. It concerned Athena's taking possession of their land. According to legend, both the "blue-eyed Pallas" and broad-shouldered Poseidon desired to own the goodly land of Attica, and to receive the worship of its people. A competition between the rival claimants having been decided upon, an assemblage of the great gods, at which Kecrops, the mythic king of Athens, was present, determined to give over Attica in possession to the one who should confer the greatest blessing on the land. Poseidon, swinging his trident with those arms which compelled the sea to obedience, struck the adamantine rock of the Acropolis, and on its summit, five hundred feet above the bay, a salt-water spring welled up, which felt the tides and storm of the ocean below. According to still other story, a horse also sprang from the rock. What greater wonder was there then left for the goddess to perform? She now showed her power, but combined with beneficence, and caused a fruitful olive-tree to spring up on the rocky height of the Acropolis, the parent-stem of all Attica's olive-groves. Her gift, promising wealth in house and store, won the day over Poseidon; and the land was awarded to Athena. According to one story, she immediately took possession; Poseidon withdrawing to the seas, where, in his rage, he mercilessly lashed the Attic shores, causing marshes to cover much of the land. Athena's tree, within the precincts of her temple, was honored through all generations, and was said, miraculously, never to have shed its leaves, and, even when burned to the ground by the Persians, to have shot forth long branches in a single night, — a sign that the goddess had not forsaken her people. Poseidon's salt-spring was also long protected by a second temple on the Acropolis, tokens of the double miracle being thus preserved to late times.

How Pheidias represented this myth, and who were the witnesses to the strife, are questions the solution of which conjecture has sought to wring from the fragments now even less complete than those of the east pediment. When Carrey, in 1674, saw the sculptures, they were, however, far more complete; and, with the aid of his drawing (Fig. 160), we gain much light upon the general composition. From the drawing, we see, in the middle of the pediment, Athena and Poseidon moving in opposite directions. Fragments of an olive-tree, found on the Acropolis, indicate that the miracle had already been performed, and that the tree probably stood between them. Athena's chariot and steeds were seen by Carrey, suggesting that the antagonists were withdrawing to their chariots

on each side; but Poseidon's corresponding steeds were already gone, and they must needs be supplied to counterpoise those of Athena's on the opposite side. This would be required by the Greek sense of symmetrical composition, and harmonizes with the Homeric pictures of the gods, as always attended by their chariots when going into conflict. Careful study on the part of Overbeck and Lange, in 1879, of the fragments in London, and of casts from other fragments in Athens, has finally decided the much-vexed question of Poseidon's steeds.[672] They were not semi-sea monsters, but complete horses with four hoofs. Fragments of good size, adapted to the wall of the pediment, were the treasures which gave the key to this secret. Whether Poseidon's salt-spring appearing at his feet was also represented, and whether he was accompanied by an upspringing horse, it is impossible to say with certainty. It is probable, however, that only the spring was represented; since the space would hardly have admitted a third horse in addition to the two of Poseidon's chariot.[673] Of the majestic, excited form of Athena, which must have been well-nigh 3.35 meters (eleven feet) high, the powerful shoulders, now in the British Museum, alone exist. These shoulders and full form are clad in rich drapery, over which the *ægis*, folded like a narrow band, passes obliquely across the bosom, its lower edge scalloped, and having holes where once bronze serpents' heads were doubtless attached. How different this weapon on this majestic, threatening figure of the goddess from that worn by her in early representations, where its ugly shape covers much of her bosom, and all of her shoulders; and even from the *ægis* on the shoulders of Pheidias' own Athena Parthenos! From a fragment of the neck recently discovered, it is clear that Athena turned towards her formidable antagonist; but, unhappily, no parts of her head are preserved. A head of harsh archaic forms and wiry hair, as though executed in bronze, was once thought to belong to this figure, but has long since been rejected; as these pedimental sculptures are all eminently true to the technique of marble, and without a breath of archaic conventionalism or stiffness.

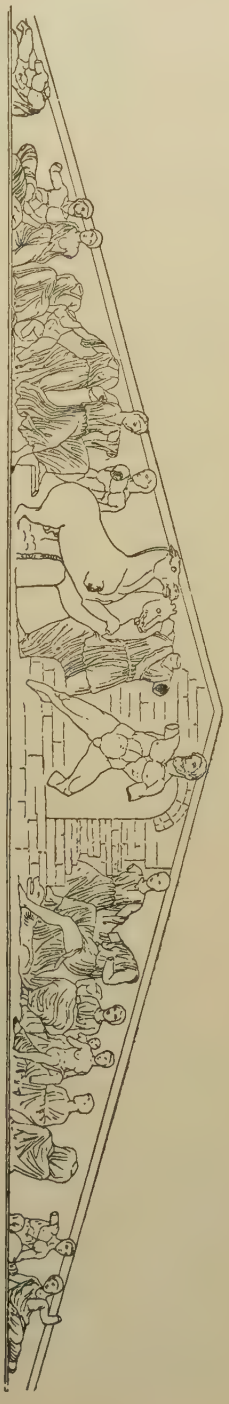

Fig. 160. The West Pediment of the Parthenon, according to Carrey's Drawing (A.D. 1674).

Just beyond Athena reared her steeds, impatient to

depart. The tragic fate which met them, on being lowered from the pediment by the Venetians, has already been alluded to. Fragments, casts of which are in the Elgin room, powerful even in their ruin, still await re-adjustment, if that be possible. Athena's charioteer, perhaps Nike, has perished; but the torso of the youth accompanying her, thought to be Hermes, and who is often represented on vases as attending Athena's chariot, is preserved in the Elgin room. This powerful athletic frame, in intense action, with drapery still clinging to the back, is a most interesting counterpart to the Olympos of the east pediment, who is equally strong, but in perfect repose. Thus Athena, Poseidon, and the chariots, filled up gloriously the centre of the pediment; making, as it were, the ruling strain in this powerful symphony transferred into enduring marble.

To the right of Athena's chariot came many figures, all sharing in the excitement emanating from the centre. These have received many conjectural names, Brunn supposing them to personify the cliffs and shores of Attica. The older and more generally accepted theory, however, is, that they are Attic gods. Following Carrey's drawings, we find that the first group was composed of two females, — which have been called Demeter and Core, — and a child in excited motion, — perhaps Iacchos. Of this group no trace is left; while the next, which consists of a youthful female and an elderly man, on whose shoulder she leans, is still in the pediment, but is so sadly mutilated, that its forms are barely recognizable. The coil of a serpent, seen under the right of the group, may be intended to characterize here either the earth-born Kecrops with one of his daughters, or Asclepios with Hygieia, all of whom were worshipped in Attica.

Beyond this group is a space, which in Carrey's drawing is left vacant, but, in one made by Dalton, is filled by a crouching figure, perhaps a local nymph. In the extreme corner reclines a local river-god, whose glorious form is now in the British Museum (Selections, Plate IV.). From his beautifully extended form, this figure is supposed to represent the Kephissos, a stream which flows in a direct course through the north of Attica, from Mount Kithairon to the sea. The figure of this Attic river-god seems confined to its rocky base, like running waters within their bed; but, catching the excitement rippling out to him from the stormy centre, he raises himself up on one arm. The elevation of the shoulders and knees, alternating with the sinking of the body and the retreating legs, suggest well the wavy lines of water. The very drapery, slipping from the arm, lies on the marble as though floating helplessly upon water; and the straight line of the thigh, almost melting into one with the base, goes to enhance the ideal of a river-god. The contrast between this liquid form, with all its softness, and exquisite treatment of skin, and the massive, rocky, firm frame of the Olympos of the opposite pediment, shows a degree of skill in characterization scarcely to be met with elsewhere in the whole range of ancient sculpture.

Turning from this jubilant retinue of Athena, to Poseidon and his followers

in the opposite side of the pediment, we shall find, that, of the extant fragments of the mighty torso of the god, parts are in London, and the remainder in Athens. From Carrey's drawing, we judge that Poseidon drew back indignant, and perhaps astonished, as he saw his rival's olive-tree spring from the soil; or else that he is retreating from her weapons. The mighty shoulders and arm, the powerful front, and now dismembered portions of legs and foot, with their distended muscles and swollen veins, speak most strongly the character of him who lashed the seas to fury, and made the solid earth tremble at his wrath. Here the mortal form, without being exaggerated, is intensified; and could this shattered trunk, these scattered fragments, be re-adjusted, what tremendous and dire power they would express!

But few relics of Poseidon's retinue are left. His steeds are indicated to us by well-nigh shapeless fragments. The draped figure which, according to Carrey's drawing, accompanied this chariot, corresponding to the male runner of the opposite side by Athena's chariot, is possibly preserved to us in a fragment of a winged figure now in the British Museum, but by some is thought to belong in the east pediment.[674] There can be little doubt that it is Nike, the goddess of Victory, by reason of the signs of attachment for wings in the back of the statue; and, if Nike, we must suppose her hastening to the side of the goddess with whom was victory. Her rapid motion is shown by the sweep of her short *chiton*, and the graceful poise of her left knee, the recent adjustment of which, by Professor Newton, has greatly enhanced the beauties of this fragmentary statue. Viewed from its left side, a wealth of graceful motives and lines reveals itself, not seen in front, making it probable that this Nike once faced the middle of the pediment. The drapery, clinging to the form in consequence of the rapid motion, differs essentially from that of the figures of the east pediment, having small, sharp lines, resembling creases, over it, and indicating that different hands were engaged on these statues. The torso of Poseidon's charioteer, doubtless the sea-goddess Amphitrite, wearing a *chiton* girded by a broad belt, and bent forward as if holding firmly the reins, still exists in the British Museum. This fragment, like many others, must be seen alone to be fully appreciated; being lost, as it were, in the superabundance of beauty crowded into the Elgin room.

Beyond Poseidon's chariot, we see, from the drawing, that there was a seated female with a child beside her, perhaps Leucothea, and Palaimon, her son. A fragment of the limbs of the sea-goddess Leucothea, with exquisitely agitated drapery, like waters ruffled by a surface-wind, is now in the Elgin room. Of the boy, a part of the left thigh only is preserved; while three of his fingers may be traced on the mother's right knee, resting on a bit of her drapery. Besides these, there are other signs on the mother's form that the child faced her right side, and pressed affectionately against her. The follow-

ing group, seen by Carrey, consisted of two seated draped females, one of whom supported on her lap another, a nude companion, while beside them was a child; but, of these, only one small fragment is preserved, being a part of the first draped seated figure. These are, perhaps, a Nereid and Thalassa, who bears the nude Aphrodite accompanied by her son Eros. That this Aphrodite, the only known nude female form in sculpture of the time of Pheidias, although in vases frequently met, is gone, is an irreparable loss; as it would have taught us how that sublime age represented this difficult subject.

In the remoter corner are two local gods, — the first a crouching river-god, now in Athens, whose position is thought to represent the crooked windings of the Ilissos in the south of Attica; while the adjoining recumbent figure of the extreme corner is thought to represent the sacred spring Callirrhoë, which in reality takes its rise in the bed of the Ilissos.

Glancing at the composition of this pediment, as preserved to us by Carrey, we find strict symmetry, but veiled so as scarcely to be recognized. The action does not flow outward, as in the very ancient Megara pediment at Olympia; nor does it flow inward, as in the Ægina marbles, or seem confused, as in the west pediment at Olympia, but combines with greatest clearness most varied movements. The rise and fall is such, that it seems altogether independent of the stern architectural lines bounding it; and the diagonal lines of the sculpture break the impression of threatening weight made by the sloping eaves of the cornice. Of all the heads seen by Carrey, not one is with certainty preserved to us. One marble head sadly restored, now in Paris, from the Venetian collection of San Gallo, Morosini's private secretary, is thought by some to approach the Parthenon sculptures in character; but its deeply set eyes, dimpled chin, loosely falling hair, and pathetic expression, are strong reasons for believing that it belongs to the century after Pheidias. Doubtless the head of the draped Aphrodite, now in Berlin, and which we have associated with Alcamenes' name, Plate II., comes nearer to what these heads must have been; showing us, in its grand reserve and exquisite tenderness, a style quite worthy of these torsos, and very like that of the preserved heads of the frieze.

In looking over both pedimental groups, we find, that, while different hands must have been employed in the execution of the individual statues, there is not that great difference in excellence which characterized the Æginetan pediments. Many Attic sculptors of this time must have been possessed of astonishing skill in carrying out conceptions, emanating, we must believe, from one master-mind, whose imagination here displays a richness of creative power unsurpassed. This imagination conceived, as we have seen, the strong youth in action and repose; the queenly beauty draped, reclining or seated; the girlish form in swift motion; nude and draped female shapes, leaning forward, and guiding proud steeds; children, river-gods, and the shapes of the powerful "earth-shaker," and others of the mighty gods; while it has blended all into har-

monious composition, like to that of a sublime symphony in music. The architectural difficulties to be surmounted were the same as in the pediments of the Æginetan temple or in those at Olympia. There we found symmetry marred by monotony. Here we have found it, but so subtly veiled, as only to be perceived after careful scrutiny. In Ægina and Olympia we found human, here godlike, shapes, which, to use Newton's words, "seem the result of a generalization so profound, that, in contemplating them, we almost forget that they are the product of human thought, and executed by human hands: they seem to reveal to us the very archetypes of form, such as we might conceive to dwell in the mind of a divine Creator."[675] In every colossal form the importance of the framework, that prime essential of true sculpture, is felt and expressed with marvellous truth, even where it might least be expected, as in the lax frame of the river-god. The massive shoulders are not out of proportion to the waist: the head is not too small, nor the limbs too long, as was found to be the case in the Æginetan and Olympia art. The rounded muscles, in which the harsh outlines of older art have disappeared, seem capable of expansion, and are clearly distinguished from the sinewy tendons as about the knees and elbows. Sculptural truth, essentially opposed to slurring or slovenly treatment, is, moreover, obvious in all the details. The skin, with its delicate tracery of veins, and subtle, adipose tissue like a half-transparent veil, at once conceals and reveals the sharp, underlying forms, and in each varying part has its natural character; so in the inside of the hand, how different from on the outside! and over the muscles most in action, how different from over those usually in repose! Note but the folds of skin of the Olympos or Kephissos: with what a bold treatment and handling of the chisel do they seem, with a few strokes, to stand perfect before our eyes! Seek through the statuary of Roman times swarming the galleries, or gaze even at the newly found Pergamon marbles, which, with an astonishing bravour in technique, show a greater monotony of skin and surface, and the equals of these Parthenon works will not be found. The rich, full life in these marbles, expressed in form and surface, raises them high above such cold academic works as the Apollo Belvedere, in praise of which Winckelmann said,—

> "Coursing veins warm not this frame to living glow,
> Nor sinewy joints impart the rich, harmonious flow;"

for these marbles have revealed a far higher and truer standard than the works with which the great pioneer of archæology was familiar. This rendition of the skin, and gentler forms about the muscles, is, moreover, never marred by laxity or superabundant fat, often to be met with in the best colossal works of later times: instance the celebrated Torso Belvedere of the Vatican, in which we look in vain for energetic expression in the flabby blending of outlines. Contrasted with the more energetic Laocoön, we find here no exaggeration of

single muscles into "small hills," as is the case with that excited, struggling group; and, compared with the marbles of the Pergamon altar, there is a subtle discrimination in the use of artistic means, which grows upon one the longer the details are studied.

The mechanical movements of the Æginetan figures here give place to intense throbbing life, echoed even by the folds of the drapery. In this, the advance is greater, if possible, even than in the nude. In earlier works, the drapery had failed to reflect every play of muscle or motion, which is, however, done here, and without caprice or superficiality. The folds obey the laws which control their texture. As that is heavy or light, they fall, or fly out on the wind. But they do not yet seem executed on their own account, being only present to heighten the beauty of the form. Thus, no mere accidentals of surface appear. There are no squarely broken corners where the drapery turns, eyes (*occhi*), as the Italians call them; nor wrinkles on its plain surfaces, as in drapery of the next century, striving to make stone a nearer counterfeit of real cloth: instance the folds of Praxiteles' Hermes. In short, there is in the drapery of the Parthenon a sublime simplicity and reserve of treatment, a dignity and truth of line, never elaborated or arranged for commonplace effect. Thus it receives a look almost severe, when contrasted with the extreme refinement of treatment in the following ages.

But a regard for what may be called a pictorial impression in these marbles enhances the subtle variety of their lines, their peculiar lights and shades adapting them admirably to be the united decoration of a temple pediment. By its working they are prevented from having the too statuesque and isolated look of the Æginetan works; and by a wise limitation, all blurred, or too pictorial, effects, as in the west pediment at Olympia, are also avoided.

With all the fascinating naturalness pervading these statues, it were vain to seek for signs that they were copied from nature, as she happens to present herself to the sculptor's eye. Here nature seems purged of all the dross of daily life. No unsuitable or commonplace positions, or accidental movements, are introduced, as we have found was done in the marbles of the Olympia temple. Even in the forms of the reclining figures, as, for instance, of the careless, lounging river-god, while nothing could exceed the naturalness of the position, an unsurpassed elegance and noble dignity pervade it, showing how under Pheidias' touch what went before became transfigured.

Whence came this great and marvellous advance in the forms of Attic sculpture, is a question which has often been asked. It is well known, that every artist owes more than can be told to those who have gone before. As Raphael had his Perugino, and Michel Angelo his Luca Signorelli, so, doubtless, Pheidias had his important predecessors; but who they were, is one of the problems which presents itself for solution. Possibly of Ageladas, Pheidias learned Peloponnesian correctness, and of Polygnotos, the great Thasian painter,

and his fellows in Olympia, a regard for the pictorial; but doubtless it was his own towering Attic genius which gave the crowning to the art of this Golden Age in Greek sculpture.

In regarding the exquisite finish of these Parthenon marbles, we may recall the words of the great German sculptor Rietschl.[676] "Every time I call to mind the fact, that the backs of the Parthenon statues are as perfectly finished as the front, I am not only filled with wonder and admiration, but deeply touched. I realize that the master knew, that, when the statues had passed out of his hand and workshop, no human eye could ever peer away up to see the hidden beauties which his love and labor had created; while to us is permitted, after two thousand years have elapsed, more by happy chance than the necessary course of history, to look upon these love-offerings of a genuine artist-soul." The question irresistibly arises, why so much time and labor was expended on those parts of the statues which should not be seen when once in place. The Attic sculptors evidently worked with that lofty impulse which created what was, that it should be good. The same spirit seems eloquently to speak to us from the giddy heights of Gothic cathedrals, where the stone flowers and leaves are as perfectly cut as those on a level with the eye. So the gentle floweret of the wilderness, never to be looked upon by mortal, oft-times has beauty as winning as that of its cherished sister of the garden. The loving conscientiousness witnessed in the execution of these noble works of ancient Greece is an expression of the true and beautiful in man's nature, seeking to satisfy the lofty claims of his higher self, and manifesting its ability so to do.

In the Parthenon marbles, the charm is not made dependent upon the choice of the materials used. The Æginetan works, as well as those at Olympia, are in the more brilliant and costly Parian marble, these in the cheaper Attic stone, often defective in grain and color. Haydon, the English sculptor, said of them, "Were these marbles lost, or had they been burned for mortar, there would have been left a gap in art as great as there would have been in philosophy had Newton never lived." Dannecker, the German sculptor, exclaimed, "In these marbles all is truth, — the highest truth!" The Italian, Canova, when asked to restore them, replied, "It would be a wanton sacrilege were I, or any one else, to touch these marbles with a chisel. — Every piece breathes life with truth, and an extraordinary mastery of the art which never parades itself."

But, while the forms rouse such enthusiasm, the united thought of the Parthenon marbles, expressed in treble structure, as in the tragedies of Æschylos, is no less sublime. Like great harmonies blending in some vast symphony, appear in the pediments the relation of the goddess to her land, in the metopes her battle for law and order, and, in the frieze, the honors offered by her grate-

ful people. Could we imagine these matchless forms in their Attic home, shaded by the marble roof of the Parthenon, or looking down from among its faultless pillars; could we charm before us violet-hued Hymettos, and the depths of the overarching azure; could we feel the gentle breezes from the blue sea, and behold the Greek sun bathing all with golden light, — then should we realize what met the eye of the Athenian of old, and inspired his thoughts as he devotedly ascended his sacred mountain: then should we feel in our own souls what transcendent ideals were charmed into adequate and glorious material forms by the Pheidian age.

CHAPTER XX.

ATTIC SCULPTURES OF THE SECOND HALF OF THE FIFTH CENTURY B.C. (*concluded*).

Theseion at Athens. — The Subjects of its Metopes. — The Subjects of its Frieze. — The Erechtheion. — Its Inscriptions and Sculptural Remains. — Its Portico. — The Caryatidæ. — Temple of Nike Apteros. — Its Frieze. — Description of its Reliefs. — Comparison with the Theseion — Balustrade of Temple of Nike Apteros. — Its Reliefs. — Their Style — Influence on Later Works. — Votive Reliefs of this Age. — Reliefs on South Side of Acropolis from Shrine to Asclepios and his Associate Gods. — Humbler Monuments from these Shrines. — Description of some of the Earliest of these Shrines. — Cause of their Rarity. — Reliefs on Public Tablets. — Sources of their Designs. — Tombstones. — Stele from Peiraieus.

With great pomp and religious festivities Kimon, in 469 B.C., brought back, from far-off Skyros, the bones of the Attic hero Theseus, recognized, as was said, by their heroic size, and gave them a worthy resting-place in Attica. In connection with this act, he founded a temple to Theseus, — a building which, as some suppose, still forms one of the attractions of modern Athens, now turned into a museum (Fig. 161).[677] The age of this building and of its sculptures has been a matter of great controversy; but it is now generally believed, on account of similarity in style and treatment of subject, that they are about contemporary with the Parthenon. The pediments were once adorned with sculptures, which have, however, altogether disappeared, leaving only traces of their points of attachment, but showing that they were completed before the roof was put on.[678] The ten metopes of the east front, as well as the four down each side, are still attached to the building, and have sculptures in very high relief in Parian marble.[679] The remaining fifty metopes were without carving, but probably painted. In the sculptural slabs, which are much injured, nine of the labors of Heracles are recognized, in one case one scene occupying two metopes. We see the hero (1) wrestling with the Nemean lion, (2) fighting the Lernaian Hydra, (3) overtaking the swift stag, (4) bringing to the hiding Eurystheus the Erymanthian boar, (5) mastering Diomedes' horses, (6) bringing Kerberos out of the under-world, (7) securing the girdle of the Amazon, Hippolyte. The eighth and ninth metopes are occupied by the triple-bodied Geryon; and, in the tenth, Heracles gets the apples of Hesperides. The remaining metopes, eight in number, relate to the deeds of Theseus, pre-eminently an Attic hero. One of the best preserved of these

represents his struggle with the ox-headed Minotaur, who yearly devoured in the Cretan labyrinth Attic youths and maidens, sent as a propitiatory offering, until Theseus destroyed the monster. On another the hero appears overpowering the wild steer which had wasted the fields of Marathon, and was carried off alive an offering to Apollo. In still another a close struggle takes place between Theseus and Kerkyon, son of Poseidon, who lived at Eleusis, and, by his new mode of wrestling, had overcome and put to death all passers-by.[680] In this relief Theseus, raising the evil-doer from the ground, strangles him with powerful grasp. Kerkyon offers resistance by catching at Theseus' neck with one hand, and at his ankle with the other. The compact, almost statuesque, grouping here has suggested to some what we know of Myron's statues,

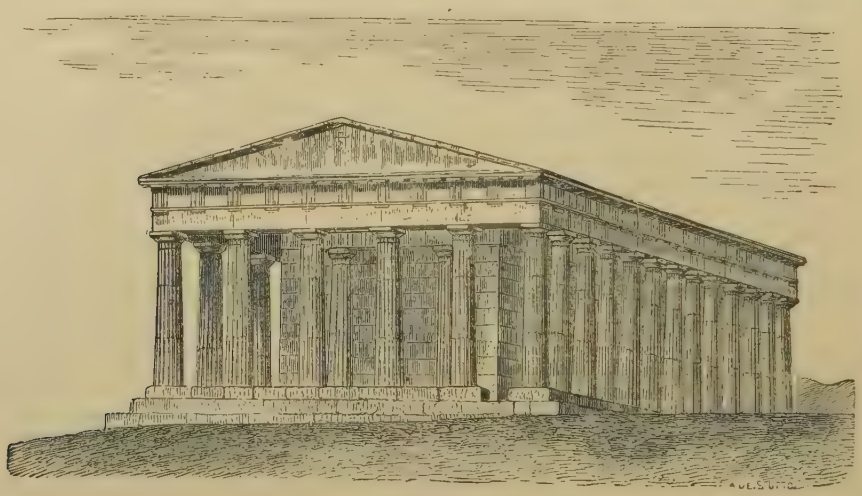

Fig. 161. The Temple of Theseus. Athens.

and is hardly in keeping with the usual system of Greek relief, a large portion of the surface being left unpleasantly vacant. In still another metope, Theseus is represented as wreaking just vengeance on Skiron, the highway robber, who forced travellers to wash his feet on the brink of a fearful precipice near Megara, and, while they kneeled before him, pushed them over backwards into the raging sea, where a huge tortoise devoured their mangled limbs. On this metope we see the robber, who, pushed by Theseus, is falling backwards over the brink, with his feet still in air, — a picture of helplessness, strongly contrasted to the stability of his conqueror.

Two friezes in high relief encircled the *pronaos* and *opisthodomos* of this temple, about 4.27 meters (fourteen feet) above the head of the spectator, the one on the west end having only two-thirds of the length of that on the east.[681] The subject of the western or shorter frieze is the fierce combat between the centaurs and Lapithæ at the wedding of Peirithoös. It opens at one end with a centaur raising high a rock to bring it down upon his fallen enemy, who

can offer no other resistance than his mantle; this group strongly resembling one of the Parthenon metopes. A Lapith, who seems to have relinquished the struggle as hopeless, hastens from this group to assist a comrade engaged with a centaur who rolls on his equine back in a startling and unpleasant manner; while still another centaur, swinging a tree-trunk, comes galloping up to assist in the fray. The following group is most interesting, on account of its frequency and typical rendering in Greek art. Two centaurs

Fig 162. A Part of the West Frieze of the Temple of Theseus. Athens.

rear high above a hero whom they are burying alive. One-half of his body is already below ground; and the huge rock they raise above him will soon fall and cover him completely, in spite of his raised shield. This hero is the invulnerable Caineus, whom, because the centaurs could not wound, they buried alive deep in the earth, where he continued to live forever. This same grouping appears in the frieze at Phigaleia, and in the recently discovered Lykian tomb at Gjölbaschi. In the remainder (Fig. 162), a Lapith with trailing garment seems rushing by a centaur to help one of his mates who has fallen on his knees, and is in close but doubtful combat with one of the brutes. Again, a tall, helmeted warrior attacks a centaur from behind rearing over a fallen and beautiful youth.

The subject of the east frieze, over the entrance, is a combat in the pres-

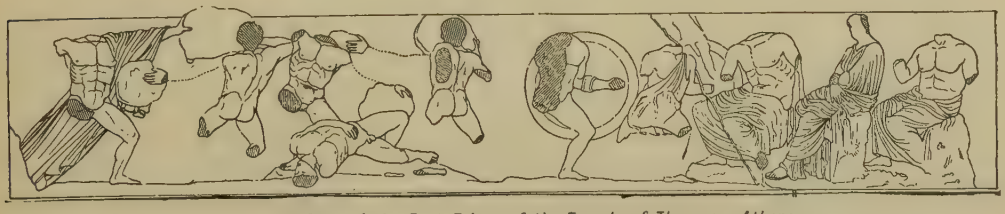

Fig 163. Part of the East Frieze of the Temple of Theseus. Athens.

ence of six seated gods, three on each side. A part of this frieze, including the group of the gods on one side, and one-half of the combat between them, is represented in Fig. 163; and the remaining gods of the opposite side, on a larger scale, are seen in Fig. 164. The subject of this contest is a matter of controversy; some thinking that it represents the destruction by Theseus of the sons of Pallas, here using rocks for weapons, and who, when Theseus came to Attica, sought to wrest from him his rightful kingdom.[682] Brunn, however,

believes that here the Athenians, under Theseus, fight against Eurystheus, the Skironian pass being assailed, a boundary stone between Attica and the Peloponnesos being set up, and Eurystheus led away a prisoner.[683] In the very centre of the frieze, the first figure to the left (Fig. 163) is doubtless Theseus himself, with drapery trailing to the ground. The sculptures are, unfortunately, much injured; but with the aid of Stuart's drawings, made in the early part of this century, two of the divinities may be identified, — the helmeted Athena, who converses with the veiled Hera seated beside her, and appearing in Fig. 164. Zeus and Poseidon are probably also in this frieze, and, with the remaining unknown gods, eagerly watch the contest. Beyond the gods, at the ends of the eastern frieze, on both sides, bound prisoners are being led away.

The gods are here seated in separate groups on each side of the central

Fig. 164. One Group of Gods in the East Frieze of the Temple of Theseus. Athens.

scene, as in the Parthenon frieze; and there is so unmistakable a kinship in the composition and style of the sculptures of the two temples, that there can be little doubt that the same art-spirit inspired both.

The venerated ERECHTHEION on the Acropolis, which had sheltered Athena's wooden idol and olive, and under the pavement of which fable buried the heroes, Erechthonios and Kecrops, had been destroyed during the Persian wars, but rose again, in the time of religious fervor and great material prosperity, a jewel of Ionic, as the Parthenon was of Attic-Doric, architecture, and is beautiful in its ruins. It was a complex building, differing from any other known Greek temple. According to inscriptions found on the Acropolis, some of its sculptures were not completed until 409 B.C., four years before the closing of the Peloponnesian war.[684] Parts of a frieze, as well as graceful figures supporting a portico, and inscriptions, give us a glimpse of what its sculptures must have been. These inscriptions comprise building accounts carved in marble, and put

up on the Acropolis, which contain names of workmen, whence they came, the objects they executed, and the pay they received. In their fragmentary condition the inscriptions read about as follows: "There were paid in the 7th *prytany* to ——, who lives in Collytos, for chariot and two mules, ninety drachms (about eighteen dollars); to Agathanor, who lives in Alopeke, for the woman by the chariot and both mules, ——; for the boy who holds the spear, sixty drachms (twelve dollars); to Phyromachos, the Kephisian, for the youth by the armor, sixty drachms (twelve dollars); to Praxias, who lives in Melite, for the horse, and one appearing behind him, rearing, one hundred and twenty drachms (twenty-four dollars); to Antiphanes, the Keramite, for the chariot, and two horses attached to it, and youth, two hundred and forty drachms; to Phyromachos, the Kephisian, for him who leads a horse, sixty drachms; to Myrion, who lives in Argyle, for the horse, and man striking him, and the stele added later, one hundred and twenty-seven drachms; to Soclos, who lives in Alopeke, for the holder of the bridle, sixty drachms; to Phyromachos, the Kephisian, for the man leaning on his staff, and standing by the altar, sixty drachms; to Iasos, the Collytian, for the woman before whom a girl has thrown herself, eighty drachms, — the whole sum of the sculptures in this *prytany*, thirty-three hundred and fifteen drachms." From this informal, simple record, we see that the subjects of this frieze of the Erechtheion, calling to mind the riders and chariots of the Parthenon, could not have been of a mythic character: the figures are mentioned simply as man, youth, woman, and maiden. That these scenes were connected with worship, is indicated by the altar mentioned. It is evident, also, from the inscriptions, that both citizens and aliens were engaged as workmen on these friezes; but among high artists they evidently could not have been reckoned. As we look at the fragments,[685] even in their ruin we are astonished at their harmonious beauty, and brought to realize how artistic skill seems to have been in the common air of Attica at this glorious time. Among these fragments is an exquisite seated figure, in which we hardly know whether to admire more the execution of the nude, or the grace and dignity of the drapery. But, unhappily, these reliefs were not chiselled in the usual manner out of a solid block: the figures were first cut in a coarse variety of Attic marble, and then fastened one by one on to a background of dark Eleusinian stone, with bronze nails, some of which are still in the fragments of the architrave, — a mode of working which has hastened destruction.

Happily, this frieze does not comprise all the preserved sculptures of the Erechtheion. At one end stood an airy portico, supported by six figures, representing, according to the inscription, αἱ κόραι (the maidens).[686] Three of these have stood faithful to their duty down to the present day; the fourth was knocked over during the Venetian bombardment, but was re-adjusted in 1846; the fifth was likewise found prostrate, and restored in 1837; and the sixth was removed by Lord Elgin to London. In its place now stands a cast from the

original in the British Museum, surrounding an iron support. Thus the six glorious maidens once more appear, bearing aloft the light architrave of the temple-porch (Fig. 165). They doubtless echo to us the idea embodied in the Athenian girls chosen to bear baskets containing sacrificial utensils in the sacred procession. The strength and grace of youth mark their erect attitude in the support of the basket-like capital, and are seen to the best advantage in the single figure (Selections, Plate VII.). The shoulders are thrown back, one limb is slightly bended, and the other planted firmly on the ground. The massive build of the shoulders, the widely expanded breasts, high on the chest, are marked peculiarities in the rendering of the female form during this age. They are clearly remnants of the conventional archaism of earlier times, in which these features are unnaturally pronounced; in later art, as in the Venus of Melos, such robust and vigorous forms give place to a more natural, a softer and more melting, beauty. A full *chiton*, with a short *diploïdion*, drops over the shoulders, echoing the form of the expanded bosom. At the waist the *chiton* is caught up so as to make a graceful puff, and thence falls in broad surfaces over the unfreighted limb, and in deep furrows over the other, suggesting by lines of light and quiet shadow a fluted column. The uncovered arms and neck form a beautiful contrast to the channelled and ruffled drapery. One hand seems to have caught up the lower end of the mantle falling from the shoulder down the back, but the other appears to have hung quietly at the side. The very arrangement of the hair enhances the impression of easy bearing. The regular lines of a braid rise from the brow, interrupting the wavy locks on each side; and on the top of the head are coiled two heavy braids, on which rests the basket-shaped capital. The introduction of coils and basket gives an impression of ease which would have been wanting had the ponderous architrave rested directly on the girlish heads. Rich tresses fall down the back, caught together a part of the way down in a ring; while stray curls drop forward over the shoulder in lines that give solidity to the dignified pose of the head. Let us note the beautiful build of the faces of these maidens, especially of the one in the British Museum (Selections, Plate VII.). In the shape of the graceful forehead, and treatment of the closely waving hair, we shall find a general resemblance to the beautiful head of the Aphrodite of the Berlin Museum (Plate II.), described above, and a noble sample of the treatment of the female face in Attic art at this time.

In these maidens we have the first known case in Greek sculpture where the human form fully supplants a member of the architecture; but how successfully this is accomplished without detriment to the real character, either of the statue or of the building! The Greeks have taught us of what prime importance for the highest architectural harmony it is that every member should not only actually perform its office, but also appear to accomplish it, and that with ease and grace. Thus, here capital and column are formed with a subtle

wisdom which both makes them bear the superimposed weight, and also satisfies the eye perfectly with the manner in which the burden is carried. Of these maidens of the Erechtheion, the eminent architect, Viollet-le-Duc, says, "The elegant forms of these statues are imprinted with a character so marked by solidity and ampleness, that columns themselves would appear less capable of

Fig. 165. Portico of the Erechtheion. Athens.

supporting."[687] Taken as a whole, with what admirable symmetry are they adapted to the place they occupy! Three of these figures, to the beholders' left, have at rest the left leg, and the other three the right. By this means, they all appear to incline slightly towards the interior of the edifice; but the drapery on their opposite sides so falls as to produce a slightly swelling outline about the middle of the figure, resembling the *entasis* of a column, and increasing the impression of stability. At the same time, the division of the entab-

lature by bands and ornaments, less ponderous than usual, gives the burden an appearance of lightness, suited to the graceful bearers. The impression left by these maidens, as they still stand supporting the temple portico, is that of the dignity and seriousness of those who perform a work of religious devotion, while their glorious marble forms reveal, on the part of the sculptor, the keenest sense for æsthetic truth.

Besides the Attic-Doric Parthenon and Ionic Erechtheion, there was raised on the Acropolis, during this golden age of Attic art, the so-called temple of NIKE APTEROS, a little gem of Ionic architecture, whose sculptures have happily been preserved. That rocky prominence of the Acropolis jutting out towards the south, where old Aigeus had watched for the sails of his son Theseus returning from Crete, was sacred to Athena, under her special title of Athena Nike, or Victory. Here Pausanias saw a diminutive temple, which he misleadingly calls the temple of Nike Apteros, or wingless Nike, thus represented, according to his story, that she might never fly away, and desert her people.[688] But, according to other authors, there can be no doubt that the building was sacred to Athena herself as Nike, a part of the Erechtheion having been sacred to her as Polias.[689]

In 1676 the English traveller Wheler saw this small temple, and wrote of it, "The architrave hath a *Basso-relievo* on it of little Figures well cut, and now serveth the Turks for a Magazine of Powder."[690] Less than one hundred years later, in 1751, Stuart found no trace whatever of the temple, except a few signs of the foundations, and a few sculptured slabs built into an adjacent powder-magazine. These four slabs of the "little Figures well cut," Lord Elgin removed to England, where they now adorn the British Museum.[691] In our century, in 1835, Ross, the German archæologist, caused the Turkish battery on the Acropolis to be cleared away, and was rewarded by finding many more sculptures, besides architectural fragments; so that he and his colleagues were enabled to charm the structure back into existence. And so again, although without its pediments, it forms one of the most graceful features in the Athenian landscape.[692] Bohn's recent explorations prove, that the substructure of this temple was built at the same time as that of the great *propylaia*, or entrance portico to the Acropolis, known from literature to have been erected between 437 and 432 B.C.[693] This exquisite little temple (5.49 by 8.23 meters) was then, doubtless, one of the last architectural achievements of Athens before the Peloponnesian war broke upon her.

The Ionic frieze of Pentelic marble, 27.45 meters (90 feet) long, which encircles the building over its columns, is only about forty-six centimeters high, and is sculptured with figures in very high relief.[694] On the east, or front, and still *in situ*, appears an assemblage of mostly quiet, erect figures, occasionally interrupted by a seated one, and partly represented in Fig. 166. This company of gods, in the midst of which Athena with her shield certainly appears,

seem to be holding council over the battle raging on the remaining three sides of the temple; but the sadly mutilated marbles have lost many of the minor connections of graceful variety, so necessary to the running compositions of an Ionic frieze. One figure, however, may still be seen resting on his staff, evidently engaged in conversation with his graceful neighbor goddess; two others stand with arms thrown lovingly around one another; and, near the end, two excited figures seem to bring news of the battle in progress on the three remaining sides of the frieze.

There we see Greeks fighting with mounted barbarians, who are marked as Persians by their beards, peculiar head-dress, long-sleeved garments, and trousers; but so serious is the ruin of the monument, that some, overlooking the beards, have been tempted to see in them Amazons. Again, Greeks fight with Greeks; the varying shapes of the helmets showing them to belong to different parts of Hellas. Thus, one warrior wears the close-fitting Attic

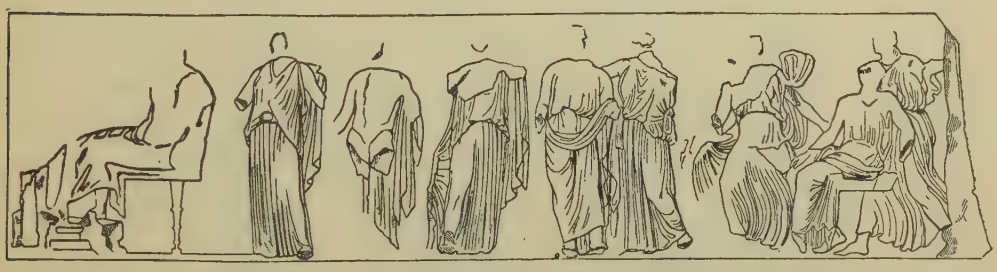

Fig. 166. Part of East Frieze of the Temple of Athena Nike, in the Acropolis. Athens.

helmet with its long plume, and another the clumsier pointed and plumeless Bœotian helmet (Fig. 167). In these excited high reliefs, the sculptor seems to intend an historical combat, in which Greeks were pitted against allied Persians and Greeks. Such was the battle near Plataiai in Sept. 479 B.C., when Athenians and Spartans, in hand-to-hand struggle, met the Persian enemy on one part of the field, while, on another, Athenians engaged in fierce conflict with their own brethren, Bœotians, Locrians, Thessalians, and Phokians, fifty thousand strong, allies of the Persian invader.[695] The terrible carnage among the barbarians on that day seems to be indicated in these marbles by the great number of Persians lying dead under the horses' hoofs. A glance at the reliefs shows their thoroughly suggestive character, for nowhere do they venture to picture the actual battle-field. Some particulars of costume and armor imply an historical event; but no marching phalanxes, soldiers drawn up for battle, or confused *mêlée* of fallen men and horses, are seen. Single combatants, in which beautiful forms appear, here press one upon the other, while others group themselves pleasingly. In very few figures is the same motive repeated; but great fertility of composition, and many new groupings not met with before, are to be traced. In one instance we see a

Persian, whose horse has fallen under him, being taken prisoner, while a comrade comes up to his rescue. No group has more grace of composition than that in which a fierce conflict rages about a fallen warrior (Fig. 167), a subject familiar to us from the pediments of the Temple of Ægina; but, in the few lines of this Attic relief, there is a pathos and earnestness foreign to the Ægina groups, making it an eloquent witness, moreover, to the ability of the Greek to develop the same theme into nobler, higher form. Here the body of the fallen is relaxed in weakness, the right arm hangs listlessly to the ground; but a touch of nature is brought in by the other, raised, and thrown over the neck of his deliverer. The latter bends over gently, and lifts him away; being protected in the act by a warrior behind with raised shield. An enemy, with shield on the left arm, stretches out his right hand to grasp the feet of the

Fig. 167. A Part of the West Frieze of the Temple to Athena Nike. Athens.

fallen, fast slipping away from him. Filling up the space above this tragic group, and suggesting the continuance of the battle, we see an Attic warrior, with fluttering mantle, and short, girded *chiton*, pursuing a Bœotian, who has only his mantle as a means of protection.

This frieze, considered as a whole, reveals groups richer and more varied than those of the Temple of Theseus, already considered. The compact groups of two or three in the latter are here swollen often to seven or more; and the more passionate movement shows a passing from the more contained compositions of the older time over to the intense pathos of the following century.

Connected with this little temple of Athena Nike are other sculptures, which, in a still higher and nobler degree, show progress towards the works of the coming century. The temple stood on a steep and jutting buttress, overlooking the broad steps leading up to the *propylaia*. The surrounding space overhanging these steps, unless walled in, would have been a dangerous spot for worshippers and priests: consequently a balustrade,

ninety-six centimeters high, and supporting a railing, traces of which have been found, was built around the exposed sides. This balustrade was not left plain, but adorned with sculpture in very high relief, to which, as on the Parthenon, color and bronze gave finish; and the many fragments, discovered at intervals between 1835 and 1880, give us an idea of its former beauty.[696]

Fig. 168. Parts of Winged Goddesses of Victory (Nikes) from the Balustrade of the Temple to Athena Nike. Athens.

Several of these are represented in Fig. 168 as in their picturesque confusion on the Acropolis. The fragments preserved, as Kekulé's studies have shown, are from about forty-two of the fifty-six figures which originally occupied the thirty-five meters comprising the total length of this frieze. Again, and yet again, winged goddesses of Victory here did homage to Athena, calling to mind Pheidias' frequent repetitions of Nike on the throne of his Zeus at Olympia. As in the frieze of the Parthenon, so here, the sculptor's delight seems to be in subtle and exquisite variations on a few themes.

Athena here appears once, wearing her helmet and *ægis*, and seated on the prow of a ship; and again, with shield by her side, resting on a rock. To her the graceful Nikes bring grateful sacrifice, and before her they build up and adorn trophies of war. Fragments show that one Nike appeared in the very act of sacrificing. She kneeled on the back of the cow, and held the animal's head with one hand, while the other, doubtless, raised the knife to give the fatal thrust; this group furnishing a motive often repeated afterwards. Another cow for sacrifice we see, restive, and breaking away from the frail forms attending her: others were probably once to be seen being wreathed or quietly led on. Athena's victories are also here directly commemorated. One Nike brings a quiver, to attach it to a trophy of victory, consisting of the Persian long-sleeved garment and folding head-dress, raised on a post. The fragment of a marble rudder, together with Athena's position on the prow of a vessel, shows, moreover, that these goddesses celebrated, besides victory on land, vic-

Fig. 169. A Part of the Relief of the Balustrade of the Temple of Athena Nike, according to a Restoration by Herr Otto.

tories on the sea, — those, perhaps, of Alkibiades at Abydos, Kyzicos, and Byzantium, as Kekulé has conjectured. Several seem to stand quietly awaiting their turn in the active work. One, with flying drapery, adjusts a helmet on the top of a second trophy. Still again, one of the most beautiful of all (the largest fragment in Fig. 168), no doubt stood quietly like a Nike on the coins of Seleucos, with drapery caught between the knees, wings extended, and arms raised, crowning a trophy with a helmet or wreath.[697] This and several of the other Nikes appear in Fig. 169, as restored by Otto. One discovered in 1880 ascends a step, as if to enter the temple-gate, a second step appearing beyond. The most enigmatical is that exquisite Nike who bends over, busied with her sandal, perhaps to loosen it preparatory to entering the sacred place (Fig. 170). Poised by her outstretched wings, we see here a form of rare richness, revealed by luxurious, transparent drapery; and, indeed, all these fragments show a delicate elaboration and delicious abandon, which seem to be leading away from the divine strength and abstraction of the Parthenon frieze, to the ravishing individual grace and passion of the following century. Compare but that Nike holding a restive cow, with the youth in a similar occupation in the Parthenon procession, and we feel how here the excited drapery

quivers and flutters before our eyes, breaking into a thousand varied and curving lines; while, in the Parthenon figure, the action is full of a dignity which overcomes the intensity of motion. As in the Parthenon, so here, the folds which sweep around the forms are grand, but everywhere more transparent. Their edges even show a change. The undulating border still exists, but it is not so precisely regular as on the Parthenon frieze. The conception of both form and drapery resembles more closely the marbles of the Parthenon pediments, but is more intense even than they, and heralds emphatically the coming time. These figures of the balustrade, far superior to the frieze of the temple itself, may be placed with the Parthenon pedimental groups, on that radiant peak whose glory cannot be dimmed by contrast with the dazzling brilliance of later ages and other lands.

Fig. 170. A Nike from the Balustrade of the Temple to Athena Nike. Athens.

That these reliefs were a source of inspiration to later sculptors, is evident from many scattered monuments in marble. Thus, in the Vatican, a female figure curbs a steer in exactly the pose of one of the goddesses of this frieze; and another moving before her is like her companion. In the Munich Glyptothek is a relief in which we see the beautiful winged Nike of this frieze busied with her sandal, transformed into a mortal,[698] who looks up at an image before her, and with her toes lifts from the ground a roll. Opposite to her is a stately female, calling to mind, as she wreathes the head of the image with a band, several of the erect goddesses of this frieze.

We have thus far considered the sculptures with which the great age of Pheidias and Pericles enriched its temples; we have tried in imagination to reconstruct the chryselephantine colossi they placed within them; but, besides

these great works, there are many humbler marbles, which give us priceless glimpses into the activity of that time, and show the intimate interchange between its art and daily life.

Of the milestones bearing the image of protecting deity, Hermes or Hecate, and which, with pithy sayings attached to cheer the passing traveller, lined Attic roads, we have no remnants. We find no traces of the figures of Apollo Aigyeus, who guarded every gate, and stood before every door where the width of the street would allow of a statue.[699] But, although deprived of these monuments, we have others, unpretending votive reliefs, consecrated to deity, besides marble documents of state, comprising records of treasurers' accounts, treaties made, and honors conferred upon deserving citizens; and last, but not least, we possess a few tombstones.

Of the votive reliefs, none are more interesting or beautiful than those found within the shrines on the southern slope of the Acropolis. Here excavations have recently revealed many touching details of ancient life, and taught us the important part played by these shrines in the world of art. On this spot the god Asclepios was the main deity; and here his children, Hygieia and others, as well as Demeter, Core, Heracles, Pan, and the Nymphs associated with him, also had their altars.[700]

Among the ruins now laid bare, we may recognize the foundations of two small temples, and, near them, those of two extensive porticos, or open, airy colonnades, where the invalids seeking cure might repose, and wait for the revelations to be made. Close by each, a fountain furnished the water necessary for the treatment prescribed by the god, and for purification and ablution. Both of these temples were little more than chapels to protect the image of the god, and the hundreds of valuable offerings mentioned in the inventories. The inscriptions inform us, that within the temples were metal, marble, and terra-cotta eyes, feet, hands, and even bodies, offered by those who had been cured. One hundred and ten eyes, as well as vases, rings, and small reliefs, are mentioned, brought by the devotees, and arranged along the interior walls. In one temple inventory we read, "Third row, leg in relief, not inscribed, consecrated during the priesthood of Lysias;" and, again, "Along the wall, first row, a small *lekythos* of silver, etc."[701] At the end of the temple was the statue of the god; and that there were other statues, probably in honor of physicians, seems evident from a base with a set of chirurgical instruments, and from a list which makes mention of a statue of one Polycritos, perhaps the celebrated physician of Mende.[702] Arranged about the statue were tables laden with offerings: in the centre of the temple stood tripods, and lamps were suspended from the ceiling. The terraces about these two temples were crowded with statues of Asclepios and his children, all gods of healing. Besides numerous humbler monuments, votive reliefs were left here by the pious, probably attached to pedestals, or arranged along the walls of the porticos,

and perhaps the exterior of the temple, as indicated by points of attachment still to be seen. Color once covered the background of these reliefs, as well as the hair, and probably some of the garments, as is proved by traces of blue and reddish-brown.[703] These votive reliefs, usually quite small, and doubtless the work of humble men, were dedicated for the most part, as we learn from inscriptions, in thanks for favors already received; but a few seem to have been supplications for future favor. Among the large number found, some can lay claim to genuine artistic excellence; and a few of them are, evidently, from the second half of the fifth century B.C., judging from their resemblance to the temple sculptures of that time.

The simplest and oldest of these is one found within the limits of the Asclepeion, and now in Athens: it is 2.57 centimeters high, and .28 centimeters long, and bears a low relief .04 centimeters deep (Fig. 171). On the right we see a good old Athenian, with decidedly plain but portrait features, wearing his every-day working attire, — the round cap, and short, girded *chiton*, without a mantle, — and leading his horse, whose head alone appears. Above the man's head, as if to fill out the space, is the fragmentary dedicatory inscription, doubtless referring to this worthy Athenian himself, who, with reverential and hesitating demeanor, approaches the glorious trio of divinities towering up in front of him.[704] The humble worshipper does not lay gifts on an altar separating him from deity, as in later reliefs, but comes directly to Asclepios, and even seems to touch the arm of the beneficent god, who is made to look kindly down upon him. Over the shoulder of the god's noble form, and affectionately resting her left hand upon it, gently gazes Hygieia, his daughter, showing her interest, also, in the welfare of the approaching suppliant: in her right, she holds ready the vase, probably of healing drink.[705] The third in the trio, whose head, alas! is gone, places her arm on that of Hygieia, as an interested by-stander. Perhaps she is Iaso or Panakeia, who were both local goddesses, frequently associated with Asclepios as ministering deities. What a poem of kindly feeling is told in these few simple but beautiful lines! Not the interior of a temple is indicated in this old relief, as was done later; but, untrammelled by outer forms, the humble suppliant approaches trustfully, in all his plainness, to receive a kind-

Fig. 171. Votive Relief to Asclepios. Athens.

ness such as beings living in sweet union would exercise towards one another. These forms, moreover, breathe a grand nobility and simple dignity, such as we have seen in the Parthenon frieze.

Another votive relief (Fig. 172), discovered also in the ancient shrines of Asclepios, and now in the Varvakion at Athens, is of such exquisite beauty, that it may well rank with the great temple sculptures in Athens of the latter half of the fifth century, the rich and flowing forms pointing to the closing years of that time. It is larger and finer than the relief to Asclepios just described, being .68 centimeters high, and .73 centimeters long, and bears five figures in moderately high relief. According to the inscription along the top, it was dedicated by one Archandros to the Nymphs, and probably also to Pan, whose name, however, is lost.[706] On one end, wrapped in the patrician mantle, is the small form of Archandros himself, with portrait features, standing before an altar of uncut stones, such as were frequent in the rural worship of the powers of nature. He raises the right hand in adoration before the three glorious Nymphs beyond the altar,—a trio whose dignified, ideal forms and mien are widely enough different from this portrait of the simple worshipper. Their gentle dependence upon one another shows a sisterly affection and intimacy of friendship which augurs well for the success of the suppliant Archandros, one of them already looking inquiringly down upon him. Above Archandros' head, peering out of a grotto, is the horned and bearded Pan, a very ancient Attic god. He shows his interest, also, by gazing down upon the worshipper, and spreading his arms out over him. His comical shape well fills out the empty space above the diminutive mortal.

Fig. 172. Votive Relief to the Nymphs and Pan, from Archandros. Athens.

The high, square, rather than long, form of these reliefs, their frieze-like composition, and lack of framing, and the portrait character of the worshipper, all are features met with only in votive reliefs of the fifth century B.C., giving place in the following age to more generality, a temple-like enclosure, and a picture-like treatment.

That so few of these exquisite and touching reliefs from the fifth century are preserved, Milchhöfer accounts for by supposing that the use of perishable

painted terra-cotta tablets, the descendants, as it were, of the quaint Poseidon tablets referred to on p. 162, must have been in vogue in the early part of the century, and were only gradually supplanted by enduring marble. This he gathers from the style of a few of the oldest votive reliefs, which seem actual copies of painting, so flat are their lines.

But not only these artistic expressions of piety are preserved to us. Even formal state-records on marble tablets were headed with reliefs, suggesting in a poetic form the contents of the inscription, were it a treaty made with foreign powers, an honor conferred on a private citizen, or the record made by the public treasurers of the wealth of the temples. Whenever the old treasurers in Athens gave place to newly elected officials, it was customary for them to have published on stone, and set up in the sacred place, an inventory of the treasures collected in the temples, and handed over to their successors. Of these valuable documents, to be read of all, surmounted by a significant relief, several beautiful specimens are preserved to us, all of them treating the subject in an allegorical and religious spirit. On them the goddess Athena, to whom the most part of the treasure was sacred, continually re-appears. On one relief discovered recently in Athens, and now there, we see her virgin, slender form (Fig. 173) standing erect with helmet and *ægis*, and carrying her shield on the left shoulder. She is clad like Pheidias' Parthenos; and her form faces the beholder, but her face is turned to the side; her right hand is extended toward a beautiful, bearded man, who, in contemplative mien, with hand at chin, and body resting on his long staff, seems to be placing something in the goddess's open hand. His size, equal to that of Athena herself, forbids the possibility of his being any mortal, perchance a treasurer committing into the hands of the goddess the charge he has received from her; rather is he the personification of the Athenian people, the great *demos* itself.[707] The style of this beautiful relief is such, that from it alone we could without hesitation place the work at about the close of the fifth or beginning of the fourth century. From the inscription we learn that it was executed in the archonship of Euthycles, which was in Olymp. 95. 3 (398 B.C.), two years after the close of the century in which Pheidias lived. In these interesting monuments where Athena appears, there evidently floated before the sculptor's mind the great temple-image by that master which he was wont to revere; but how beautifully varied in pose and action, so that the

Fig. 173. Vignette of State-record of the Treasury. Athens.

goddess does not seem a cold, motionless image, but a divinely human being, full of interest and sympathy for her people, with whom she communes by offering the hand, and looking kindly down upon them!

Besides these monuments, we have a few tombstones which date from the latter half of the fifth century, bearing the stamp of its great art. One of these, now owned by M. Saburoff, Russian ambassador at the German court, was found in Euboia, and has the tall, slender shape of tombstones of the preceding century, but is on a larger scale. The single figure occupying it, of more than life-size, and leaning on a staff, is so like one of the dignitaries of the Parthenon frieze, as to make it probable that this heroic sculpture is the work of Attic masters.[708]

Fig. 174. Tombstone Relief. Athens.

Of a different style, and leading the way over to the more elaborate tombstones of the next century, is that fragment found in the Peiraieus in 1837, now in the archæological museum at Athens (Fig. 174). Here the confined space of the earlier stele has widened. Its crowning *acroterion* is replaced by a small pediment, like that of a temple; and its sides are no longer without finish, but have pilasters like those supporting the temple-front. Within this temple, as it were, to the heroic departed, are represented three persons, evidently bound together by strong ties of friendship. Of the seated one, only a fragment of the veiled head remains; but the pose and gestures of the remainder suggest clearly the near relationship of all. The man's hand, extended, seems to touch the end of a casket we see protruding beyond the seated lady's lap; and the bowed head of his standing companion to look tenderly down on her, who probably represents the departed. The thoroughly profile treatment of the heads in this relief, as well as the grand simplicity of the drapery and of the faces, all call to mind so strongly the Parthenon frieze, that we may realize, that, in some cases at least, equally skilful hands executed humble tombstone, and extensive temple sculpture.

The question why so very few tombstone reliefs have been discovered from the Pheidian age, is one that forces itself upon us. Milchhöfer proposes a most ingenious solution in the theory, that the majority of the graves having been family tombs, and the older tumulus-like, they may have been crowned by terra-cotta vases of tall, slender shape, which, by reason of their fragile character, have disappeared.[709] A black-figured *amphora*, on the body of which is represented a scene of mourning around the dead, has on its neck two women before such a tumulus, which is crowned by a vase, in shape like that on which this scene is painted. Fragments found in quantities near the graves go to strengthen this supposition, as well as a passage in Aristophanes, in which a youth imagines an old woman like a *lekythos*, having feet heavy with lead, standing on his grave.[710] From the monuments it is very clear, that in Attica, not until the fourth century B.C., and after the old Solonic regulations had been done away with, during the archonship of Eubulides, did marble monuments come to be extensively erected to the dead. And how much more numerous and pretentious they then became, we shall see in taking up the sculptures of the coming age.

With these monuments we close our survey of Attic sculpture in the latter half of the fifth century, and turn to that of Argos and other states for the same time.

CHAPTER XXI.

SCULPTURES OF THE SECOND HALF OF THE FIFTH CENTURY B.C., OUTSIDE OF ATTICA. — POLYCLEITOS.

Polycleitos. — Argos as his Field of Activity. — His Doryphoros. — Trace of the Original in Existing Works. — Relief from Argos. — Head from Herculaneum. — Changes in Types to represent Gods. — Polycleitos' Diadumenos. — Polycleitos distinguished from a Later Sculptor of the Same Name. — Other Athletes, Canephoræ, etc., by this Master. — Boys playing at Knuckle-bones. — Polycleitos' Heracles. — His Amazons. — His Gods. — Hera. — Polycleitos as Architect. — Works at Epidauros. — Sculptural Remains from that Place. — Reputed Skill as Bronze-caster, etc. — His Great Care in his Work. — His Treatise on Art. — His Canon. — Compared with Pheidias. — Polycleitos' Scholars. — Other Argive Masters. — Pausanias' Account of the Temple of Hera at Argos. — Its Remains. — Reliefs from Argos.

Contemporaneously with the great age of sculpture in Attica, in the latter part of the fifth century B.C., the old traditional art of Argos culminated in the person of Polycleitos. In antiquity he was no less celebrated than his Athenian neighbor Pheidias, and is said, in some minor respects, even to have surpassed him.[711] Although a native of Sikyon, an old centre of artistic activity in the Northern Peloponnesos, Polycleitos seems to have spent the most of his life in Argos, the time-honored seat of working in metal. Inscriptions recently discovered enable us to sunder him sharply from a younger sculptor of the same name with whom he has been confounded. Of the exact date of his birth we know quite as little as of that of Pheidias. Like Myron and Pheidias, Polycleitos studied with old Ageladas of Argos; and from the fact that he was active as late as 423, and perhaps even 404, B.C., it is conjectured that he may have been the junior of these masters, and that the main part of his activity must have fallen in the latter half of the fifth century.

But quiet Argos, where his lot was cast, was less rich in great opportunities for the artist than progressive and ambitious Athens. Exhausted by a terrible massacre but a few decades before the Persian war, Argos had little share in the struggle against Persia. Failing to take part with her sister states against the Persian invader, she did not participate in the triumphs and awakening which quickened Attica with new life after the great national deliverance. Matters went on quietly as before in Argos, and it is not strange that we find the activity of Polycleitos moving in a narrower sphere than that opened up by Athens to her sons. His fame was consequently not due princi-

pally to representations of gods for great national shrines. Such, however, was the excellence of his athletes, that the ancients could not praise them highly enough. Cicero, Quintilian, Pliny, Lucian, and others, join in their laudatory tributes. Two of these bronze figures enjoyed a celebrity scarcely less than that of Pheidias' Zeus, and like Raphael's picture, the "Violin-player," were called by the name of the subject alone, being known as the "Doryphoros," or spear-bearer, and the "Diadumenos," or one winding a fillet around his head.

Fig. 176. A Copy of Polycleitos' Doryphoros. Naples. (Restored.)

Of the former, the Doryphoros, we learn through Pliny, that it represented a youth of manly form (*viriliter puer*), and that it served as a canon for artists of later times.[712] Cicero tells us that Lysippos profited by its perfect form; and Quintilian says, that, when the most celebrated artists wanted to mould or depict the most beautiful shapes, they did not err by following Bogoas or Megabyzos, but took this celebrated Doryphoros, suited alike for the *palæstra*, or field of battle.[713] In this renowned statue Polycleitos seems also to have embodied the principles of a perfect proportion: it had a strong chest, a square (*quadrata*) but graceful build, like the dancers in the rhythmic war-dance.[714] This master was also said to have been the first to make the form stand on one leg while the other was at rest.[715] With these intimations of what Polycleitos did sounding in their ears, scholars, in wandering through the galleries, have sought for even a feeble echo of his Canon, which must have had an untold influence on ancient Greek and Roman art, affecting, through the latter, artists and sculptors, even to-day.[716] A large number of marble statues, very variously restored, have been recognized as traceable to such an original, — the "codices," as it were, or various readings from one original text. Such are the six *replicas* in the museums of Naples, Rome, Florence, and Cassel.[717] All these present the robust form of a nude youth, planting firmly one foot, and with the tip of the other just touching

the ground. The left arm is raised slightly, as though to balance a spear resting on the shoulder; while the right drops easily at the side. But in the presence of even the best of these marble *replicas*, — for instance, the one from Naples (Fig. 175), — its heavy build, massive muscles, and gross appearance, make it very difficult for even a lively imagination to detect that grace and exquisite proportion of the human form attributed to Polycleitos. Happily, the

Fig. 176. Relief found in Argos.

soil of ancient Argos, the home of the master, has at last come to our aid, yielding a small and unpretending relief which embodies the exact motive of the Doryphoros (Fig. 176). Here, on a slab fifty-seven centimeters high and about forty wide, we see a youth, with a spear poised lightly on his shoulder, and combining in his form dignity with grace, apparently, stepping slowly along beside his horse.[718] In this figure, the work of some humble Greek sculptor in Argos, the home of the great master, we see, then, far more than in the pretentious statues, the influence of the Canon so well known in the schools. By reducing Polycleitos' bronze figure in the round to relief

in marble, and by changing necessarily the pose and expression of the head, this minor sculptor has adapted the original to his purpose, that either of a tombstone or votive relief, and added a horse to mark the heroic character of his sculpture. The inferior shape of the horse, which the youth holds by a bridle stiffly laid over the hand, is in strong contrast to the grace and strength of the human form, in which seem to linger some of the qualities of the celebrated original it sought to reproduce. The lightness and dignity of its proportions, its beautiful poising, as well as the rhythm and ease of the members, show a spirit truly Greek, quite worthy a time soon after Polycleitos, at which early date even, his Canon gained repute among sculptors, having been studied by one of the greatest of them, Lysippos. Contrasting with it the large statues, copies of the Doryphoros, the latter, notwithstanding their abundance of details, and finish of surface, seem gross; their ponderous, massive forms witnessing rather to a Roman spirit, from which had fled the ideal lightness so pronounced in this little Greek work. The sadly ruined head of this figure has, however, a soft, sweet type, such as could not have been true to the severity of a bronze original of Polycleitos' time and school. In order, then, to call back the forms of the head, and type of feature, lent by Polycleitos to his manly youth, we must look elsewhere. An admirable bronze head, discovered at Herculaneum, and now in the Naples museum, is clearly copied from the great Argive bronze, and is inscribed with the name of the sculptor, Apollonios, son of Archias of Athens. While resembling the marble head of the Naples Doryphoros in its square build, strong features, and long, narrow oval, still it is more true to the nature of bronze, and doubtless far better suited than any other antique to give us a faithful picture of the stern ideal of Argos in contrast to the milder, more soulful, faces of Attica. Could we trace on the subtle streams of influence that must have gone out from the well-weighed, perfectly idealized, human forms which Polycleitos placed before the sculptors of his own and the following times, then should we realize the high place he occupied, and the importance of the principles he worked out. Of this we may gain a faint idea from the fact, that the motive of the Doryphoros seems to have been adopted to represent such widely different types as those of the gods Hermes and Pan, as appears from two statuettes now in Paris. One of these, an athletic figure discovered at Annecy, having the stern features of the Herculaneum bronze, is given the *kerykeion* of Hermes, and is thus distinguished as that god. The other, an equally athletic shape, but having gentler features, has rudimentary horns, springing up among the short locks above the forehead, and a syrinx in the hand, by which it is to be distinguished as Pan. Thus, two close reproductions of Polycleitos' Doryphoros are made to represent these widely differing deities by variation in face and attributes.

A Dionysos in marble, found in Hadrian's villa, and now in Rome, wearing a *nebris* across the chest, has that god's long locks and feminine face; but the form is clearly another of the changes on the master's Canon. Among the

statues that in general pose seem a variation on Polycleitos' Doryphoros, none is, however, more beautiful than a rare life-size bronze discovered in the sea off Salamis, and now one of the greatest treasures of the Saburoff collection.[719] The head is gone; and such are the marvellous ease and rhythmic grace of pose, and exquisite lines of the fingers, that we cannot enough mourn its loss. The right arm hangs easily at the side, and the left is extended. Like this statue in general, is also the celebrated "Idolino," that life-size bronze discovered in 1530 in Pesaro, and now in Florence. This work is, however, greatly inferior, in its hard and academic lines, to the fresh beauty of the bronze of the Saburoff collection.

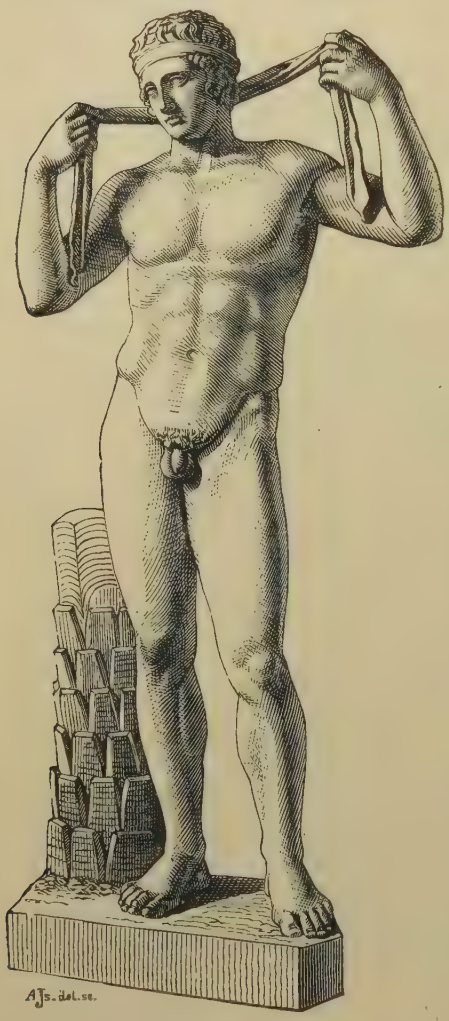

Fig. 177. A Copy of Polycleitos' Diadumenos. British Museum. (Restored.)

Polycleitos' second great statue, the Diadumenos, was that of a youth binding a fillet about his head,—a motive likewise suggested by scenes in the athletic games. Several statues in marble and bronze, of a youthful figure in the act of binding a fillet about his head, bear so strong a resemblance, in general conception and pose, to Polycleitos' Doryphoros, that there can be no doubt that these statues also are reproductions of some famous original by the master. These are a small bronze in Paris and two marble statues in the British Museum, the one under life-size, long owned by the family Farnese (Fig. 177), and the other of heavier proportions, but more than life-size, discovered at Vaison in France. The latter, with its massive build, flabby muscles, slender ankles, and surface finished in a manner more in keeping with marble than bronze, seems farther removed from originals of the fifth century than does the smaller, well-knitted frame of the Farnese statue, with its thick ankles and smoother surface. But neither of them can give more than the feeblest conception of Polycleitos' Diadumenos, which, according to Pliny, was a youth of gentle form (*molliter juvenis*), and so highly prized in antiquity, as, at one time, to have brought a hundred talents ($117,750), an immense sum for a single figure, either in ancient or modern times.[720]

Until the recent excavations at Olympia, it was supposed that Polycleitos executed, besides his Diadumenos and Doryphoros, five other statues, athletes, seen by Pausanias at Olympia. It is now proved, however, from the character of the inscriptions, that four of these were the work of a countryman of the same name, but of a later day; and that the fifth alone, representing a boy-victor, Kyniscos by name, from Mantineia, was probably by the celebrated master himself. Of this work the pedestal, with a simple moulding, and bearing an inscription, has been found.[721] On it the footprints of bronze feet prove the interesting fact, that the statue of the boy Kyniscos was about life-size: and, judging from the space between these footprints, we may infer that the victor stood, like both the Doryphoros and Diadumenos, with one foot planted firmly on the ground, bearing the weight of the body; while the other, somewhat farther back, lightly touched the ground with the toes. Of other athletes by Polycleitos, we have only the short notice by Pliny, that one was cleaning himself of the oil used in the wrestling-games (*destringens se*), and that another was nude, and striking with his heel (*nudus talo incessens*).[722]

Besides these robust forms of nude youth, the master is said to have executed two *canephoræ* in bronze, described by Cicero in a speech against Verres, who had extorted them from the Mamertine Heius.[723] They were not large, but of great beauty, and in the garb and pose of Athenian maidens, carrying sacred utensils on their heads with raised hands. Since similar maiden priestesses officiated in the ceremonies held in honor of Hera in Doric Argos, it is probable that Polycleitos' bronze *canephoræ* were originally votive offerings from some pious worshipper to her temple.

One portrait alone by him is mentioned, that of Artemon, who, on account of lameness, had to be borne about while superintending his work, as constructor of machines for Pericles in the war against Samos.[724]

Two nude boys playing at knuckle-bones (*astragalizontes*) were seen in Pliny's time in the *atrium* of Titus' palace, and were considered by some the most perfect works of antiquity.[725] But the spirit of this group seems more like that of the age of Polycleitos' younger countryman of the same name. Its composition must have been more complicated than that of the majority of the works of the sterner, older master, depending, necessarily, for its charms upon an intricate interplay of lines, and not alone upon the high, formal beauty of the human shape. A marble boy in the British Museum, from a group of two quarrelling over their game of knuckle-bones, and biting one another, is so thoroughly realistic, and like works of the time after Alexander, at least a century and a half later than the older Polycleitos, that it is absolutely impossible to associate the work with his name.

Leaving the sphere of purely human representations, we find that Polycleitos also represented heroes, and even gods; although his fame did not rest on works of this higher ideal range. Heracles, a hero of athletic character,

Polycleitos represented twice, — once as a leader (*Hagcter*) seizing his weapons, and, again, as fighting the Hydra.[726] Of his statue of an Amazon we know somewhat more. The story is, that statues of the Amazons were required for the Temple of Artemis at Ephesos, that spot where the conquered heroines had taken refuge in mythic ages, when hard pressed by Dionysos.[727] The most celebrated artists came together with their statues, to select from among them the best. According to Pliny's anecdote, each gave the preference to his own work; but, after that, all agreed first upon the Amazon by Polycleitos, — the one by Pheidias taking the second, that of Cresilas the third, and that of Phradmon the fourth place. Whatever credence may be given to this tradition, it may contain a kernel of truth, indicating the superiority of Polycleitos' representation of these masculine females. Several types of wounded and fatigued Amazons, incorrectly restored, exist, which doubtless go back to celebrated originals of the time of Pheidias and Polycleitos.[728] Among them three distinct types are evident, illustrated in statues in Rome, Berlin, and Paris. One represents an Amazon, who wears a large mantle, and seems to be staying the blood trickling from her wounded breast, with one end of her *chiton* caught up in the left hand. Her head is dropped slightly; and the arm, restored as raised, should, according to a gem now in Paris, be resting on a long spear, which supports the unhappy, conquered woman. The second type shows us, not a wounded, but a wearied, Amazon. She stands resting, with the right hand on some object, now gone, possibly her battle-axe; while her left is placed on her head, in the attitude so often employed to express repose in Greek art. This type wears no mantle, and has the *chiton* symmetrically arranged about the limbs, as represented in statues of the Vatican and Berlin museums. As a combination of these two types may be regarded those statues in which the wound is retained, and the arm rests on a pillar-like support. The third type, showing more elaborate treatment than either of the others, is as yet not thoroughly explained; since no *replica* is preserved with original arms and head. Its best known representative is the Amazon of the Vatican, once owned by the family Mattei. Of these three types, the one of the wearied Amazon, and its variations in the Braccio Nuovo and Berlin Museum (Fig. 178), corresponds most closely with the style of Polycleitos, as seen by comparing the face, pose of legs, and breadth of chest, with the Doryphoros *replicas*. But all these statues have so much of the copyist's arbitrariness, and have been so much tampered with, that they can be but cloudy suggestions of Polycleitos' original, which won the prize over the work of all his contemporaries.

Only two representations of gods are recorded as the work of this master, — one a Hermes, said to have been originally in Lysimachia; and the other a statue of Hera in gold and ivory for her temple on Mount Euboia.[729] This very ancient shrine to the great Argive goddess, lying but a few *stadia* removed from Mykene, fell a prey to the flames in 423 B.C.: the wreaths taking fire

while the old priestess slept, the rapidly spreading flames destroyed the temple and many of the sacred images.[730] The reconstruction of the temple was, according to Pausanias, undertaken by an Argive architect, Eupolemos; and the erection of its statue of Hera by Polycleitos. This figure was smaller than Pheidias' Olympic Zeus, and appeared seated on a golden throne. The goddess's forehead was adorned with a *stephane* of equal height all around, beautified with reliefs of the Graces and Hours. In one hand she held a pomegranate, and in the other her sceptre, crowned with a cuckoo. Under her feet was a lion's skin; and her whole form, with the exception of neck and white arm, was fully draped.[731] Nearly six hundred years after its completion, Pausanias saw this statue, but only dwells upon the significance of its numerous attributes, giving no hint as to its art-character. The pomegranate, he says, he will not explain; because an understanding of the legend would require a knowledge of mysteries which he, as an initiated, is not at liberty to reveal. The cuckoo, he says, refers to Zeus' first visit to Hera, transformed into a bird which she playfully caught; but this story, even Pausanias does not believe. Near this goddess by Polycleitos, which, because having many attributes, seems to have held to the old style of representing divinity, was Hera's daughter Hebe, likewise in gold and ivory, from the hand of a younger Argive master, Naukydes, but which, in Pausanias' time, had disappeared. Seventeen centuries have passed, with devastating hand, over the heights of Argos since the Roman traveller stood before these costly statues. It is not strange that modern tourists have found little more than the foundations and some sculptural fragments of the temple. Argos coins of the fourth century, with the head of Hera crowned by a *stephane* of equal height all around, can hardly give us an exact image of Polycleitos' Hera, even though temple-statues seem to have been copied on coins at that early day; but these coins may give in very general forms somewhat the type which then prevailed for Hera.[732] It is

Fig. 178. An Amazon, perhaps a Copy of Polycleitos' Amazon. Berlin. (Restored.)

almost as discouraging to seek for a suggestion of Polycleitos' Hera in the marble heads and figures of our museums. The Hera of *epos* was a far-seeing, stern, and jealous goddess. Her epithet, ox-eyed (*boöpis*), is difficult of explanation. Brunn conceives, that to the later Greeks this term indicated a force expressed rather by the position than the shape of the eye; and in a marble bust of the Naples museum, which, on account of its *stephane*, is probably a Hera, he thinks such a force is expressed.[733] Here there is no feminine softness and luxurious beauty such as we see in the famous Ludovisi Hera, but a very marked and almost repellant harshness: the very shape of the *stephane*, of equal width all around, is less graceful than the head-dress worn by other representations of the goddess. The eyes, shaded by heavy eyelids, are not wide open, with the serene look of later Hera ideals, but narrow, and far apart, extending even into the temples, and giving the expression of all-embracing vision. The low but projecting forehead; the sharp, metallic lines of the heavy eyelids; the threatening mouth, with pronounced, almost scornful, under lip; the large, square chin and small cheeks, in which is no lovely fulness; and the ears, set higher than nature,—all combine with the eyes to make a face, every feature of which speaks the decision and will of the Homeric ideal of Hera, while they mark this head as the echo of a strong time, like that in which Polycleitos lived, and possibly of his celebrated chryselephantine Hera.

Polycleitos was a distinguished architect as well as sculptor. Among the hills of Epidauros, across the bay from Athens, was the most celebrated health-resort of antiquity, sacred to Asclepios, and where his priests directed medical treatment. For the crowds of invalids gathered there, places of amusement as well as houses of worship were in demand, as at watering-places of to-day. Polycleitos built there the theatre and *tholos*. In describing this theatre, Pausanias for once grows enthusiastic, saying, the Romans excel all others in the luxurious richness of their theatres,—for size the theatre of Megalopolis is most remarkable; but what architect could compete with Polycleitos in the truth of proportion and beauty of this work at Epidauros?[734] Among the few fragmentary sculptures brought to light from its ruins is a draped female, perhaps representing Hygieia, thought to show some of the traits ascribed by antiquity to Polycleitos. But as he was so emphatically a worker in metal, not a single figure of his in marble being reported, his relationship to these marbles must doubtless be taken with reserve.

All notices of Polycleitos as a painter seem to be based on a confusion of his name with that of Polygnotos, the Thasian painter. His skill in casting in bronze and in *toreutic* was great. This latter art, seeming to have reference to the goldsmith's work, as well as to the final chiselling and finishing given to the surface of bronze, he is said to have carried to greater perfection than Pheidias; and Strabo declares, that technically his Hera greatly excelled Pheidias' works,

but did not equal them in size and grandeur.[735] Of such importance was careful finish to Polycleitos, that he is reported on one occasion to have said that the work is most difficult when it comes to the nail, meaning probably when the clay model comes to be worked down with the finger-nail; and bronze, best suited to accept such finish from the mould, was the material he used by preference.[736]

He is said, moreover, to have written a treatise on the proportions of the human frame, giving the principles he had incorporated in his statue "the Canon."[737] Here he explained the proportion of finger to finger; of all the fingers to the open hand; of the hand to the wrist; of wrist to elbow; of elbow to arm, and so on, through every member of the body. Vague conjecture alone remains to take the place of treatise and statue, it being altogether improbable that the proportions of Vitruvius were taken from Polycleitos. According to Vitruvius, the distance from chin to crown should be taken as a unit, giving one-eighth of the length of the body; but this gives a slenderness different from the substantial but graceful build of the Doryphoros, as we have it in the Argos relief. An accurate measurement of hundreds of statues would doubtless yield much light on this interesting theme; but even measurements with the eye alone, show us the slenderness of many statues in contrast to those derived from Polycleitos. The Ægina warriors of the west pediment have the head usually about one-eighth of the body, and the body very slim and short for their legs. In the Olympia marbles, there seems a variety of proportions; some figures being long, and others short, in the body. In the Doryphoros and Diadumenos, in which the head is about one-seventh of the length, this slimness, however, disappears, the loins being made fuller, and the body itself longer; the trunk thus predominating, giving the figure a nobler and more stable build. In the age following Polycleitos, Lysippos changed these proportions again, adopting a taller and more slender scale, with a body very short in proportion to the legs.

Although, in comparison with the loftier creations of Pheidias' art, the sternly correct ideals of Polycleitos may suffer; yet his formative influence should not be lost from sight. Pheidias might be admired, but the very loftiness of his genius made imitation impossible: the experience of a Polycleitos, on the contrary, expressed in statues, and written down in books, was an invaluable testament, serving as a sure guide for after-generations. While he did not, according to Quintilian, like his great Attic contemporary, attain to the sublimity of the gods, still he represented the body in dignity and beauty greater than nature.[738] Within this sphere he seems to have cared little for variety, if we may believe the same writer, who says Polycleitos avoided the representation of riper years, not venturing beyond smooth cheeks; and, compared with Myron, his works were said to be less varied, and very much after one plan.[739] But in this limitation to one type, forming, as it were, the climax

of the series commencing with the Apollo of Thera, and in this developing the human form in quiet to the highest perfection of formal beauty, may we not see great wisdom on the part of the Argive master, even though he lacked the geniality of his brother sculptors of Attica?

Polycleitos' importance as a teacher being such, it is not strange that he had many scholars, and that they in turn handed on the old tradition, so that his school laps far over into the fourth century. Pliny and Pausanias mention several men as his direct scholars.[740] Among them was a younger Canachos from Sikyon, doubtless a descendant of the ancient master of the same name. Of another, Periclytos by name, we know that he had scholars who lived on into the next century. The remainder of Polycleitos' scholars, with other masters, were employed on a votive offering, seen by Pausanias at Delphi, and made by the Lakedaimonians after their victory (404 B.C.) over the Athenians at Aigospotamoi. The number of statues composing this gift was unparalleled in Greek history. Thirty-three bronze figures of gods and mortal warriors made up its stately bulk. Among them Poseidon was seen crowning Lysander, the victorious Spartan commander; and the seer who foretold the issue of the battle was also there. Even the helmsman on Lysander's ship was honored with a statue, as well as many other warriors. It is a strange fact, that very many different masters from widely scattered places, even from Thebes and Arcadia, were called upon to assist in executing this mammoth votive offering. That this group for Apollo's shrine, as well as other offerings put up in Sparta, were by foreign artists, seems to indicate, that, in that state itself, there had been no development, and that Argos was pre-eminently the centre of art-creation in the Peloponnesos.

Besides the men who are thus definitely mentioned as the scholars of the great Polycleitos, but of whom we know almost nothing, there were others of importance in Argos during the latter part of the century when he lived. The old sculptor Patrocles, with his three sons, Daidalos, Naukydes, and Polycleitos the younger, form a constellation of artists on whose relationship to one another the recent excavations at Olympia have but just thrown clear light.[741] Patrocles, who must have been an old man at the time of the battle of Aigospotamoi, executed several statues for the great Delphic group in its honor; but his fame is altogether eclipsed by that of his three sons. Of these, Naukydes was perhaps the eldest, it being said that he was the teacher of his brother Polycleitos. He executed the Hebe in gold and ivory which stood beside the older Polycleitos' great Hera, a bronze Hecate in Argos, a Discobolos, a Hermes, one offering a ram, and a representation in bronze of the poetess Erinna, who had lived about 600 B.C., at least two centuries before his day.[742] He also executed statues of athletic victors, seen in Olympia by Pausanias; and the inscription of one to the Rhodian Eucles, is now given back to us

by the excavations.[743] Naukydes was the teacher as well of Alypos of Sikyon, concerning whose statues of victors, and for the Delphic group in honor of Aigospotamoi, we have, however, nothing definite.[744] Concerning his other scholar, his own brother Polycleitos, continually confounded by the ancients with the greater master of that name, we are better informed. He was probably in the vigor of early youth about 400 B.C., having been among the masters who made gifts in honor of Aigospotamoi.[745] He was active late into the next century, we now know; since his name is found associated with that of his younger countryman, Lysippos of Sikyon, in an inscription recently discovered at Thebes.[746] Statues by him of victors were seen at Olympia by Pausanias, the inscriptions of several of which have also been discovered.[747]

A Zeus Philios seen at Megalopolis by Pausanias, in form akin to Dionysos, as well as a Zeus Meilichios in marble at Argos, were probably both from his hand, as well as an Aphrodite in bronze for a votive tripod put up by the Spartans at Amyclai, in thanks for their victory at Aigospotamoi.[748] He executed a bronze Hecate for Argos, which accompanied one in the same material by his brother Naukydes, and one in marble by the Parian Scopas.[749] It is probable that a marble group of Apollo, Artemis, and Leto, near Argos, and mentioned by Pausanias, as well as the knuckle-bone players spoken of by Pliny, were also his work; since he belonged rather to the fourth than to the sterner fifth century, at the extreme lower limit of which we meet him.[750] Daidalos, his brother, likewise belongs properly to that time; having put up at Olympia a trophy for the people of Elis, in honor of victory over the Lakedaimonians about Olymp. 95 (400 B.C.), as well as sharing in a votive offering for the people of Tegea, for a victory in 369 B.C., Olymp. 102. 4.[751] Of his five statues of athletes at Olympia, described by Pausanias, the inscriptions of but three have been found.[752] From an inscription discovered at Ephesos, it seems that he was also active in Asia Minor, whither the current of artistic activity was rapidly turning back from Greece.[753] One single statue, existing in several *replicas*, Aphrodite cowering in the bath, has frequently been traced back to a supposed original by this Argive master of the earlier half of the fourth century; but it seems more Hellenistic in its spirit, and is, therefore, probably to be attributed to a later Daidalos of Bithynia.[754]

Phradmon of Argos is a master of whom we only know that he executed an Amazon in the rivalry mentioned above, receiving the fourth prize; and that, for a temple to Athena, in Thessaly, he executed twelve bronze cows, — a thank-offering for victory over the Illyrians.[755]

From such stray notices we gather, that the masters of Argos at this time were mainly occupied with the athlete's sturdy frame and with commemorative statues; that bronze was the material they worked in; but that, in the development of the ideals of the great gods, they took little part. Such being the character of Argive art, it is not strange, that, in our marble

relics, there is very little which can with certainty be traced back to its schools.

Excavations were made at Argos in 1854 on the site of Hera's ancient temple, which once sheltered Polycleitos' golden Hera, and the metopes of which Pausanias describes as representing scenes from the birth of Zeus, the combats with the giants, and the Trojan war.[756] A rich discovery of fragments of colossal, life-size, and smaller figures, besides bits of relief, evincing a rare perfection, rewarded these excavations.[757] Among these troves were seven heads, twenty fragments of bodies, forty-two of arms and hands, one hundred and fourteen of thighs and feet, and one hundred and sixty of drapery, all of which were stored in a shed in Argos. Dust and spiders immediately plotted a second oblivion for these precious marbles; while many fragments, it is said, have been purloined by tourists, leaving irreparable gaps. Of only two or three fragments have casts been taken, one of which, a small female head in Parian marble, demands our admiration.[758] These fragments are, then, a stock in reserve, from which we may doubtless yet learn something concerning sculpture in marble in Argos during the latter part of the fifth century B.C. Furtwängler made a hasty survey of them in 1878, when he and Loeschke discovered a box full of fragments hidden away in the *demarchie* of the town.[759] He found many faces, not, as might be expected, having Argive shapes, but thoroughly Attic ones, and in Pentelic marble; the architecture of the temple strengthens the probability that Attic art here influenced Argive sculptors. The *sima* are in Pentelic marble; and the ornaments are clearly copied from Attic works, especially the Erechtheion, but fall short of them in excellence.

A few low reliefs found in Argos in the limestone of the country (marble did not exist there) are strongly local in subject and art character.[760] The subjects vary very slightly, whether on votive or sepulchral slabs, and seem to concern the worship of heroes, in which Argos was especially rich. One class shows us three female figures walking in a stiff row, holding serpents and flowers, and, as their inscriptions imply, representing the mild and forgiving Eumenidæ. There are in all these reliefs a certain straightness of line, flatness of treatment, and squareness in the forms, which remind one of the much older Laconian reliefs discussed above (p. 205), and, although an advance on them, still betray a strongly local, perhaps Doric, coloring, doubtless due, in part, to the stubbornness of the material.

CHAPTER XXII.

SCULPTURE OUTSIDE OF ATTICA DURING THE SECOND HALF OF THE FIFTH CENTURY (*concluded*).

Artists of this Period. — Phigaleia Sculptures. — Apollo Epicurios. — Metopes. — Frieze. — Its Subjects. Passionateness in Treatment. — Contrast to Attic Friezes. — Affinities in Style. — Sculpture in other Parts of Peloponnesos. — Paionios of Mende. — His Nike. — Its Discovery. — Its Recent Restoration. — Description of the Nike. — Its Boldness, etc. — Comparison with other Works. — Affinities with Nereid Monument. — Art on the Islands. — Delian Sculptures. — Comparison drawn between them and Paioniös' Nike. — Explanation of Resemblances and Differences. — Colotes. — Lykia. — Sculptures from Xanthos. — Tomb. — Peculiarities of Style. — Statuary. — The Nereids. — Their Significance. — Sculptures of Heroön at Gjölbaschi. — Their Subjects. — Deeds of Ulysses depicted. — Other Scenes. — Influence of Painting. — Resemblance to Style of Nereid Monument. — Art in Southern Italy and Sicily. — Patronage of Art by the Tyrants. — Temple-ruins at Acragas. — Ruins at Selinus. — The Metope representing Fate of Actaion. — General Review of this Period.

So far as our literary sources go, we find, that, in the Peloponnesos during the latter half of the fifth century B.C., no other centre vied with Argos in the name and fame of its sculptors; although Sikyon and other places shared in its artistic life. From the inland province, Arcadia, there are preserved to us the names of only four sculptors, — Dameas, Athenodoros, Samolas, and Nicodamos. The first two were scholars of the great Polycleitos, and took part in the mammoth Aigospotamoi gift at Delphi. Of the remaining two we only know that Samolas executed a part of the gift for Tegea described on p. 395, and that Nicodamos had several statues of athletes, as well as an Athena, and boy Heracles slaying with his arrows the Nemean lion, all in Olympia.[761] In antiquity the home of these men, the rocky and inaccessible Arcadia, does not seem to have attracted travellers mainly on account of its art or trade, but by reason of the sanctity of its shrines. At Bassai, near Phigaleia, among its high mountains, are the ruins of one of these temples, once adorned with the admirably preserved sculptures now removed to the British Museum. Ictinos, the celebrated architect of the Parthenon, erected here, on the site of a more ancient shrine, this temple to Apollo Epicurios, who was worshipped as the god of healing, and believed to have kept off pestilence from the land.[762] The columns of this temple, on a salubrious bluff three thousand feet above the level of the sea, still overlook the land spread out at their feet, commanding ravishing views of mountain and plain away to the blue waters on the

distant horizon, knotty oaks making up the foreground. In 1812 excavations were made on this glorious spot by the discoverers of the Ægina marbles; and pieces of the great temple-statue, as well as much of the sculptural decoration of the building itself, were brought to light.[763] The marbles were afterwards bought by the British Museum for sixty thousand *piasters*.

Of the great temple-statue of Apollo Epicurios, only parts of the hands and feet in marble were found, suggesting the possibility that the statue was an acrolith, of which the wooden framework of the body must have perished. This statue occupied the end of a chapel adjoining the *cella*, unlike any thing in other known Greek temples. The temple itself strangely faced the north; but this chapel adjoining it, and opening into the *cella*, like all other shrines, faced the east, where it had an entrance opposite to the sacred image of Apollo. This temple, of the Doric order, by Ictinos, was richly adorned,

Fig. 179. A Part of the Amazon Frieze from the Interior of Temple to Apollo at Bassai near Phigaleia. British Museum.

having sculptured metopes on its front and rear. These are so sadly ruined, that their subjects can no longer be recognized; but the fragments show a skill superior to that manifested in the much better preserved frieze. The pediments seem to have had no sculptures; but in the interior of the *cella*, surrounding its four walls, above Ionic semi-columns, ran a narrow frieze .76 centimeters high (2½ feet), and elevated 6.86 meters (22½ feet) from the floor, and consisting of twenty-three slabs, having a total length of nearly 31 meters (101 feet, 3 inches). This complete frieze is carved in a yellowish-gray coarse-grained marble, thought to be from the neighborhood. It is not arranged in the British Museum exactly as it stood in the temple, as recent studies by Ivanoff and Lange of certain technical peculiarities have shown.[764] Here were represented, in unequal lengths, two great mythic combats, the contest of Greeks with centaurs being somewhat shorter than that with the Amazons. Between the two appeared Apollo the deliverer himself, drawing his bow at the wild centaur hosts in front of him, towards whom he hastened mounted on a chariot drawn by deer, and guided by his sister Artemis. This slab, it has

been shown, occupied such a place on the west side, near the south-west corner of the *cella*, that it could be seen by the worshipper standing before the sacred image in the chapel beyond, thus presenting to him the god in the frieze as passing from the Amazon conflict, now decided, to the one still raging with the centaurs, and giving assurance that these fierce powers of evil should also be conquered.

Along the whole of the long east and shorter south side of the frieze, as the marbles originally stood, the contest raged between Amazons and Greeks. Of this frieze two slabs are represented in Figs. 179 and 180, but on different scales. In the several slabs which occupied the south side, the Greeks seem hard pressed; but on the adjoining slab of the west, which was directly behind Apollo's chariot, an Amazon, wounded and dying, sinks in the arms of a companion (Fig. 179), as if to signify that these turbulent enemies of law and order were indeed overcome. In the very middle of one side was Theseus, known by

Fig. 180. A Part of Amazon Frieze from Temple of Apollo at Bassai near Phigaleia. British Museum.

his fluttering lion's skin and massive club, and in fiercest conflict with a towering, powerful Amazon on foot, and with another on horseback; showing, perhaps, that the myth pictured in this frieze relates to the invasion of Attica by the Amazons, who were expelled by this Attic hero. In this conflict, how varied and intense the struggle, witnessed throughout all stages, from the fiercest hand-to-hand fight where refuge is taken at the altar (Fig. 180), to the care for the wounded! The wildest passions roused by war are expressed in brutal actions, such as the violation of the sanctity of the altar, the dragging thence the Amazon by the hair, and the trampling under foot of the unhappy women; but many tender chords of human feeling are also touched by these intense groups. One Amazon holds her shield over a fallen sister, who shows her anxiety by catching hold of it, as if to draw it still closer. Two others support in their arms the helpless, falling, wounded forms of still beautiful warrior-women. One Greek, with thoughtful, careful step, and arm around a wounded comrade, helps him walk slowly and painfully away, — a group which is found repeated in the newly discovered Lykian reliefs to be discussed later. Another, beyond, carries off from the battle-field, on his strong shoulders, the dead body

of a fellow-warrior; having dropped his round shield, which an Amazon, eager for the precious trophy, is slyly catching away.

Turning to the other and more doubtful conflict, — that with the centaurs, — we should find that it commenced with the significant scene (Fig. 181) once in the north-east corner of the *cella*. Here two women have fled to an idol. One, fallen on her knees, and with one arm thrown around its stiff form, is already seized by a lusting centaur, who tears the drapery from her beautiful form. The other, as if in despair that even this holy spot is violated, throws out her arms in distress, and seems halting between going and staying. But deliverance is near at hand; for the strong Theseus, having hung his skin on an adjoining tree, already has the brute by the neck, and will, no doubt, rescue them. Thus the Attic hero, the frightened women, and powerful centaur,

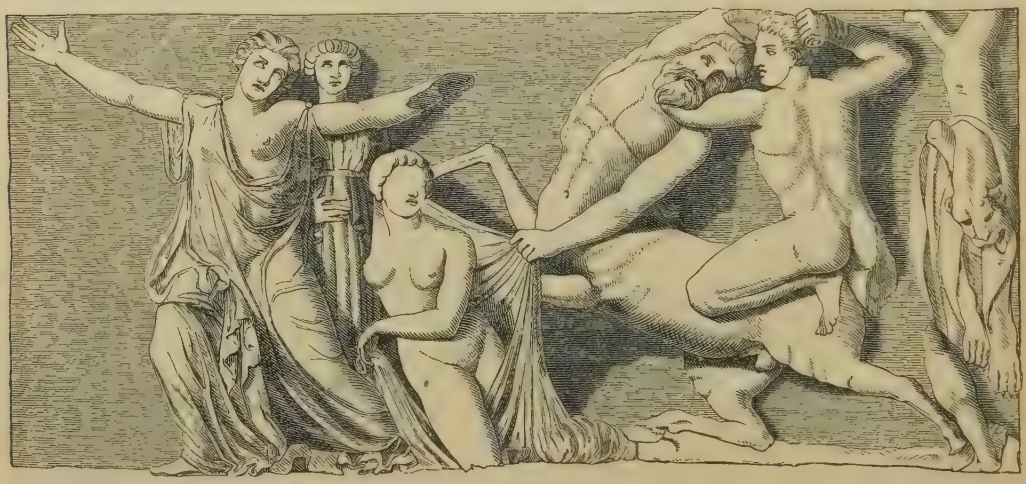

Fig. 181. A Part of Centaur Frieze from Interior of the Temple of Apollo at Bassai near Phigaleia. British Museum.

introduced the conflicts taken from the story of the wedding of Peirithoös. Close upon this scene there followed, in the middle of the frieze of the north side (British Museum, No. 4), a group in which two tremendous, rearing centaurs have well-nigh buried Caineus, who is vainly endeavoring, with his small shield, to keep off the huge block they are dropping with crushing force upon him. A Greek, however, makes one of these centaurs uncomfortable by clutching his ear; and behind his protecting shield flies a richly draped woman, her beautiful, fluttering garments well reflecting her anxious speed. One after another, still other combats appear, in which the wild fury of these semi-brutes is felt, even by children, who cling to the necks of frail women, or half fall from their arms. How strongly the brute nature appears in that group in which a centaur, over the fallen body of a fellow, kicks at an enemy's shield behind, while he bites into the neck of a warrior who is stabbing him in front! Throughout this frieze there is an intensity which is surprising;

but often its very continuousness wearies the unimpassioned beholder, and fails to awaken sympathy. While many motives seem to occur, met with in Attica, carried up to the superlative, others are altogether new and startling. There is, besides, a decided attempt at foreshortening and pictorial effect, appearing, for instance, in the fallen centaur, and in those who seem to come out of the background, — motives which call to mind their old predecessors, the centaurs of the Olympia pediment. The treatment of the drapery, with its fluttering ends tortured by the wind, is different from any thing we know of elsewhere, except the newly found reliefs at Gjölbaschi, and seems to imply the addition of color. Altogether, though these sculptures are in very high relief, still they make a more pleasing impression in drawings than they do in the marble, which is overcrowded and confused. Coming from Attic friezes with their exquisite feeling for finish, and truly sculptural style, we are sadly disappointed in the execution of these reliefs; there being something coarse and very summary about the vigorous forms, and confusing in the exaggeration of the pictorial element. Moreover, the faces of all, males and females, are unprepossessing, and have no shadow of expression accompanying the violent gestures. As for the composition, it is impossible to find a connection between the different slabs, which seem to consist of a number of single scenes without the unity found in Attic friezes of this age. It is most probable, that here each slab was composed and carved by itself, and put up and fitted to its neighbor afterwards, this having been done often in a very crude manner, as is evident from the slabs, even in their present state. This frieze, having so many reminders of Attic motives, treating so extensively of Attic myth, and decorating a temple built by an Attic master, it has been thought, must be the composition of Attic sculptors, carried out by provincial workmen. Others see, rather, in these sculptures such exaggeration and even coarseness of conception, unlike any thing known of the fifth century, that they suppose them to be the work of Arcadian sculptors, only so far dependent upon Attica as to copy Attic models in some details, while throwing over the composition a robust realism peculiarly their own. In opposition to this view, that Attic influence was here active, some archæologists see here traces of those older Ionian sources from which Attica also drew, and which were strongly pictorial, but must have been here in Phigaleia colored by local peculiarities.

In other parts of the Peloponnesos, during the latter half of the fifth century we hear of but little artistic activity. From Elis two unimportant names, Aristocles and Cleoitas, alone meet us.[765] In Sparta several ambitious works, of which no notice remains except Plutarch's and Pausanias' dry accounts, seem to have been put up in thanks for the victory of Aigospotamoi and for earlier victories over the Persians.[766] From Megara, Theocosmos, already spoken of (p. 319), and his son, Callicles, are mentioned as men of note; and, in Northern Greece, one Telephanes of Phokis, according to one story,

executed statues so excellent, that, had they not been as good as buried in remote Thessaly, they would have made him as celebrated as either Polycleitos, Myron, or Pythagoras.[767] Fragments from Bœotia, such as a celebrated relief of an equestrian rider in the Vatican, very like the Parthenon frieze in style, but in Bœotian marble, show that Attic influence must have already made itself strongly felt in that part of Greece.

From Mende in Thrace, which was settled by Ionians from Asia Minor, we have happily preserved to us the name and certain work of one great master, Paionios, of whom mention has already been made in connection with the sculptures of the east pediment of the Zeus temple at Olympia. While there may be, in the minds of many, doubt as to the part Paionios had in those temple sculptures, still his work and signature is certainly preserved to us in that imposing colossal statue of Nike, mentioned by Pausanias, and with its inscription and lofty pillar discovered at Olympia in 1875.[768] Pausanias says of it, "The Dorian Messenians, who once had received Naupactos from the Athenians, consecrated at Olympia the Nike on a pillar: she is the work of Paionios of Mende, and was erected on account of a victory over the enemy when, as I believe, they fought against the Acarnanians at Oiniadai (456 B.C.). The Messenians themselves say, however, that they erected this votive offering on account of the victory that they, with the Athenians, won on the island of Sphacteria, but that they had left out the name of the enemy in the inscription for fear of the Lakedaimonians, while they had no reason to fear the Acarnanians." Great were the surprise and joy of the excavators in Olympia, as one day, early in the first season of their excavations, they came upon a remarkably shaped triangular base in front of the Temple of Zeus, bearing the very inscription referred to by Pausanias. The next morning there came to light, close by, a more than life-size winged figure in Pentelic marble, the very Nike herself, a treasure still kept in Olympia (Fig. 182). Later, much of the remainder of the lofty triangular pedestal-pillar, about six meters high, on which the now prostrate figure

Fig. 182. The Winged Nike by Paionios. Olympia.

once stood, was found. On this pedestal is the inscription with letters having the form of the Ionian alphabet, which points to Paionios' connection with the Ionian fatherland, the source of Mende's culture.[769] This inscription gives the cause of the erection of the statue, the means applied, and the sculptor's name added in smaller characters. It reads about thus: "Messenians and Naupactians have consecrated it to the Olympic Zeus from a tenth of booty taken in war. Paionios, the Mendean made it, who also won, making some part of the temple decoration." About this latter part of the inscription, and the war in remembrance of which the monument was erected, there is much diversity of opinion. Some, accepting the report of the Messenians to Pausanias, think that this imposing offering to Zeus was made after the victory over the Spartans at the battle of Sphacteria, when the Messenians were aided by the Athenians.[770] In honor of this same victory, the Athenians, we learn from the same author, put up on the Acropolis a bronze Nike.[771] This battle, which took place 424 B.C., would then, it is thought, give the approximate date of the erection of Paionios' colossal marble statue of the goddess of Victory. But others, concurring with Pausanias in his opinion, believe that this monument was in commemoration of the earlier victory, that over the Acarnanians in 456 B.C.; moreover, the talk of the Messenians about leaving out the names of the enemy in the inscription has been shown to have little weight. The supporters of this latter view do not believe that we have any right to sunder this work by Paionios more than from twenty to twenty-five years from his temple sculptures at Olympia, executed about 460 B.C.[772] Whichever view is adopted, this marble statue must have been executed during the latter half of the fifth century B.C.

But let us study the statue itself, casts of which have rapidly multiplied, and are to be seen in Berlin, London, and Boston. The fragments of the statue in plaster-casts have been most skilfully adjusted, and their suggestions carried out in a very agreeable reproduction by the sculptor Grüttner at Berlin (Selections, Plate XIV.). The intent of the beautiful statue is unmistakable: it is Nike, the winged goddess of victory, shooting down to earth through the ether. We almost hear the rush of her drapery and the whizzing of her powerful wings as she approaches. Shoulder and bosom are bared by the unclasping of her thin *chiton;* and, as the wind blows it against her slender form, we see the full grace of the floating vision. One leg, from which the transparent drapery has blown back, forms a beautiful contrast in its quiet surfaces to the agitated lines of countless fluttering folds on each side. The ankles only touch the clouds beneath, through which an eagle flies aslant, his head and a part of one wing alone being indicated in sculpture, the remainder, doubtless, having been left to painting. Swelling out in a tremendous sweep behind is her outer mantle, caught from flying off entirely by her raised left hand; the broad surface, broken by the wind, forming a fine background to the marble figure, which

might otherwise have appeared too attenuated as it stood away up on its lofty pedestal (over six meters high). The movement of the left hand and arm is determined from the fragments, but that of the right is less sure. Experiments by Herr Grüttner, which made her catch the end of her garment with this hand, showed that such a position would impede the movement of her wings, and, besides, have hindered the sculptor in working out the back part of the *chiton*, which, from the preserved fragments, is seen to have been labored upon. As the mantle in the restoration sweeps, his chisel could, without endangering the rest, have reached the hidden parts between it and the body. In her right hand, which was lowered, but of which no fragments are preserved, she may have held some symbol. This point alone is doubtful in the restoration, where she receives the *tænia*, a symbol suitable to be borne by the goddess of victory. On coins of this and the coming age, Nike bears most frequently a round wreath, apparently of olive-leaves.[773] On one coin of Elis, however, she carries a long *tænia:* very seldom does she bear the loose olive-bough or palm-branch.[774] Of the head, the back and top alone are preserved; but these show that her hair was bound about with a *tænia*. In representing her face, the restorer has followed the general type of the most advanced faces of the Olympia marbles, but made its details more like the faces of the latter half of the fifth century B.C.

How bold the subject of this statue for marble, which here, disregarding all physical laws, fairly floats before us! and how admirably suited the proportions of the figure for the lofty place it once occupied! When seen on a level with the eye, it is unpleasantly long and drawn out, lacking altogether the robust grace of the Parthenon figures. But when raised on high, as may be seen in a cast in Berlin, the effect of air and perspective is such, that we forget altogether this impression, and receive one of lithe and airy grace. Could we imagine the colossal statue as standing on its lofty pedestal, in front of the pillars of the great temple, and towering up in the midst of the surrounding green of the sacred grove, then should we be fully able to judge of Paionios' skill in giving wings to marble, and to participate in the admiration which this statue aroused in antiquity, as witnessed to by its copies preserved in bronze and terra-cotta.[775]

But what are the affinities of this remarkable statue by Paionios, so different from every thing of this age transmitted to us from Attica? A casual glance might possibly notice in this Nike, with her agitated drapery, a resemblance to some of the figures of the Parthenon; but a more careful comparison will show how vital the difference. In the nude, those matchless sculptures throb with an inner life which we miss in the Nike. The protruding abdomen below the tightly drawn girdle unpleasantly suggests the defects, not toned down, of a living model, but imitated closely with a lack of the nobler taste evident in the Parthenon figures. The drapery, moreover, is in places con-

fused, and lacks the exquisite grace and limpid simplicity of the Attic style. The whole statue seems more pictorial than sculptural; and without detracting from Paionios' merit in compelling marble so gracefully to do his bidding, still, when compared with the Parthenon statues, we feel that a keener sense of the truly beautiful and appropriate in marble inspired the Attic masters. Comparing, however, Paionios' Nike with a Nike found on Delos, and with a larger fragment of another figure from the same island, as well as with the floating, leaping Nereids of that great funereal monument found at Xanthos in Lykia, and now in the British Museum, we find a striking relationship. Not only in the repeated motive of holding the drapery, but also in its transparency, its dry treatment of the surface, and general pictorial character, is there great affinity between this work of the Ionian Paionios, the monuments of Ionian Delos, and those of Lykia, which probably felt the influence of the art of the neighboring Ionia. Whether Paionios actually came under the influence of Pheidias, we do not know; but the affinities of his statue point away from, rather than to, Athens; and it is possible that he only drew his inspiration from the same source as did the Athenians, — namely, from the older Ionian head waters.

Passing now to consider the art of the islands during this period, we know that many great men were drawn thence into the stream of activity at Athens, there to work with Pheidias. Thus, Agoracritos and others were from Paros, and Alcamenes from Lemnos; but, of the works on the islands themselves, we as yet know very little. Happily, however, recent discoveries on Delos have begun to throw light on the works of this time, and also to widen our range of vision with regard to them. On Delos, where archaic Ionian art, as we have seen, collected so many gifts in marble to the gods, several fragments of a developed style have been discovered, which at first sight seemed to belong to the pediments of a temple.[776] Of these fragments, one group was found at the west front of a small temple adjoining the one to Apollo, and the other at its east front. Furtwängler, during a short stay at Delos, perceived still other fragments belonging with them, and succeeded in proving that we have parts of the crowning *acroteria* of both ends of the ancient temple. Contrary to all preconceptions, these were much larger than *acroteria* of temples of the great time had been supposed to be. Such large groups have hitherto been considered creations of the Roman age, which exaggerated every thing it touched. But these beautiful fragments from Delos show with what taste large groups were applied by the Greeks to the summits of their temples, and make it probable that to the Romans must be charged only the vicious addition of figures to the slopes.[777]

The central *acroteria* from Delos consisted of fragments, which, according to Furtwängler's proposed restoration, made up two beautiful, excited groups, similar in subject and treatment, but so agreeably varied that every trace of

monotony was avoided, and perfect symmetry preserved. Thus, above the summit of the east pediment towered a group (Fig. 183), in which a powerful winged man, having caught in his grasp a helpless female, seems to speed away. About her members the drapery floats in the excited haste of her motion, as she is being borne off, to the astonishment of two attendant maidens one on each side. A small horse in the foreground gallops away, thus sharing in the excitement of the scene. Of this group, large fragments of every figure except the maiden to the right have been discovered; but, from the analogy of a figure preserved from the group at the opposite end of the temple, it is evident that such a figure was here also. In this eastern *acroterion*, there can be no doubt that we have the rough north wind Boreas, carrying off the beautiful

Fig. 183. Acroterion of Temple on Delos as restored by Furtwängler.

daughter of Erechtheus, Oreithyia, whom he is fabled to have made his wife. This myth is constantly represented on Attic vases, where Boreas, with his accompanying name, appears in the same garments as here, and having the same rough, stormy character. The horse is intimately connected in Homeric myth with Boreas, who was the father of twelve wind-fleet colts;[778] and the animal is, doubtless, here added as his most suggestive symbol, as well as being a necessary support for the marble form of Oreithyia, who, in the instantaneousness of her motion, would, besides, give the impression of toppling over, were it not for the firm horizontal mass of the horse at her feet. How striking the resemblance between the treatment of this figure, as her drapery floats about the legs, to that of Paionios' Nike!

But the resemblance of that master's Nike is still more striking to the figures that must have formed the corner *acroteria*, of which a large fragment

has been preserved, showing that figures of Nike, in exactly the same pose as Paionios' statue, crowned the corners of this temple at Delos.

While the group, already discussed, of Boreas and Oreithyia seems to have direct reference to Attic myth, the *acroterion* of the opposite end must have been in a more general sense Ionian in its character.[779] Here the large goddess Eos carries off in her arms the young Kephalos, to give him immortality; while his dog leaps away, frightened, from the scene, and two maidens flee, one in each direction. This draped, winged Eos, speeding away with a nude lad in her arms, corresponds to, and yet contrasts beautifully with, the powerful nude Boreas carrying off the draped Oreithyia.

To gain an idea of the time when these works must have been executed, there should be noticed the similarity in the treatment of the drapery to that of Paionios' Nike, as well as the build of the forms, less luxurious than those of the fourth century. Thus, as in well-certified works of the Pheidian age, here also the female shoulders are broad and massive, the breasts are high and wide apart, and the hips are narrow. Moreover, the eyes are not deeply set, as we may notice in the head of Oreithyia; and the hair is severely simple in its arrangement and treatment, as in the fifth century, but not in later times. Such features, as well as certain architectural peculiarities of the building which these sculptures adorned, doubtless fix their date as some time during the latter half of the fifth century B.C., or, as more closely conjectured by Furtwängler, 425 B.C., when great festivities to Apollo, and special purifications of his temple on Delos, were observed.[780]

But with all the general similarity between these Delian sculptures and those known to us from Attica, as seen in a certain severity of style, yet how different the stormy speed and intensely picture-like treatment of these compositions, seeming in their fluttering lines fairly to defy all laws arising from the ponderous and fragile nature of their material. In consequence of these peculiarities, they appear, not to have been executed under Attic influence, but show great affinity with Paionios' Nike, and the marbles of the so-called Nereid monument discovered in Lykia. The tempting theory to account for these shades of difference has been proposed by Furtwängler, that, in this family of sculptures, we have the work of the older, broader Ionian stock, in which sculpture must have been largely under the influence of great painters, in whom it was especially rich, but of whom we chance to know little, their activity in Athens alone being recorded.

From Asia Minor itself, that cradle of ancient Ionian art, we have the name of but one master of this age, namely, Colotes, who aided Pheidias at Olympia. Although as yet sculptures of this developed age have hardly been found in Ionian Asia Minor, still, in neighboring Lykia to the south, monuments so near of kin to those we have been discussing have been found, that we may appropriately consider them here.

LYKIA.

Of the few archaic sculptures found in Lykia, we have already spoken, and attempted to point out their peculiar coloring (p. 185). Far more numerous, but showing the same tendencies, are the monuments of a more advanced style. This in so many points resembles that of dated monuments of the latter half of the fifth century, that we gain thereby a clew to the approximate age of these riper Lykian carvings. Very many ancient sites furnish witnesses to the extent and quality of art in Lykia during this age. The long-known ruins of Xanthos, Myra, Limyra, Pinara, Telmessos, and Cadyanda still harbor many marbles, or have given them up to the British Museum. Gjölbaschi, the ancient name of which is not known, has, within the last two years, sent a stately array to Vienna.[781] These sculptured monuments belong, not to temples, which are scarce, but to family-tombs, sometimes built by the wealthy Lykians while alive, as in the case of the curious tomb of Pajafa, the upper part of which was removed bodily to the British Museum. On it, the inscription informs us that Pajafa, the satrap, built it for himself and his servants.[782] Many of these tombs are carved out of the solid rock in the mountain side: others are massively built up as detached structures. Every precaution was taken against the possibility of violation: curses were invoked in the inscriptions on those who disturbed the dead. The tomb, when built, was placed on a lofty substructure; and, when carved out of the rock, its entrance was, in every case, at least six meters above ground, only to be reached by ladders or cords.[783]

The sculptural finish, as the tombs now stand, consists of long friezes, or of detached scenes, sometimes carved in the face of the rock, or applied to the exterior of the built tombs and their enclosing walls. The only instance in which statuary has been extensively discovered is in connection with the celebrated so-called Nereid monument, probably the tomb of the rich Lykian satrap, Pericles. It far surpasses the rest of the Lykian remains, except those at Gjölbaschi, in the luxuriousness of its material, and the abundance of its sculptures, now to be seen crowded in the new Lykian room of the British Museum. The base of this monument, having a considerable height, still crowns one of the hills of Xanthos, overlooking the valley, and separated by a ravine from the Acropolis itself.[784] Fragments of architecture and sculpture, in great numbers, were strewn about the site in such a way, that the discoverer, Sir Charles Fellows, believed them to belong to one building, which must have been precipitated by an earthquake. But the plan of the excavations having been made from memory, the reconstruction of the monument is necessarily unsatisfactory, and in many details very questionable.[785] In general, there can be little doubt that it consisted of a lofty base, about five meters high, which was surmounted by an Ionic temple. This in many details reminds us directly of the Ionic architecture of Athens,

as seen in the capitals of the Erechtheion: but still, it shows arbitrary and ugly variations; betraying, it would seem, the native builder, who, while having the same motives, did not use them as nobly as did the Attic masters. The sculptures are very similar in style to others scattered through Lykia, doubtless, also, betraying a native origin. In many cases they seem to draw from the same source whence came patterns used in the latter part of the fifth century in Greece itself; but they show a tendency to make these coarser and cruder.[786] This costly tomb at Xanthos was decorated with four friezes, varying in width and excellence; two pediments with reliefs; nineteen single statues; and two groups, which doubtless formed *acroteria*.[787] The widest of the friezes, a part of which is represented in Fig. 184, measures ninety-six centimeters in height, and is in Parian marble. There can be little doubt that it surrounded the entire base, or *podium*, at about a man's height above the ground. It represents throughout warriors in excited battle. The combatants here are heavily armed, or clad in tight *chitons*, all girded low at the waist. Some of the shields have a peculiar addition, not found elsewhere in sculpture. It is a representation of a heavy cloth hanging from the lower side to protect the warrior, — illustrating actual armor, — and showing a realism not met with in Attic sculpture, but calling to mind painting on vases of the fifth century, which doubtless reflect the influence of the great Ionian painters of the day.[788] One of these curious shields, with a hanging, is borne by the warrior represented in Fig. 184 behind the rearing horse. In the introduction of such pictorial motives, we may see the strong characteristics of these marbles, which, as Furtwängler with much reason believes, must have drawn their inspiration from the Ionian school of painting. The composition of this frieze, in single highly excited groups of a few figures each, is more agreeable than that of the others of this monument, although the execution does not surpass that of the second frieze. In a few cases great skill is shown in poses which indicate indecision, or waiting to strike; but the repetition of the same motive, the absence of expression

Fig. 184. Part of the Widest Frieze from the so-called Nereid Monument. Xanthos. British Museum.

on the most of the faces, and lack of finer individualizing of the forms, cause one soon to weary. Close observation will find many motives which seem direct reminiscences of Attic sculpture of the second half of the fifth century. Such are the fallen warriors under the horses' legs, like those of the Athena Nike temple frieze. Several of the horses seem almost taken from the Parthenon frieze, and two of the heads from the shield of the Athena Parthenos. But the fluttering skirts, the transparent drapery, and the mode of warfare, in all of which there is much that is very pictorial, show, on the whole, a style nearer akin to other Lykian sculptures, such as those on a rock-tomb at Limyra, a tomb-building at Telmessos, and on a tomb-enclosure discovered at Gjölbaschi.[789] Judging from the remarkable import of the remaining friezes, we may conclude that the warlike experiences of the tomb-occupant are here celebrated; although it is possible that some mythic battle is intended. The second frieze, also of Parian marble, but somewhat narrower, being sixty-two centimeters high, was carved in higher, more square relief, and surrounded, no doubt, the top of the solid stylobate of the tomb. It represents scenes of attack and siege with all the prosaic truthfulness of actual warfare. Here is an army marching in closed ranks. An attack is being made at a city-gate (Fig. 185). A ladder placed against it, and held by two warriors kneeling at its base, is mounted by very large soldiers; while within the fortifications are to be seen long-haired men. In another part of the same frieze, the fortress is hard pressed by besiegers. In each of its openings is seen a soldier's head, indicating, doubtless, the strength of the garrison; while the distress prevailing within is expressed by the gestures of a woman throwing her arms wildly above her head. Still a third time the fortress appears, but empty, guarded only by one or two soldiers; while the conqueror outside, seated in state with an umbrella held over his head, like an Oriental tyrant, receives two bearded men, who seem to parley with him concerning the conquered. Although in this frieze the execution is excellent, showing a practised chisel and an acquaintance with good models, still how different this realistic and pictorial manner of representing victory and landscape from that of reliefs found on Greek soil. Many parallels to this mode of representation, however, exist on other Lykian monuments as on the tomb of Märähi, now in the British Museum; on a tomb at Tlos, a cast of which is in the British Museum, Nos. 126, 127; as well as on reliefs at Pinara,[790] where the whole city seems to be pictured; and on those in Vienna, from Gjölbaschi. In all these we may believe that scenes from paintings floated before the sculptor's mind. This pictorial element prevails to such an extent throughout Lykian sculptures as

Fig. 185. A Part of the Second Frieze from the Nereid Monument. Xanthos. British Museum.

to make it evident that the subtle, plastic sense of the pure Greeks was lacking among the men who executed them. The scenes on this second frieze, from their correspondence with the account of the siege of Telmessos as given by Theopompos, make it probable that the fall of that town before Pericles, the satrap of Lykia, is here represented; his splendid career thus being pictured on his tomb.[791] The date of this prince is somewhat doubtful; but there are reasons for placing him in the latter quarter of the fifth century B.C., an age which would tally with the style of these sculptures, so akin to friezes of that time in Greece itself.[792] In these warriors we see the same treatment of relief as in the Parthenon, the girdles girded far down, the emphasis given to the lower end of the chest, and the eyes almost in full front, where the faces are in profile. These characteristics, besides many resemblances to the frieze of the temple of Athena Nike, in the way in which the form is made to show through the drapery, go to make it probable that these sculptures in Lykia are products of about the same time, and not of a later day, as has usually been supposed on account of their excited motion. The third frieze of this Xanthos tomb, of common Asia-Minor marble, and only forty-five centimeters in height, ran along, strangely enough, immediately above the Ionic pillars of the same marble. In Greek buildings a plain or simply banded architrave was always interposed between the frieze and the pillars, thus better framing the sculptures than here. The subjects of this third frieze are exceedingly real: gifts of animals, rabbits, a goose, kids, besides baskets of various sorts, are brought. Hunting and battle scenes are also seen, for which there are frequent parallels on other Lykian tombs.[793] This third frieze is very inferior work, and mainly interesting as a chatty tale of the doings of Pericles and his associates. The fourth frieze, but forty-three centimeters high, and carved in Asia-Minor marble, is of better workmanship, and probably crowned the *cella*-walls of the tomb-temple. Here animals are being led to the altar: men stand quietly leaning on their staves, seemingly in conversation, recalling similar groups on the Parthenon frieze, and excellent in execution. A peculiarly Asia-Minor scene is also represented (compare frieze from temple at Assos). Eighteen men, reclining on couches, partake of viands brought to them by male and female servants, who hasten back and forth, concerned that all go on well. High jars of wine stand around. A dancing-girl, in long garments, amuses the guests from her raised stand. The richer couch, with a dog lying under it, is doubtless occupied by Pericles himself, the lord in whose honor the feast is held. The winged figure of Nike approaching him, with hand extended, and once doubtless holding a wreath, shows that in this scene his victories are celebrated. Similar festive scenes occur frequently in Lykian monuments, in which the wife and family also share. Some of these are among the most attractive specimens of Lykian sculpture: thus, the colored sculptures of the rock-tomb at Myra, a part of which exist in casts in the British Museum, show such grace

and skill in detail, that they well may be ranked with this Nereid monument. This Myra relief has the feast separated into three parts. In one a semi-nude, bearded man reclines, and raises high his *rhyton;* while a nude boy stands by. A beautiful, seated, fully draped female sits in another part, attended by a girl and boy. Still again, other members of the household appear, each an agreeable figure, but, in the straggling and disconnected putting together, quite different from the compact composition of Attic tomb-reliefs.

On a tomb at Cadyanda, reliefs of similar, but still more graceful, character occur, and show the introduction of children being fondled by their mothers. One holds her child, as in the so-called Leucothea relief of the villa Albani; another presses it to her breast; and a graceful group of four are intent upon some game.[793a]

But to return to Pericles' sumptuous tomb at Xanthos: in one pediment a battle-scene occurs, in which a rider, doubtless Pericles himself, appears as if triumphant. In the other, he is seated with his wife, child, and faithful dog, in such dignity, that he has been taken for Zeus. The statues of this tomb are far more puzzling than the reliefs. Of these, four strangely conventional and fierce lions — two of which are in the British Museum — crowned, it is thought by Furtwängler, the corners of the pediment as *acroteria.* It is worthy of notice, that they greatly resemble the same beast on the terra-cottas from Melos, discussed above, p. 234, which are doubtless genuine Ionian creations.[794] Others have thought these lions must have stood below the pillars, but their shapes seem to militate against this theory. Two groups of youths carrying off maidens are also difficult of explanation; but Furtwängler believes, that, with the smaller forms among the Nereids, they made up the central *acroterion* of the structure, which must have been large like the *acroteria* of the Delos temple, and, perhaps, represented the rape of the daughters of Leukippos by the Dioscuri.[795]

There remain the lively, swiftly moving crowd of female figures, giving the name to the monument, a few of which are represented in Fig. 186. They are all clad in light, transparent drapery, and poised, for the most part, in mid-air; their garments alone being attached to the solid earth by means of some small symbol, — a sea-animal, a crab, a fish, or a duck, — above which they seem to float. They are all nearly life-size, and, like the two widest friezes, are in Parian marble. From signs of attachment, found between the columns in the temple-part of the tomb, raised high in air, there can be little doubt that these rushing, maidenly forms stood one in each intercolumniation, and, "by filling up the void spaces," to use Falkener's words, "appeared to give strength and compactness to the ærostyle arrangement; and the balance of parts is such, that it is difficult to say whether the statues were made for the intercolumniations, or the opposite."[796] The great similarity of these statues to one another, their dolphin-like leaping movements, together with

their attributes, which are all marine, mark them as belonging to the sisterhood of the fifty daughters of Nereus, conceived to have sported, like true denizens of the sea, in and about its depths.[797] How bold the effort on the part of the sculptor to represent in marble such fleeting beings! Compared with Paionios' Nike and the Delos *acroteria*, there are many points of resemblance. Here we have the same broad, flat chest, the narrow hips, the deeply placed girdles, the open Doric *chiton*, the rapid movement, and the drapery caught up and bulging out behind the back, the addition of small attributes at the feet taking animal forms, and, in general, the same pictorial conception controlling the sculptor. The execution is, however, less successful, being much dryer than in the more generous forms of Paionios' Nike. But, because so well preserved, these lively figures, with their transparent drapery, offer us priceless testimony to a stream of art, pictorial in its nature, which owed, no doubt, much of its inspiration to painting, and ran parallel with Attic art. The heads, probably destroyed by Christian iconoclasts, are all gone.[798] Were these and the lost arms preserved, doubtless much of the impression of exaggeration made by the statues would be modified. The whole female form, appearing through the sheer garments, is thin and meagre, and the surface lacking in enlivening detail; one figure alone being, to some extent, an exception. The gauze-like drapery is monotonous, and astonishingly pictorial in its treatment, especially where caught up. A channel cut the whole length of each fold destroys, moreover, whatever plastic vigor the drapery might otherwise have had. Could we see these figures projected on a flat surface, the pictorial impression would, no doubt, be more agreeable than it now is, and suggest antique painting, such as the beautiful flying figures of Pompeii.

Fig. 186. Three Nereids from the Nereid Monument. Xanthos. British Museum.

But what may be the purport of this leaping, lively throng of Nereids about the grave of a Lykian monarch, otherwise encircled only by scenes commemorating his victories and earthly pastimes? Welcker and Urlichs imagined, that, in the popular fancy, these marine beings would appropriately come from the tortuous bays and gulfs bounding Lykia, to celebrate these victories.[799] The Nereids were, in ancient belief, most frequently connected with the Isles of the Blest, and hence associated with the immortal state of heroes and great

men. To those isles Thetis, accompanied by the Nereids, escorted her son Achilles to become immortal; there the Athenians believed their martyred Harmodios to dwell; but especially did royal princes participate in the immortal saintship of those islands, about which sported the Nereids, in whose company, according to Pindar, eternal life was given to Ino.[800] On Roman sarcophagi, where Nereids surround or even hold the portrait of the deceased, there can be no doubt that they symbolize the blessed state of the dead; but so poetic a conception in art doubtless originated much earlier than in that late prosaic age. According to Michaelis, we may consider this monument to be the first instance in which Nereids appear as signifying the sojourn of a king in the Isles of the Blest. Moreover, we know that the Lykians were fond of kindred allegorizing scenes, such as the souls being borne away on the so-called Harpy tomb.

Happily, still another Lykian monument, magnificent in extent, has at last been rescued from oblivion. This is a splendid *Heroön* discovered by J. A. Schönborn at least forty years ago. Since that day it has remained unnoticed until the Austrians, under Benndorf and Petersen, in 1881, again went in its search, and were amply rewarded for their untold hardships by the importance of the sculptures found, which are now transported to Vienna.[801] In the midst of a wild, almost Alpine, landscape, near the retired village of Gjölbaschi, an imposing wall was discovered, enclosing a large, court-like space, within which were the ruins of the tomb proper, — a huge sarcophagus, about which were found only fragments of relief and a part of one statue. The enclosing wall was, however, rich in its adornments, both within and without. The southern, or entrance, wall (Fig. 187), was elaborately decorated on the exterior; while all the inner walls had their finish in two rows of sculpture near the top, but strangely enough, in composition like painting, the scenes passed over occasionally from one row into the other. In the centre of the south wall is the elaborate portal, now so high above the surrounding soil that it is difficult to clamber up into it. Over this portal were four kneeling winged steers, between which were rosettes and a Gorgon head in low relief. Just below this protecting decoration, warding off evil, as it were, appeared, as in other Lykian tombs, the deceased and his family, here accompanied by a dog and tortoise. Fortunately no clamps had been employed in building these solid walls, for they would doubtless have been torn down in search for the metal. As it is, the sculptures, for the most part, still faced the walls in their original position until removed to safer quarters by the Austrians; and so their interpretation is a much easier task than it would otherwise have been. But they had suffered much from their exposure for ages to the corroding sea-air and the winds of the Mediterranean. The stone used is from the neighborhood, and porous in its nature. Although marble-like in appearance when first cut, it gains in time a gray color; and its grain is such that the original surface-finish, so necessary

to full expression in sculpture, has vanished. But, notwithstanding all this, enough remains to be of great archæological interest; showing us, as it does, the influence of the Ionian painters on sculpture, and teaching us how those old sculptors interpreted into stone many myths recorded in verse by the Homeric poets, but heretofore only known to us in art through humble vase-paintings, or crudest Etruscan reliefs.

On the entrance-wall the scenes were mainly of intense contest. Those in the upper frieze, to the right of the gateway, represented a combat between warriors, several of whom were mounted. Possibly here was intended a battle between Greeks and Orientals, or Amazons; but the variety of cos-

Fig. 187. View of Great Heroön at Gjölbaschi. Lykia (Southern Wall).

tume is such that it is difficult to decide this question. Below was a hot contest between Lapithæ and centaurs, a few of the motives being those met with in the friezes of the Temple of Theseus at Athens, and of Apollo at Phigaleia. The scenes to the left of the door, although separated in two rows of relief, seem to have been conceived as belonging together. Here, in the upper row, the mythic expedition of the seven against Thebes was recognized by Petersen among the sadly injured blocks. Capaneus, who, according to myth, boasted, that, even should Zeus' lightnings assail him, he would still scale the walls of Thebes, is here seen falling backward from the ladder, fatally wounded by the lightning, which does not, however, seem to have been expressed in the relief. Amphiaraos, who, according to myth, was swallowed up by the earth when fleeing on his chariot from Thebes, here sinks into the earth, the wheels and horses' legs having already disappeared, while he

stands upright, looking up and trying to protect his head with his right arm, perchance from the shafts of the "Thunderer." A veiled deity, perhaps Zeus himself, is enthroned above this scene; and the remainder of the frieze is occupied with contending warriors, all Greek in costume. Corresponding to Amphiaraos' sinking chariot, in the extreme end away from the door, there were seen close by the door leaping steeds and a beautiful chariot, doubtless bearing away Adrastos, the only one of the seven who, according to myth, survived the fatal siege of Thebes. Below Adrastos' chariot, as the reliefs stood, a throned man received messages, doubtless of the coming battle, in which the landing of warriors from ships had a part, prows being seen at the opposite end of the frieze. But what mythic, or possibly historical, battle is here represented has not yet been recognized.

Stepping inside of the massive encircling wall into the enclosure, we should find, that, on each side of the gateway, very graceful figures of dancing-youths, standing on tiptoe, and wearing a *calathos* and transparent drapery, had their place; while above, eight strange, dwarfish sprites, as repulsive as the god Bes of Egypt, were making music for this peculiar dance. This dance, though usually celebrated in honor of Demeter and the Asia-Minor Artemis, here in Lykia had a very appropriate funereal application, being often seen on Lykian sarcophagi, where sometimes girls instead of youths stand on tiptoe, with the strange, basket-shaped *calathos* on the head.[802]

But how varied the subjects, and how extensive the decoration, that was spread out on the interior of this great court, on each side of the door, and all along the walls, sometimes at their top, and sometimes somewhat below! Here appeared the favorite Lykian myth of Bellerophon slaying the Chimæra; scenes of feasting and dancing, which seem a reflex of actual funereal repasts and celebrations; besides many scenes of Homeric and other myth, such as the slaying of Penelope's suitors, the hunt of the Caledonian boar, the rape of the daughters of Leukippos, contests of centaurs, Amazons, and many of the single deeds of Theseus. Centaur and Amazon contests were represented, both on the exterior and interior. So rich is the sculptured story, that as yet the poetic web, into which the sculptors wove their stories, has not been unravelled. It seems almost as though the field they had to occupy was so great, that, without any particular connection, they poured out of their store of national legends such as they had ready expression for; and that they thus held to traditional types already developed, is evident at every turn. So in the Caledonian hunt, as frequently on vases, the boar occupies about the middle of the scene, and is attacked by dogs in front and behind. Above him Theseus swings his club; and in front Meleager hurls his lance, supported by the mighty, well-armed Peleus, carrying a short sword, and by the graceful Atalante, balancing on tiptoe in her eagerness, and shooting the arrow which is first to strike the destroying brute. On one side, somewhat removed from the

hard-pressed boar, two heroes are bearing off Ancaios, fabled to have received his fatal wound in this great hunt; and on the other side a hero falls at the feet of his comrade. Still a third is wounded, but able to walk away, leaning on the shoulder of his fellow. This pleasing group clearly follows some type which floated in the mind of the sculptor of the Amazon frieze of Phigaleia, or else is a copy of it, as some think. At Phigaleia the wounded man's noble form appears in beautiful contrast to that of his draped companion, and the two are closely drawn together. Here the wounded is fully clad, even to a cap, and tries to support himself in part by his long stick.

One of the most unique of these storied scenes, and hitherto only pictured to us in feeblest Etruscan reliefs and in a vase-painting, is that where Odysseus (Ulysses) wreaks his vengeance on Penelope's shameless suitors. This scene appears in the frieze which occupied the inner side of the entrance on the south wall (Fig. 188, *a*, *b*). Following the story, as we have it in Homeric myth,[803] we hear that the suitors for Penelope's hand often —

> "Hastened to the halls
> Of the divine Ulysses, where they laid
> Their cloaks upon the benches and the thrones,
> And slaughtering the choice sheep and fatling goats
> And porkers, and a heifer from the herd,
> Roasted the entrails, and distributed
> A share to each. Next mingled they the wine
> In the large bowls."

Then we hear how

> "Pallas, the goddess of the azure eyes,
> Woke in the mind of sage Penelope,
> The daughter of Icarius, this design:
> To put into the suitor's hands the bow,
> And gray steel rings, and to propose a game,
> That in the palace was to usher in
> The slaughter."

We see Penelope climb the lofty stair, and take down the bow, and see her go into the great hall, and stand by the "columns that upheld" "the stately roof," a "lustrous veil before her cheeks," and "on either side of her a maid." Then we see the trial of the bow, and Eumaios take it from the suitors, and hand it to Ulysses. We hear Telemachos bid his mother withdraw, and hear her weep "her well-beloved lord" Ulysses, till the "blue-eyed Pallas came, and poured upon her lids the balm of sleep." We see Ulysses try the bow, turning it, "eyeing it from side to side," and "trying it for fear the worms, while he was far away, had pierced the horn." We hear the suitors doubt his skill.

"But when the wary chief
Had poised and shrewdly scanned the mighty bow,
Then, as a singer, skilled to play the harp,
Stretches with ease its new fastenings,
A string, the entrails of a sheep,
Made fast at either end, so easily
Ulysses bent that mighty bow. He took
And drew the cord with his right hand: it twanged
With a clear sound, as when a swallow screams.
The suitors were dismayed, and all grew pale.
Jove, in loud thunder, gave a sign from heaven.
The much-enduring chief, Ulysses, heard
With joy the friendly omen which the son
Of crafty Saturn sent him. He took up
A wingèd arrow that before him lay
Upon a table drawn; the others still
Were in the quiver's womb; the Greeks were yet
To feel them; this he set with care against
The middle of the bow, and toward him drew
The cord and arrow-notch, just where he sat,
And, aiming opposite, let fly the shaft.
He missed no ring of all: from first to last
The brass-tipped arrow threaded every one.
Then to Telemachos Ulysses said,
'Telemachos, the stranger sitting here
Hath not disgraced thee. I have neither missed
The rings, nor found it hard to bend the bow.'
He spake, and nodded to Telemachos,
His well-beloved son, who girded on
His trenchant sword, and took in hand his spear,
And, armed with glittering brass for battle, came
And took his station by his father's seat.
Then did Ulysses cast his rags aside,
And, leaping to the threshold, took his stand
On its broad space, with bow, and quiver filled
With arrows. At his feet the hero poured
The wingèd shafts, and to the suitors called,
'That difficult strife is ended. Now I take
Another mark, which no man yet has hit.
Now shall I see if I attain my aim,
And by the aid of Phœbus win renown.'
He spake, and, turning, at Antinoüs aimed
The bitter shaft, — Antinoüs, who just then
Had grasped a beautiful, two-eared cup of gold,
About to drink the wine.
Sideways he sank to earth; his hand
Let fall the cup; the dark blood, in a thick, warm stream,
Gushed from the nostrils of the smitten man."

Then the poet describes the anguish of the falling. Alone Eurymachos found voice, who thus pleaded, —

> "There lies the man who was the cause of all,
> But now he has met his fate. Spare, then, thy people."

His request failing, we see Eurymachos turn to his comrades, and counsel them, —

> "Prepare
> For combat, then, and draw your swords, and hold
> The tables up against his deadly shafts,
> And rush together at him as one man."

Melanthios, the keeper of the goats, we see stealing through the door to get "shields, helms of brass, each with its heavy horse-hair plume," but finally to suffer the ignominious death of hanging for his treachery. The poet, after all the confusion of slaying the many suitors, makes Pallas hold on high her fatal *ægis*.

> "From the roof
> She showed it, and their hearts grew wild with fear."

The singer, son of Terpios, alone escaped. Telemachos begs for Medon, the herald who crouched underneath a throne, —

> "Wrapped in a skin just taken from a steer,
> To hide from the black doom of death."

Then

> "Ulysses goes out stained with blood, and grimed with dust, . . .
> As when a lion, who has just devoured
> A bullock of the pasture, moves away,
> A terror to the sight, with breasts and cheek
> All bathed in blood; so did Ulysses seem,
> His feet and hands steeped in the blood of men."

Finally we hear the well-beloved nurse tell of the fifty serving-maids "whom we have taught to work, to comb the fleece, and serve the household," —

> "Twelve of these have walked
> The way of shame."

Then we see the women, "lamenting loud with many tears," come to clean the blood-stained feasting-hall; and afterwards we hear of their woful fate.

The *mêlée* of falling and fallen, and the blood mixed with the viands, are vividly pictured in verse; but, in the sculptor's story, we find many variations from the poet's dread picture. We first look (Fig. 188, *b*) into the feasting-hall, where single pillars indicate the many columns of the apartment. Rich couches bear the feasters; and the huge vase for wine, in front, hints to us

their revels. By the door through which the keeper of the goats, Melanthios, steals to bring down shields and helmets, stand, as do the Tyrant-slayers of Athens, the father and son, the aggrieved Odysseus in front, drawing the bow, which must have been indicated by painting. The victim on the front couch must be Eurymachos, who, with hand raised, expostulates with Ulysses; others, behind, following Eurymachos' advice, hold up tables to protect themselves; a third is sorely wounded in the back; a fourth holds up his garments, perchance to shield himself. The one who lies stretched out, his cup fallen from his hand, must be Antinoüs. Possibly the one kneeling, as though to conceal himself under a table, is Medon, the herald; and thus the scene continues, there being four more victims who do not appear in our engraving. At the opposite end, another part of the story seems to be hinted at (Fig. 188, *a*). Here must be Penelope and her maidens. The stately figure of Penelope in

Fig. 188, b. The Slaying of Penelope's Suitors. From Gjölbaschi. Vienna.

a

"lustrous veil" is erect among her attendants; since in the sculptor's rendering of the myth she does not, as in the poem, sleep. On either side of her stands a serving-maid, the veiled one perhaps the well-beloved nurse. Beyond must be one of the unfaithful maids, cast down and distressed; and another fleeing in fright. Odysseus, "begrimed with blood, hastens" to the cleansing of the now polluted feasting-hall. Not the least interesting fact in connection with this scene is, that it appears, but abbreviated, on an Attic vase from the second half of the fifth century, found at Corneto, and now in the Berlin Museum,[804] these motives in common showing that the original must have belonged to a still earlier date. History has happily preserved to us the fact, that, in the *pronaos* of the Temple of Athena Areia at Plataiai, Polygnotos painted the slaying of Penelope's suitors;[805] and there is every reason to believe, that all these objects — the beautiful vase-painting, these very pictorial Lykian sculptures, as well as crudest Etruscan reliefs, which treat of the same subject — derived more or less indirectly their artistic

motives from the picture by that great master. In the vase-painting executed in Athens, there is the most beauty; and the graceful combination of the unfaithful maidens there with the rest of the scene, as they look on at the fate of their unhappy lovers, seems to give us an inkling of the power of the original, and we better understand its influence on all the art of later times.

a

On the inner side of the west wall were two long friezes, battle-scenes of varied purport, but most curiously united with one another. Thus, for a long distance in both, Amazon conflicts appear: then, in the middle, comes the picture of a besieged city, in which, in the upper row (Fig. 189, *a*, *b*, *c*), (in the frieze in one continuous line), the besieged are throwing down stones on the heads of warriors in the lower row, who are trying to protect themselves with shields. Battles between

b

Fig 189. Part of Reliefs which lined the Walls of the Heroön at Gjölbaschi. Vienna.

Greeks, in which ships must have had some part, complete the decoration of this western wall. But to return to the besieged city in its midst. A part of the turreted walls, crowned at regular intervals by towers, appear in our cut, but not their pointed, arched gateways beneath, through which the besiegers represented in the lower frieze press.[806] In the midst of the city we see the front of a temple (Fig. 189, *a*), and, not far removed from it, two throned figures (Fig. 189, *b*), — one bearded, and seated on a lower throne, perhaps an old king; and the other a female figure, and seated higher up, probably a goddess. All around the battle rages fiercely; and very remarkable is the perspective of those armed warriors (Fig. 189, *c*), who, seven deep, are preparing to receive the besiegers coming up through the gate from below.

c

Away from them all, one warrior, with raised hands, seems to be offering prayer; while another, with lifted sword, is preparing to slay the ram for sacrifice. Outside of all this tumult are, besides, scenes in which the unhappy besieged depart, with their goods and families borne on beasts of burden. Thus the scene, in its multitude of pictorial subjects and details, is also most clearly an echo of painting translated into stone.

We know that Polygnotos painted, in the Temple of the Dioscuri at Athens, the rape of the daughters of Leukippos; and it seems very probable, that in some of the sculptures of the north side of our Gjölbaschi tomb, where this whole story is told, we have many motives developed by the great master.[807] There are scenes of offering before a temple, accompanying the nuptial festivities of the beautiful Hilaeira and Phoibe, daughters of Leukippos. The crowd is in great excitement; for from among them two youths bear off in their chariots the two struggling brides, but to be followed by the lawful bridegrooms on horseback, determined to have vengeance on these ruthless Dioscuri: the father and mother stand by, distressed witnesses of the scene. Thus, although sadly injured, these representations give us the artistic language in which these sculptors of an early day in Lykia told their mythic lays. The date of these marbles must, no doubt, be about that of the so-called Nereid monument, since they are very much alike in style; but the possibility of the better comparison of these monuments by casts may in time give us a more accurate date. With these recently recovered Lykian monuments, we have priceless witnesses to art-streams of which we had scarcely an intimation before; and doubtless study will trace still more clearly the various currents.

Turning now from the sculptor's work in far-off, mountainous Lykia, we may pass over to the flourishing Greek lands in Southern Italy and Sicily. We should find that the victory over the Carthaginians at Himera (480 B.C.) inaugurated a period of artistic activity similar to that in Athens after the Persian wars. The names of but two men, however, from Southern Italy, are preserved to us, — Sostratos of Rhegion, nephew of the great Pythagoras; and Patrocles of Croton: but of these men hardly any thing is known.[808] From Sicily no names are preserved: but as, during the first half of the century, the Tyrants made thank-offerings at the Greek shrines; so, during the latter half, temples were put up, their ruins and sculptural decorations still existing. Still, these are very scanty; and, were it not for the additional testimony of coins, we should indeed have a very feeble idea of the artistic achievements of these Greek peoples during this great period.[809]

On the road to the harbor of Acragas (modern Girgenti) was put up a temple to the victory-bringing Zeus, its height being double that of the Parthenon, and its area of 369 by 182 feet surpassed only by that of the Artemesion at Ephesos built in the following century.[810] When, in 405 B.C., the opulent

people of Acragas were conquered by the Carthaginians, this great temple, which was well-nigh completed, was destroyed. In the pediments, however, had been carved groups, which, according to Diodoros, concerned the siege of Troy and the battles with the giants. Each individual figure was characterized; but the fragments are so mutilated, that the different heroes can no longer be recognized; and we can only admire the grand, free treatment of the forms, although they are in the common limestone of the country. Besides these sculptures, there stood against pilasters of the ground-floor colossal giants, their heads bent forward, and arms behind their necks, upholding the protruding roof of the *cella* sacred to the great conqueror of the giants (Fig. 114). One of these unwilling servants of Zeus now lies prostrate among the imposing temple-ruins, behind which rises the purple and smoking Ætna, while in front rolls and plashes the sparkling blue sea. How admirably the forced service of this rebellious giant is expressed, astonishing the modern traveller by the adaptation of his strained, huge limbs to his heavy task, his eyes cast down, and his hair severely regular! The contrast is most striking, between his burdened form and the free and easy but dignified bearing of the maidens of the Erechtheion at Athens.

Fig. 190. Metope from Selinus. Actaion devoured by his Hounds. Palermo.

Besides these colossal architectural sculptures from pediment and *cella*, may be mentioned a stone fragment of a medallion-like relief in grand style, found in the sea near Girgenti, and now in the British Museum. It represents a male and a female head, perhaps the helmeted Pelops and veiled Hippodameia, who were specially honored in Sicily.

At Selinus, also, there was much carving at this time; and the erection of a treasury at Olympia, the ruins of which have been found, shows there, too, the work of Sicilian artists. From the temples at Selinus, built before the destruction of the city in 409 B.C., we need mention only two or three metopes, now in Palermo, which reveal a strange union of archaic stiffness in drapery with freedom in the treatment of the face, as well as a curious manipulation of the stone. Thus, in those subjects where fair women appear, their faces, hands, and feet are rendered in white marble, superadded to the coarse limestone in which the remainder is executed, and remind one of the similar treatment of the female form on black-figured vases. All the peculiarities of these sculptures may be well seen in that metope where Hera in bridal beauty appears

before Zeus, and in the one where Artemis watches the deserved fate of the hunter Actaion (Fig. 190). According to one story, for boasting that he could surpass the skill of this huntress-goddess, and according to another, for daring to watch her as she bathed, Artemis turned Actaion into a stag, to be torn in pieces by his own pack of fifty hounds. In the sculpture we see many of them falling upon him; but his form is still purely human, — a fine contrast to the stiff drapery of the goddess. In the heavy forms and general conception, we are, moreover, strongly reminded of the style of the still older Selinus sculptures, of which these seem the natural outgrowth. With these metopes found in Selinus, we close our survey of Greek sculpture developed during the latter half of the fifth century B.C.

On reviewing the whole field for that age, we see that art stood on very different levels at the same time in different parts of the ancient Greek world. We find that Athens first, and then Argos, were the centres of artistic influence. By Athenians the lofty ideals of a Zeus, Athena, and Asclepios were incorporated in numerous chryselephantine and marble statues; and in Argos the athlete's sturdy form in bronze was perfected, and a canon of proportions for the human frame established. The remains of temple sculptures showed deeper, intenser passion beginning to be expressed; but in the faces of gods, goddesses, heroes, and men, we saw written only the noble being of the soul, not its varying and fleeting emotions. We have seen a grandeur and powerfulness of build for male and female forms, and a noble simplicity in drapery, which characterized this age alone, and was in perfect harmony with its sublime ideals.

But the broad field of human passion and individualism was not yet entered upon, and many new ideals of gods and goddesses were still to be developed.

THE AGE OF SCOPAS, PRAXITELES, AND LYSIPPOS;

OR,

SCULPTURE DURING THE FOURTH CENTURY B.C

FROM ABOUT 400 TO ABOUT 323 B.C.

CHAPTER XXIII.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION AND EARLIEST ATTIC SCULPTORS OF THE FOURTH CENTURY B.C.

Changes in Attica at the Beginning of this Period. — Political Decline of Athens. — Condition of Attica during Time of Alexander. — Private Patronage. — Attic Sculptors in Foreign Parts. — Influence of Peloponnesian War. — New Elements in Society and Art. — Change in Character of Subjects. — Susceptibility of Greeks to Impressions through the Eye. — Sculptors' Grasp of the Spirit of the Times. — Kephisodotos. — His Works. — His Activity in Arcadia. — His Eirene. — Greater Emphasis of Emotion than in Pheidian Age. — Other Sculptors.

Could we be carried back to that time about the close of the fifth century B.C., when such great Athenians as Pheidias, Sophocles, and Socrates had passed away, we should find younger men rising to fill their places in carrying on the great mission of Hellenic culture. We should find, that, as the fourth century dawned, the gifted sculptor Scopas was gaining fame, and that Kephisodotos, the father of the celebrated Praxiteles, was already in his prime, while his greater son was probably in his infancy.

Although through such men the chain remained unbroken uniting the earlier to the later times, yet great changes had come over the Greek state and people, which should leave their impress on art. A destructive war between 431–405 B.C. had ravaged the land. Before its dire shadow passed over the sunny valleys of Greece, Athens, as we have seen, had been the proud ruler of the seas, the political, as well as artistic, centre of the Greek world. Sparta, watching her course with ill-disguised jealousy; Corinth hating her, because Athenian war-ships hemmed in her commerce; Doric Thebes, finding but little sympathy with Ionian Athens; and even far-off Syracuse, joining its voice in the murmur raised against her, — united in bringing on this terrible war; its devastating campaigns raging for full thirty years over unhappy Greece. Athens was humbled; her once proud navy shrank to mean proportions; and, with the loss of their head, a spirit of individual self-assertion was nursed among the dissevered states. In the midst of her other troubles, Athens was visited, during the Peloponnesian war, by the frightful plague, which counted among its victims many of the greatest and best men, including Pericles himself. These calamities could not fail to have a demoralizing effect upon the survivors. Agony and despair engendered a spirit of selfishness. Through dread of contagion, the well frequently neglected to care for their dying friends, and even omitted

the rites of burial, held to be most sacred and essential by all the Greeks. Thukydides laments,[811] "The manly race of old Athens is swept away, and a worse one left behind." But this race, thus despised by the older generation, gave birth to men who developed many powers which had hitherto lain dormant, and in what concerned patriotism, eloquence, philosophy, and art, proved themselves to be no unworthy heirs of the former glory. Different, indeed, from the men of the older time is the galaxy that now meets us; but even the mere recital of the names belonging to this century — Plato, Lysias, Lycurgos, Demosthenes, Epameinondas, Pelopidas, Isocrates, Æschines, Praxiteles, Scopas, and Lysippos — dazzles the imagination with the brilliancy, originality, and great worth of the characters marshalled before the mind's eye.

Outward circumstances had radically changed with regard to the patronage of art in its great centre, Attica. After the costly and humiliating war, the Athenian state remained a mere shadow of her former self. Her stores of gold and silver, which had seemed inexhaustible under the wise rule of Pericles, were gone. The islands and cities which had paid their annual contributions into her coffers, now refused their tribute; and her colonies, another important source of wealth, were in the hands of her enemies. The history of Athens from 400 B.C. was no longer the record of successful aggression, but of a struggle to maintain her own independence. Her patriots, indeed, sought to raise her to the place she had once occupied: but their efforts were spasmodic; and, after each vain endeavor, the city sank back, politically weaker than before, and more prone to give herself up to pleasures, abundantly provided by wily politicians, who were in search of public favor. Although Conon, in the early part of the century, restored somewhat of Athens' glory; yet nothing could save her, as well as her sister states, from the threatening northern foe, Macedonia, which from being obscure and despised, as without the pale of civilization, came, by the middle of the century, under Philip's guidance, to the very fore-front of history, and in the memorable battle at Chaironeia, Aug. 7, 338 B.C., completed the subjugation of the other states. Philip, however, had been educated as a Greek; and, while he despoiled other cities, he was lenient to Athens, the hearthstone of Hellenic culture. Lycurgos, the friend of Demosthenes, then improved the state of the treasury, and was able to complete buildings commenced, beautify the Theatre of Dionysos, and put up in it statues to great Athenian poets of the past. With the accession of Alexander, 336 B.C., an era of foreign conquest was inaugurated. His campaigns into the far East fill up the time till his death, 323 B.C., ushering in a new age. From the accounts of contemporary history, we are wont to imagine Athens, during this latter part of the century, as utterly servile and cringing to the different tyrants, and given over to pleasures; but inscriptions, recently discovered at Athens, record energetic and manly action, giving us reason to take with many grains of allowance the gloomy records of the character of this time.[812]

Much impoverished as a state, and lying humbled before jealous enemies, Athens could, through this ever-changing century, offer little stimulus to great and monumental works, such as the costly temples and chryselephantine statues of the Periclean age, thank-offerings from a grateful people. But there were still great riches among her private citizens, and that exquisite love for the beautiful still breathed which ennobled every thing it touched. While, in older times, the abodes of even great men like Miltiades, Themistocles, and Pericles had been simple, and the temples alone ornate and costly, now the rich vied with one another in the magnificence of their dwellings, provoking the bitter reproaches of Demosthenes. That the private patronage of sacred art was also on no mean scale, appears from the upbraidings of the orator Isaios directed against Dicaiogenes, who allowed inherited dedicatory offerings, valued at three talents (thirty-five hundred and forty dollars), to be left scattered about unconsecrated in the studios.[813] The numerous and stately tombstones preserved to us from this time, on which appear forms of heroic size, also witness to this generous private encouragement of the sculptor's art, even in its humbler walks. But Athenian sculptors were not forced to look for commissions to private citizens alone. Outside of Athens there was great activity. Thebes, in its short period of glory under Epameinondas; and the Peloponnesian state of Messene, which flourished under Theban protection; with Megalopolis, and other cities springing up on its soil, — required their services. Besides, in Asia Minor there was no longer any thing to fear from the now declining Persian power; and great riches were accumulated by its rulers and people, who were strongly Greek in character and tastes. Moreover, by this time the ascendency of Athens in art must have been acknowledged throughout the Greek world.

Such facts, doubtless, explain the custom prevailing among well-nigh all the Athenian sculptors of this century, of leaving their city, and finding employ ment abroad. Thus Athens, by her very misfortunes at home, was made to share with the outside world of the best of her great inheritance. The monuments of this age, in gold, bronze, terra-cotta, or marble, whether in Bœotia, the remote Crimea, or Asia Minor, all witness to the influence of her beautiful art and spirit, to which even the stern Doric Peloponnesos does not seem to have remained insensible.

The Peloponnesian war, which had thus revolutionized Athenian art in its outer circumstances, affected it still more deeply as the mirror of the innermost character of the people, now greatly changed. The repeated and radical revolutions in the state could not but shake the popular faith in the old constitution; and the great misfortunes, culminating in the dissolution of the old order, tempted each man to look to his own interests, regardless of the public weal. In his complex character, Alkibiades, of the latter half of the fifth century, well prophesied the fickle versatility and brilliancy of the people of this time. Impatient of the old ways, his efforts were centred in self-aggrandizement;

but so many generous and noble traits were there in his character, that he was a favorite of Socrates; and his amiability, and capacity to rule, made him the idol of the Athenian people at large. Even in apparel he foretold the luxury of the new time, wearing trailing garments of purple, and carrying a golden shield; while his faultless form was the admired model which inspired many artists.

In religion the people easily came to believe that the gods had deserted them, or even proved false by giving at the oracles responses which had brought disaster in their train. Hence, it is not strange that trust in the older concrete gods became weaker, and that beings of a more abstract nature, such as Fortune (Tyche), Peace (Eirene), and Riches (Plutos), came to enjoy equal honors, and that many of the minor gods played a more important part. The Pheidian age, with its sublime ideals and golden colossi of Zeus, Athena, and Hera, has now indeed been left behind; and, from the Olympian heights of majesty and repose, the road slopes downward, but through ravishing vales, among the haunts of men, and scenes of quiet, peaceful beauty, having a charm which is their own. In the former age the individual was merged in the whole; the private weal was subservient to the state: but now the individual man attained complete development, and many a character of rich beauty and symmetry sprang out of the new soil. Broader culture and altered circumstances were favorable to the unfolding of thoughts and forms such as would have been inconceivable during the earlier sublime age. Indeed, this unfolding in society was in keeping with the whole tendency of the Greek mind, which unrolls before us, in its literature, a continual passing from the outer to the inner life, until finally the drama paints, not actions, but the soul-struggles which gave rise to them, finding her strength in the whole play of human passion. Thus slowly, and after many struggles, the old myths were worked over into broadly human outlines: that which once repelled by its crudity and barbarism was made to quiver with noble sentiment, and give utterance to ethical truths drawn from the whole range of human experience. The pathos of sorrow, joy, and despair, and all the other emotions which move the heart and urge to action, press into the foreground. The storms of passion now beat, even over the heights of Olympos; and the gods themselves are seen battling with the tempest. The severer tragedies of Æschylos and Sophocles yield in the people's preference to the pathetic power of Euripides, who tears the veil from before the dwelling of the gods and immortal heroes, and reveals them as human beings like those about him, affected by the varying shades of joy and sorrow, from the wild passion of a Phaidra to the desperate broodings of a Medeia.

In its outer forms also life had become more agitated. While Pericles had always appeared before the assembled people with unruffled mien, and sought to keep their temper quiet, even in the fire of his eloquence, holding his voice

and movements so under control that the very folds of his loosely hanging garment remained unchanged, many coming after him excited the people, and with violent gesticulations strode to and fro before their hearers, vehemently throwing their arms about them. The dignity and reserve characteristic of the earlier day had left its impress on art; but, with the change in the views and habits of society, this older art could have been retained only as a stereotyped and lifeless form. As poetry had assumed a more human character, so, also, sculpture took on more familiar shapes, and, descending from the heights of glory which it had occupied during the Golden Age, held more intimate communion with men in their varying emotions. Fully to appreciate what is expressed in the sublime forms of Pheidian art, fully to enter into their spirit, and the devotion which produced them, something seems to tell us that we must be Greeks. But not so with this art of the fourth century: its ideal conceptions, of rarest freshness and beauty, come to us expressing traits common to all humanity, and appeal to us to-day as strongly as they did to the Greeks of old.

This change in the conceptions of people and sculptors is evident in the choice of subjects, and in the different mode of treatment. Pious offerings were still to be made, no longer, however, mainly to the highest gods, but to those of a more human character. Thus, instead of Zeus, Athena, Hera, and their peers, we meet a fluctuating throng, in which we see the forms of the maternal Demeter, proud Niobe, charming Aphrodite, bewitching Eros, raving Bacchante, and pleasure-loving Dionysos. Here every chord of human feeling is touched; and these Greek forms of more than twenty-two hundred years ago express our joy, our sorrow, and our pleasure. To this changing panorama, with varying charms of mood and feeling, the Attic sculptors of this time added an elegance and a captivating grace of form not met with before, and stimulated by the lighter spirit of the people. After the stern days of the Peloponnesian war, there had sprung up among the Athenians an unwonted desire for what was pleasurable and diverting. This appears from many laws then made, a contrast to the severe heroic spirit of the older age. Even military discipline was relaxed; and armies were disbanded, in order that the soldiery might return to Athens to share in public festivals. The surplus of the state income, which had in former times gone into the war-fund, was now diverted to these festivities; and about 353 B.C. a law was passed, making the proposal, even, to defray war-expenses with this money, punishable with death.[814]

How intensely what was pleasing to the eye affected the Greeks, and how ennobling the qualities attached by them to impressions thus derived, it is difficult for us moderns fully to realize; since not actual vision, but purely mental contemplation of the great and good, is with us moderns considered most potent in rousing to noble action. With the Greeks it was, however, far otherwise.

Through the eye they received those impressions by which they were most deeply moved. Thus the sight of the beautiful, they tell us, actually roused noble feelings, and inspired to heroic deeds. Poetry incorporated this mysterious inspiring influence in one of its most exquisite creations, the god Eros. Men like Plato and Demosthenes sought to rouse their fellow-countrymen, not by appealing to deep mental absorption, but to the direct, actual vision of the beautiful.[815] Isocrates praises the dramatic poets; because, as he says, they have brought the weighty myths of the past, not only to the ear, but also before the eye, and attained results which oral warning alone could not have done. That the art of this century, the heir of a most glorious past, should have realized and benefited by the charms of all that appealed to the eye, every monument from that age teaches us.

How the sculptors of this age caught its changed spirit, and with what exquisite grace and nobility they gave expression to the pleasurable in art, will be shown in considering the forms created by Praxiteles and his compeers, whether found in humble vase-paintings, or in imposing temple-statues. In their hands the beautiful, womanly Aphrodite will draw admirers around her, as well as the sublime but stern Hera, or imperious Athena: the mild Apollo will be more gracious, though less imposing, than the supreme Zeus. And yet these later Athenian artists, far from neglecting the ideal tendencies which they had inherited from their fathers, carry them on into wider, richer realms. No harsh realism disturbs the dream-land in which they live. Apollo, singing to the notes of his lyre, is not any individual lyre-player, but the most perfect personification of musical inspiration. Hermes is no youth whom we chance to meet, buried in pleasant thoughts: he is the incorporation of all that is possible of joy and beauty in the soul, caught and made eternal in marble. Thus, while the Pheidian ideals of the highest gods were deserted, this later Attic art was equally ideal in its bent, catching and expressing the momentary or lasting emotions of the soul in varied forms, and so widening and deepening the current of eternal beauty.

As Plato and Aristotle in this century towered above a crowd of minor philosophers, so Scopas and Praxiteles represented the highest attainments of sculpture in Athens; while Lysippos of Sikyon, with his realistic tendencies, is the most prominent figure in the Peloponnesos.

ATTICA.

The master who introduces us to Attic sculpture at the threshold of the fourth century is Kephisodotos, the father of the great Praxiteles, and of noble connections; his sister having been the wife of the honored general, Phokion.[816] Probably as early as 392 B.C. he was a celebrated man. In connection with Conon's victories over the Spartans at Cnidos, he seems to

have executed statues of Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira for the Peiraieus, as well as an altar there, described by Pausanias as of very superior workmanship.[817] The Zeus stood holding a sceptre and a Nike, a continuation, perhaps, of the use of Nike employed, as we have seen, by Pheidias in his Zeus and Athena. It is possible that Kephisodotos' Zeus was but the ancestral type of many small standing bronzes, such as one found at Paramythia in Epeiros, and now in the British Museum. In this nude, bearded figure, the raised arm rests on a sceptre; and the other is extended as if to hold a Nike, which tiny figure is now gone. But Kephisodotos, like all his successors, seems to have left Athens for other parts; and it was for the new city of Megalopolis, founded in Arcadia in 371 B.C., and doubtless for its recently erected shrines, that his works, seen by Pausanius, were executed. In the Temple of Zeus Soter in this city, the main deities were by him and by one Xenophon, otherwise scarcely known to us. Here was a seated Zeus in Pentelic marble between a standing city-goddess of Megalopolis and an Artemis Soteira.[818] Again, we find Kephisodotos executing two different groups of Muses for Mount Helicon in Bœotia.[819] Of an orator by him, we only know that he was represented as extending the hand.[820]

One beautiful group by this master, which was praised by Pausanias, has been recognized by Brunn in a most pleasing copy in Attic marble, in the Glyptothek at Munich (Fig. 191).[821] The original monument, seen by Pausanias, represented Eirene, or Peace, holding the babe Plutos, or Riches. The appropriateness of representing Peace as holding Riches in her arms pleased the ancient traveller; since, as he well says, wealth can alone be secured under the fostering care of Peace. During the early part of the fourth century, the war-harassed Athenians must have had similar feelings; since, after the battle of Leucas in 375 B.C., the cult of the goddess of peace was renewed with great earnestness. She was then raised from a minor to a very high rank in their faith, regular offerings being made to her, and a rich ceremonial attending her worship; for this it, doubtless, was, that Kephisodotos executed the statue seen by Pausanias in the public place. Athenian coins repeatedly reproduce a stately female figure, holding on her arm a babe; and, by comparison with them and Pausanias' statements, the group in Munich, originally from Italy, was recognized as being an echo of a favorite work of antiquity. Fragments of the child Plutos, recently found in the Peiraieus, show, that, in Greece itself, Kephisodotos' group was also reproduced.[822] The marble group in Munich, represented in the cut, will win from the modern observer a loving admiration, even though he be unable to enter into the feeling of the ancient Athenians towards its great original. The meaningless vase, now restored in the child's hand, as may be gathered from the coins, should have been a horn of plenty, — a most suitable attribute for the god of plenty; and the right hand of the goddess should have been clasped firmly

around a sceptre, indicative of her high rank among those who guide the destinies of men. How grand, nay, even sublime, this matronly form, with build and drapery reminding us of the Pheidian age! Even the undulating border, which marks the Parthenon marbles, is evident on her hanging mantle, and indicates that the statue is a copy by an Athenian master. The manner in which the arms come out from among the folds of the drapery, and the sharpness in the treatment of the hair, seem, moreover, to show that the original was in bronze. But, while there is so much in its build to remind us of the glorious creations of the Pheidian age, additional elements of soul-feeling, here brought to exquisite expression, witness to the dawning of that age when every sweet and subtle emotion should be caught, and made enduring in forms of universal and ideal meaning. Here the severer goddess of the olden time is made with more bended head, to look in true motherly love down upon the nursling sitting easily on her arm. With affectionate baby-gesture, he stretches his little hand toward her face, and is no longer rendered as a mere attribute held on her hand, as was the case with the Nike held on the hand of Pheidias' Athena Parthenos, and other older statues.

Fig. 191. Eirene with the Child Plutos. Munich. A Copy of an Original by Kephisodotos (slightly restored)

Still one other group, recorded as the work of Kephisodotos, must have incorporated a kindred thought, — fraternal affection. It was a Hermes caring for his little brother, Dionysos, or, as Pliny says, "*Mercurius Liberum patrem in infantia nutriens.*" [823] Thus, in all that we know of Kephisodotos, he worthily introduces us to the new time, showing us in his spirit the passage from the contained grandeur of the older, over to the beaming, soulful life of the younger, age. The very way in which his Eirene bends her head, more deeply than do older figures, indicates the change that was going on. In the

archaic tombstone relief of the villa Albani, described p. 234, the same general motive is treated; but the mother's head is erect, and we are obliged to imagine much into the scene. From the Pheidian age we have no kindred representation to compare with this work of Kephisodotos, in which even in cold marble the bended head eloquently and fully speaks a mother's love and tender care, requiring no aid from the imagination, and being the forerunner, as Brunn beautifully expresses it, of "the age of drooped heads."

A few men of minor fame were contemporaries of Kephisodotos, but of their works we know only the names. Xenophon worked with him in Megalopolis, and with the aid of a Theban, Callistonicos, executed for Thebes a Tyche, or goddess of fortune, with the child Plutos on her arm, — a subject evidently akin to Kephisodotos' Eirene.[824] Of an Athenian, Eucleides, who must have been active soon after 372 B.C., we know, that for the temple at Bura, in Achaia, which, with its sacred images, was destroyed by earthquake, he executed the new objects of worship, statues of Pentelic marble, representing Demeter, Eileithyia, Dionysos, and Aphrodite, the two latter without drapery; and, for Aigeira, a throned Zeus, likewise in Pentelic marble.[825] Polycles, a fourth Athenian artist of this time, is known only as having made a portrait of Alkibiades.[826]

But the Attic art of this century owed its fame, not to Kephisodotos, and to this knot of men of his time, but to their greater contemporary, Scopas, and to Kephisodotos' own son and scholar, Praxiteles.

CHAPTER XXIV.

PRAXITELES AND HIS WORKS.

Praxiteles. — His Versatility and Productiveness. — Probable Duration of his Career. — His Hermes at Olympia. — Description of the Statue. — Comparison with Other Works. — Style of this Work. — The Babe Dionysos. — Resemblances to Kephisodotos' Eirene. — Group of Silen and Dionysos. — Evidence of Advance in Composition. — Praxiteles' Works in Athens. — His Satyr, "Marble Faun." — Similarity to Hermes. — Praxiteles' Works in Megara, Bœotia, and Phokis. — Eros. — Statues in Other Places. — Aphrodite of Cnidos. — Head from Olympia. — Apollo Sauroctonos. — Reports concerning Other Statues. — General Characteristics of Praxitelean Art.

PRAXITELES was born in the Attic *demos* Eresidai, and is said by Pliny to have lived in Olymp. 104 (360 B.C.). But it is probable that his artistic activity commenced somewhat earlier, and lasted until into the time of Alexander the Great.[827] He must in his youth have felt, not only the influence of his father, Kephisodotos, but also of Scopas, this Parian master having come to reside in Athens about 375 B.C.[828] If we are to believe the reports of the ancients, the productiveness and versatility of Praxiteles' genius were scarcely paralleled. Partly in view of the great number and variety of his works, — nearly threescore being mentioned as from his hand, — recent criticism has attempted to make out the existence of an older Praxiteles, grandfather to the celebrated master.[829] To this older Praxiteles, assumed from a name Pasiteles, occurring in Pausanias, have been attributed many groups which otherwise were believed to be by our Praxiteles of the fourth century. This practice of doubling the old masters is shown, however, by Brunn to be a dangerous expedient, which forces literary tradition; and hence, until more light is thrown upon the matter, it is safer to accredit Praxiteles with the fame he enjoyed.[830]

His works were originally set up in different parts of Greece and Asia Minor, but many of them were removed to Rome in later times. From their wide distribution, it is inferred that the life of Praxiteles, like that of the most of his fellow-sculptors, was spent partly in his native land, and partly in the opulent satrapies on the opposite shores of the Ægean. His early youth was probably passed with his father in working for the Peloponnesos. When Epaminondas conquered the Spartans in 371 B.C., and sought to raise up the oppressed states of that peninsula, a new Messene was built for the returned Messenian exiles; and, in Arcadia, Megalopolis, worthy of its name "the

great city," and Mantineia, were now restored. In Megalopolis, Praxiteles' father, Kephisodotos, as we have seen (p. 433), was active; and it is most probable that temple-statues, in the neighboring Mantineia, were executed at this time by Praxiteles himself. His later career, occupied with greater tasks for Athens, Bœotia, and Asia Minor, there are no means of tracing with definiteness; nor are we told how long he lived; but from a recorded fact, that his friend, Phryne, defied Alexander after the destruction of Thebes (335 B.C.),[831] it is probable that Praxiteles also witnessed the crushing blow given to the liberties of his country by Philip, in 338 B.C., and that he even watched the young Alexander mount to power, and become the conqueror of the world. There is, however, no evidence, that, like some of his compatriots, the then aged Attic master was ever in the service of this Macedonian monarch, or of his successors.

From his long life of richest creative activity, one genuine original has, happily, been given back, after centuries of slumbering oblivion in the bosom of the earth, — the Hermes with the Dionysos babe, discovered at Olympia (Selections, Plate VIII.).[832] When Pausanias visited Olympia, nothing seems to have interested him more than the very ancient Temple of Hera, containing the casket of Kypselos, and many very ancient figures in gold and ivory of gods and goddesses after the stiff old idol style. After the description of these objects he laconically adds, "In later times, other works were also consecrated in the Heraion, — a Hermes of marble: he carries the babe Dionysos, and is the work of Praxiteles."[833] Long after Pausanias and after the fall of the ancient classic world, barbarian settlers wrought changes at Olympia, to suit their own convenience. In the rear part of the temple a wine-press was arranged, traces of which were found by the German excavators; and in the front was built a brick wall. On the morning of May 8, 1877, while the excavators were busy among the ruins of this wall, they came suddenly, among the bricks, upon a marble statue, a little more than life-size, and lying before a broken pedestal. To their great joy, the face, unlike that of most antique heads when raised, was found perfect (Fig. 192). Their feverish delight can scarcely be imagined, when, on examination, they recognized the very statue described by Pausanias as executed by Praxiteles. Precipitated from its pedestal, the figure seems to have fallen first upon the right arm, which is broken away, and then over upon its left side, thus fortunately preventing the head from coming into sudden and disastrous contact with the ground. The bricks used in building the statue into the Byzantine wall had served as a further shelter; and, although a fine moss has gathered upon the cheeks, in the main the exquisite surface is unmarred. The left hand, a model of manly strength combined with youthful freshness, is beautifully preserved, and is closed, doubtless, about some attribute, now gone, — perhaps Hermes' short *kerykeion*. The god's shapely marble legs from below the knees, and a part of his pedestal, had been ruthlessly broken off and dragged

away. Happily the right foot, wingless, and girt with a sandal on which are still traces of gilding, was dropped within the enclosure of the temple-columns, and found there only twenty-five centimeters below the surface, trodden into the earth. Its exquisite shape, which seems to swell with the softness of flesh under the graceful sandal; the finely proportioned toes, the middle one dominating over the others; and its delicate surface, making it, perhaps, the most beautiful foot preserved to us from antiquity, — sharpen our desire to obtain the missing parts of the statue, such as, for instance, the god's right hand once raised on high; but, the excavations being terminated, it is doubtful whether we shall ever be favored with a sight of these lacking members. Rude hands had likewise torn away the babe Dionysos from Hermes' arm. Its head was found dropped on a pile of rubbish about eighty meters distant from the temple, and its little body built into a wall in another and remote part of the *altis;* while the tiny draped legs were left to cling to their seat on the god's strong arm, and one little hand to press his shoulder. But enough remains to make the idea and movement of the group unmistakable.

In the faith of the Greeks, Hermes was not only the messenger of his father Zeus, speeding over land and sea to do his bidding. He rested in his course among the fields, rich with cattle; and they flourished by reason of his presence: or, laying off his mantle and winged cap, he exercised his lithe members until they became the ideal of physical force, agility, and skill for every Greek youth in developing his own powers. But, besides, Hermes delighted to care tenderly for the little ones, and, when robbed of their parents, was present with speedy relief. So he saves the babe Asclepios, plays nurse to the young Heracles, and when Semele is consumed by the thunderbolts of Zeus, and her babe, Dionysos, appears among the Olympic deities, an unwelcome sight to Hera, it is Hermes who speedily plans safety to his helpless infant brother, and, seizing him, carries him swiftly away to the Nymphs, who give the young god a mother's love, and in the lively company of satyrs, silens, and bacchantes, train him for his future mission as god of wine and merriment.

In this priceless statue of softest-glowing Parian marble, Praxiteles shows us this Hermes devoting himself to watching over his little brother, with whom, as is clearly the thought of the group, he merrily plays. On a strong tree-trunk Hermes rests his left arm, where sits the babe. Did the god in the raised right hand once hold out to the child a bunch of grapes? or did his hand rest on a long *thyrsos*, as we might be tempted to think from the analogy of gems and the like?[834] The fact that both shoulders are on one level seems to indicate that the right arm did not thus rest, but raised something; since a support would have caused the right shoulder to sink below the level of the left one. Holding something up in mid-air seems also indicated by the extended muscles and swollen veins.[835] By a natural motion, the god bends his head towards this raised arm, the direction of which must have broken

Fig. 192. Head of the Hermes by Praxiteles.

beautifully the wavy, swelling line of the right side, and, at the same time, given marvellous grace to the composition. In addition, the expectant, questioning pose of the child's head seems to confirm the idea that Hermes held in his right hand some tempting object, probably grapes, as though he already divined the favorite passion of his baby brother, the future god of wine. With such a raised bunch of grapes, the sculptor Schaper, in Berlin, has conceived the god in his plaster restoration (Fig. 193). It is interesting to see how so distinguished a modern sculptor reconstructs the fragmentary work of one of the greatest of old masters. In this restoration, however, the sweep of Hermes' right arm, and the omission of his attribute, around which the left hand doubtless closed, seem to swerve from the thought of the original; and the thickness of Hermes' left ankle, and chubbiness of the baby's arm, in contrast to the meagre severity of its antique body, might, with advantage, have approached nearer to the spirit of the Greek original.

In the fragmentary original at Olympia (Selections, Plate VIII.), we see the little one, full of childish enthusiasm, almost spring from the strong arm on which he sits, supporting himself by pressing with the right hand the brother's strong shoulder. Tipping his head, he looks up into the face bending over him, and must have reached out his left hand beseechingly for the tantalizing fruit. Thus, on one side, the grapes nodding temptingly, but out of reach, and, on the other, the importunate child, draw the beholder's thought and attention back and forth, forming a charming side-play to the main subject, the god Hermes himself, whose gaze, absorbed in dreamy, pleasant thought, passes beyond his charge.[836] But Hermes' face, so full of gentleness and possibilities of affection, with which seems linked a quiet, lurking merriment, seen especially about mouth and eyes, shows that he cannot have forgotten his little brother. For a moment, with youthful roguishness, he tantalizes the impatient child; but, at the next, we feel sure his look will fall upon the restless little pleader, even now in his thoughts, and the grapes be lowered to the tiny, outstretched hand. We see by all this that the emphasis is laid upon Hermes, here the principal god. Quietness in the composition of the group is thus preserved; while the momentary withholding of the gift from the child is full of promise for his future gratification, and gives continuity of thought to the action. By this treatment, moreover, how beautifully are contrasted the restless eagerness of the child, and the noble quiet of his divine brother, doubtless the object of veneration. How deep and tender the thoughts expressed! Watchful love, childish confidence and glee, revelations, as it were, of the sweetest and noblest in human nature, here appear in forms combining strength with exquisite grace. On Hermes' curling locks, which are of a darker tone, indicating the presence of color, there once rested a wreath, perhaps of metal, as appears from a depression in the hair. The wonderful boldness, almost sketchiness, with which the hair is executed, may at first

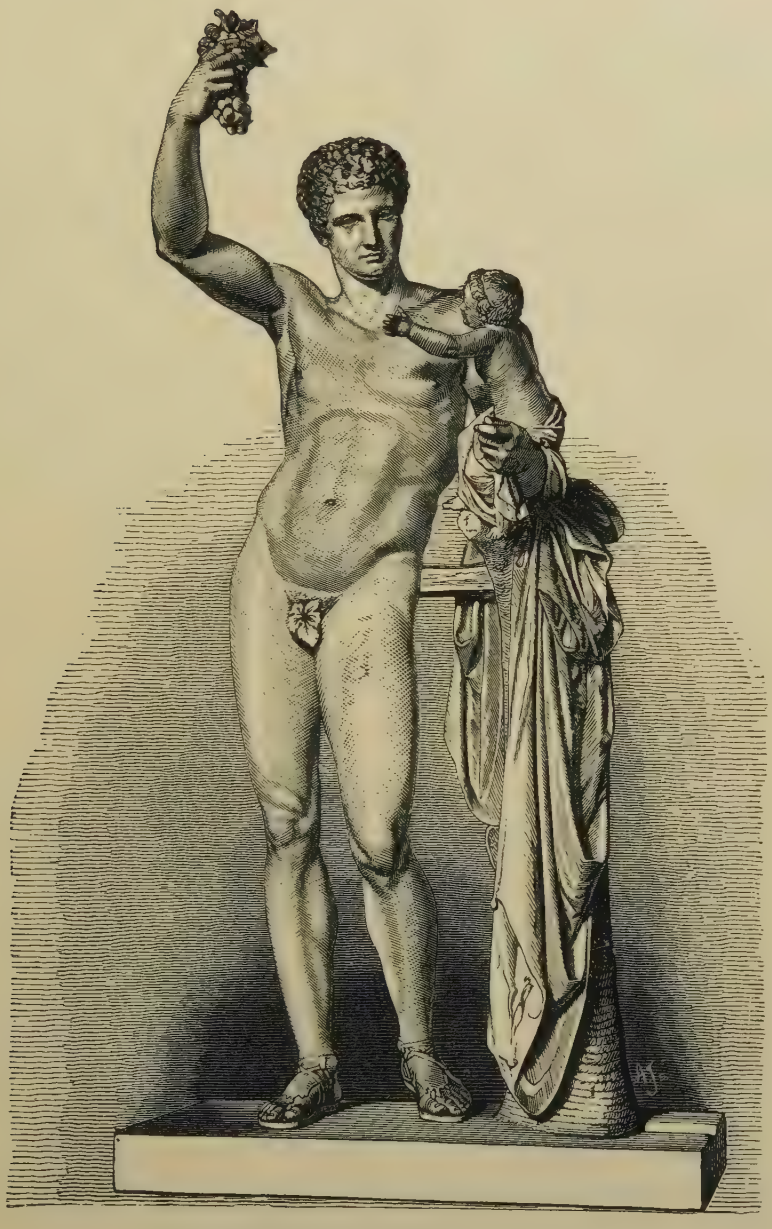

Fig. 193. Restoration of the Hermes by Schaper. Berlin.

sight seem careless; but this very free treatment brings out the subtle, smooth texture of the skin in a beautiful manner peculiar to marble. Indeed, throughout the statue, the master's power of making this material speak its mellow language is apparent, and confirms a favorite, if exaggerated, statement of the ancients, that Praxiteles surpassed even himself in the handling of marble.[837]

As throughout the development of ancient Greek art, each master leaned on those who had gone before, using traditional forms, but continually ennobling them; so between this exquisite face and that of the Myronesque athlete, dropping oil in his hand, described on p. 295, a striking resemblance has been discovered.[838] But in this face of Hermes, the god of the athletes, Praxiteles has clothed with new beauty the more physical conception of the older master, having made the oval longer and more graceful, set the eyes more deeply, and cast over the whole a delicious veil of soulful interest and absorption, unseen in the face of the oil-dropping athlete, as a comparison of casts of the two strikingly shows. Across the Hermes' noble forehead passes a thoughtful line, dividing a strong projection, most prominent over the nose, but disappearing in the eyebrows. The eyes, deeply embedded beneath the brows, at once bewitch us. Their upper lids arch proudly; but the lower ones, as if preparing for a smile, glide gently up on the ball in liquid lines of almost feminine grace. Most fortunately, the nose is preserved in its perfect lines. A comparison with the restored and sadly disturbing nose of the Venus of Melos will show what a piece of good fortune it is that we have one perfectly uninjured on an original Greek statue, and that statue the work of Praxiteles. Other lines, producing beautiful effects, are those from the outer corner of the eye to the ear. The temples, instead of swelling outward, and forming a broad setting for the eye, as in the representative Teutonic face, here retreat directly. Most characteristic in this face are the quivering lines of the mouth, ready at any moment to break into a smile; and the playful dimple in the chin. The neck is columnar, and the shoulders broad and masculine, as becomes the sturdy athlete; but the graceful bend of the body, caused by the god's leaning on the tree at his side, brings out curves at the hips which tone down severity in this manly form. Strongly pronounced muscles are seen throughout, and yet the gently flowing skin over all melts the whole into rare harmony. Thus, while approaching in grandeur the Olympos of the Parthenon (Fig. 158), this Hermes far surpasses it in bewitching beauty. Only above the right knee and in the massiveness of the shoulders is there apparent any of the lingering severity of earlier art. But, strangely enough, the back of this otherwise perfect statue has been left unfinished. The chisel-strokes, varying from very fine to broad and deep ones, show the different stages of the work. How to explain this strange fact still remains a puzzle. The statue stood between the second and third columns from the temple entrance, its back towards the dark wall;

and it is possible, that, in view of this lack of light, it was left thus incomplete. But even these unfinished parts are of interest, as teaching us that Praxiteles used the same-shaped tools as those employed by sculptors of to-day.

To the quiet nude form of Hermes the master has wrought a wonderful contrast, by the drapery hanging over his arm, and replete with broken lights and shadows. How different from the treatment of the Parthenon drapery is this of the god's mantle, dropped carelessly at his side! The fluted edge has disappeared, to give place to a border sewed in with regular seam by skilful hands; and the simplicity of the former folds has given place to intricacy and almost superabundance of details, which seem well-nigh photographic in their truthfulness. In the Parthenon sculptures, the large folds pass one into the other without those sharp and angular breaks which are caused by the natural weight of the material when left to fall loosely. Such breaks, or eyes (*occhi*, as they are called by the Italians, and well illustrated in Dürer's drawings), appear, as the rule, in Hermes' drapery, showing a conscious and thorough departure from the older, simpler treatment. Besides, the surface is enlivened with innumerable wrinkles, enhancing its intensely real character, and heightening still more the beauty of the rounded and gently flowing lines of the god's strong form.

But what a contrast to Hermes' well-proportioned frame, soulful face, and natural hair, is the babe Dionysos. Although, as compared with the god's mature shape, the child is disproportionately small; yet his form does not express early infancy. In nature the head of infancy is large as compared with the body; but here it is small, and covered by archaic regular locks, falling in even lines from the crown, and bound about with a band near the forehead. The face is childlike, but has not the chubby, fat cheeks of babyhood. Besides, the form is firm and muscular, like that of adults, and the drapery about the limbs like that worn by older gods. Altogether, in this babe, form, face, and drapery are ungainly and quaint. These peculiarities involuntarily call to mind a similar feature of early Italian art, in which the beautiful Madonna is often coupled with a Christ-child of crude and archaic form. Even Raphael's Christ-child, in his early pictures, does not reach the tender, perfect bloom of the babe in his later works, as in the Della Sedia, or the Sistina. How to explain similar peculiarities in the Hermes group, and still have it keep the high place it has won in our affections, Brunn best teaches us by tracing with masterly hand the gradual unfolding of Praxiteles' genius.[839] He reminds us, that, while we are rapt in wonder before Raphael's Sistina, we do not forget his Sposalizio; and that, indeed, by some, the budding, tender, timid beauty of the Sposalizio is preferred to the riper perfections of the master's later works. Thus, Brunn believes, that, in this Hermes, many reminders of what had gone before combine with a new and peculiar beauty to show us the work of Praxiteles' youth, before his genius had fully enkindled with new fire the thoughts and forms

received from the past. It was, doubtless, during the time while his father, Kephisodotos, was employed at Megalopolis, that Praxiteles put up temple-statues in the neighboring Mantineia. In the Temple of Asclepios was his marble group of Leto and her children, surmounting a pedestal, on which was Marsyas playing a flute, and a muse; and, for the Temple of Hera, he erected a seated statue of that goddess between Hebe and Athena.[840] The similarity in the description of this latter group to that of one by Praxiteles' father at Megalopolis, a seated Zeus between Tyche and Artemis, goes to confirm the belief that these must have been works of Praxiteles' youth. And that, at the same time, he should also have executed for the neighboring Olympia the Hermes group, is most probable, especially as there are no indications that he was ever again in the Peloponnesos, his energies later having been employed for other parts of the Greek world. Moreover, Praxiteles' Hermes, caring for the babe Dionysos, calls to mind the fact, that the same subject had been treated by his father, described by the Roman Pliny as "*Mercurius Liberum patrem in infantia nutriens.*" Most clearly does a comparison of Kephisodotos' Eirene and Plutos child (Fig. 191) with the son's group, Hermes and the babe Dionysos, show how much Praxiteles owed to his father. The father, departing from the traditional mode of placing the tiny attributive figure on the hand of the main figure, grouped the two intimately. His Eirene cares for her little attendant as any mortal mother would do; and the child sits on her arm, putting its hand up affectionately to her face. But the babe is still so small as strongly to suggest archaic works. Moreover, he lacks the natural infantile form, and is still draped like older gods. So, likewise, Praxiteles puts the child upon the arm of his Hermes, gives him well-nigh the pose of the Plutos, and drapes his little legs; but the fresh, playful fancy of the youthful master manifests itself in the cheery face of the Hermes, roguishly playing with his infant brother, so strongly contrasted to the motherly Eirene by Kephisodotos. As Raphael in his older works reflected Perugino, so here Praxiteles seems to reflect his father's spirit, but, like Raphael, develops his own originality. Eirene has all the dignity and stateliness of the olden time. She stands erect, holding, without support, the child on her arm. Hermes, however, rests his arm half negligently on the tree by his side, his pose becoming thus easier, though less stately, than that of the Eirene.

We have traced the wrestling of the Greek genius with the representation of the quietly standing form, from the crudest statues, resting primly on both legs, up through the many modifications until we came to Polycleitos' perfecting of the difficult theme. The ancients attributed to Praxiteles still one other step; and that was, the taking away of the firm posture, and making the statue scarcely stand directly on its feet, but lean on a support.[841] Here in the Hermes we see the first step towards such new and graceful poising; for, while the god rests the arm, he does not yet lean fully upon the tree, as appears especially

from the back view of the statue. A step still farther on in this change, appears in the copies of the master's Apollo Sauroctonos (Fig. 194), in which the left hand rests lightly on a tree, the right leg just poising the slender body, and the right hand ready to strike the little lizard creeping up the tree. In this attitude the figure seems as though ready to swing around a pivot formed by arm and tree, every shadow of heaviness being gone.

Fig. 194. Apollo Sauroctonos. Vatican.

Fig. 195. Silenus tending the Babe Dionysos. Louvre.

But there is still one other group, breathing so much of the master's spirit, that it seems, in many respects, the full blossom of the bud which we see unfolding with such delicious freshness in the Hermes. This is the group of Silenus caressing the babe Dionysos (Fig. 195). In the best of the many *replicas*, that of the Louvre, the fond nurse of the baby-god actually leans on the tree by his side, his legs easily crossed. The child is now no longer merely a small adult in form, but a true babe; it wears no cumbersome drapery, and

is in perfect proportion to the manly shape of its guardian. The mutual devotion of Silenus and infant-god are, besides, beautifully expressed in their absorption in one another.

Returning to the Hermes, still another sign of the young master's feeling his way to more perfect things, is found by Brunn in the peculiar character of the drapery. In older times, were a support required, it was naively placed, with no attempt at concealment, directly where it was needed; as we have seen was the case with the pillar supporting the hand of Pheidias' Parthenos. In his Hermes, Praxiteles evidently rebels against such bald accessories, and, by means of the full mantle, tries to hide it. But in the very multitude of its crowded, heavy folds, especially under the arm, and in the extraordinary detail of the surface, there is apparent a surplus of labor such as we might readily imagine a beginner, dazzled by the sight of nature, would expend upon incidental objects, and which are not in keeping with the work of a perfect master, who clarifies and ennobles nature. And so in the copies of Praxiteles' other and probably later works, such as the Sauroctonos and Silenus, we shall see that this superabundance has made way for a delightful simplicity, and that details are subordinated to the main lines; thus bearing witness to the noble moderation of maturer powers. There is, besides, in the treatment of the Hermes, especially about the shoulders, a massiveness, seemingly a reminiscence of older art, not perfectly in harmony with the gentle-flowing impression left by the composition as a whole. If such was the budding spring, what must have been the high summer of Praxiteles' powers?

In the Hermes group, so unquestionably an original by Praxiteles, we have the master's own handwriting, as it were; and, by comparison with it, we are brought nearer to an appreciation of his other celebrated works, which, alas! only exist for us in feeble copies.

Besides this Hermes group, Pausanias saw, in the western part of the Peloponnesos, a marble statue by Praxiteles, representing Dionysos in his temple, near the old theatre of Elis.[842] Of the statue, we are told, unfortunately, nothing further; but tradition has piously transmitted much concerning the miracles performed by the god during his festivals, when, as was said, wine flowed out of his sanctuary, and mysteriously filled empty vessels locked up within the building.

But Attica, not the Peloponnesos, was the main field of Praxiteles' activity. Some of his works long remained in Athens, and were seen there by Pausanias; many more were removed to Rome, where they enriched the collections of Roman statesmen, adorned their gardens, such as the Servilian, and beautified their sacred places, such as the Capitol. Of very many of these we have only vague, unsatisfactory notices; but a summary of them will open up to our vision the master's productiveness, as well as the variety of the subjects he treated. A group of the Eleusinian deities, Core and Iacchos, in marble, was

seen by Pausanias, an inscription in archaic characters on the wall stating that it was by Praxiteles. As seems to have been a common occurrence in Roman times, one single figure of a group, as in this case Iacchos, attained great fame, according to Cicero's testimony.[843] One group by Praxiteles embodied another phase of the myth of Demeter, representing in marble, as Pliny gives it, "Flora, Triptolemos, and Ceres," and was doubtless taken from Athens to Rome, where it stood in the Servilian Gardens.[844] A bronze group relating to the rape of Persephone, and another which Pliny simply names *Catagusam*, were in Rome, but came, probably, from Athens.[845] An Apollo and a Poseidon in marble, and doubtless also from Athens, were owned, in Augustus' time, by Asinius Pollio, that consul and statesman who was said to have been most proud of his statuary, in the collection of which he had spared no pains.[846] A statue of Artemis Brauronia, in marble, by the master, was seen in her shrine on the Acropolis by Pausanias.[847]

Of marble figures representing the minor gods of Fortune and Prosperity, Agathos Daimon (*Bonus Eventus*), and Agathe Tyche (*Bona Fortuna*), we only know that they were in the Roman Capitol,[848] doubtless having been taken there from Athens, where, in the fourth century B.C., these impersonal gods came to enjoy greater honors than before. They were invoked at the opening of public rural feasts, before the partaking of a meal, and constantly in ejaculatory prayers analogous to the modern expressions, "Good luck to you!" "God be with you!" In later sculptures, the Agathos Daimon appears as a youth, with horn of plenty and *patera* in one hand, and poppy and ears of grain in the other; while the Agathe Tyche is represented as a draped female, wearing the crown of towers (*polos*), and carrying a horn of plenty; but how Praxiteles represented these gods we know not.

His subjects chosen from the merry train of Dionysos, that god specially honored in Attica, were numerous. On the Tripod Street, at Athens, Pausanias saw the statue of a satyr, of which, as the story went, Praxiteles himself was proud.[849] It is said, that to Phryne he had promised his most beautiful work, but without committing himself as to which he considered to be such. Impatient to obtain the prize, Phryne one day resorted to a wile in order to wring from him his opinion. One of her slaves came running breathless in upon the master with the news that fire had broken out, and consumed many of his works. Greatly agitated, Praxiteles now rushed out exclaiming that all his labor availed nothing if the flames had destroyed his Satyr and Eros. At this juncture Phryne appeared, and quieted him by saying, that in reality no misfortune had befallen him, but that only by this ruse had he been brought to commit himself as to which he considered the most beautiful among his works: whereupon she claimed the Eros as hers, and dedicated it in that god's famous shrine in her native town, Thespiai. Besides this Satyr in Athens, there was a bronze group by Praxiteles, afterwards in Rome, in which the satyr called Staphylos (grape),

personifying the vine, was so much admired, that it received the title Periboëtos (the Famous); but so general are the terms used in its praise, that it is impossible to fix with certainty upon any copy of it. Of the two remaining figures of the group, Dionysos and Methe, we know nothing.[850] In Rome, before the Capitol, were marble figures by Praxiteles, treating of Dionysiac subjects, but only cursorily mentioned by Pliny as Mænads, Thyads, Caryatids, and Sileni: these doubtless came originally from Athens.[851] Besides these representations enumerated from the Bacchic Thiasos, he is said to have executed a satyr which was seen in a temple at Megara by Pausanias.[852] Praxiteles' frequent representation of the forms of Dionysos' pleasure-loving throng has led to a mustering of the ancient monuments of this class, in the hope of finding suggestions of his creations. Among these works is one satyr of such beauty of conception, and having so many points of resemblance to Praxiteles' Hermes, that there can be little doubt that it owes its inspiration to his genius (Fig. 196). This satyr is found repeated more frequently than any other ancient statue, there existing over thirty *replicas* of it, the one in the Capitol at Rome having been made most familiar by Hawthorne as "The Marble Faun."[853] Here we see, not, as in Myron's Marsyas of the olden age, the muscular, wiry, uncontrolled satyr, so nearly approaching the brute creation, that, even without ears and tail, we should at once divine his place below the human level. Ennobled and beautified in every particular, this satyr stands before us the human personification of the luxurious, dreamy spirit in nature. With *nebris* across his chest, he leans one arm on the tree at his side, crosses lightly his graceful legs, and, with slightly bended head, seems absorbed in merry thought. But although fully restored, and enjoying the widest fame, this *replica* of the Capitol is far inferior, as are all the rest, to a sadly mutilated torso, in finest Parian marble, discovered in the ruins of the palace of the Cæsars on the Palatine, and now in the Louvre. A comparison of this torso with Praxiteles' Hermes, which it greatly resembles in treatment and pose, has led Brunn to consider it a second great original from the master's hand, but one in which the shortcomings of youth all appear mellowed and

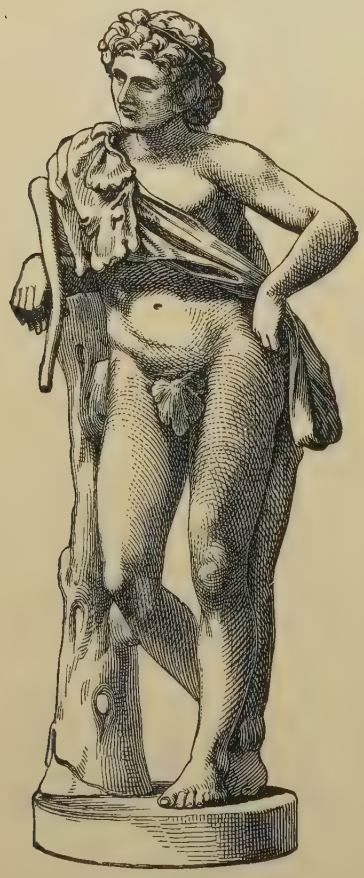

Fig. 196. Satyr, probably copied from an Original by Praxiteles. (The Marble Faun.) Rome.

ripened into the perfect work of the sculptor's maturity.[854] The place of its discovery, not any ordinary Roman villa, but the palace of the emperors themselves, also distinguishes it from the crowd of its brethren, and makes it possible that it is indeed an original. Both this torso and the Hermes are in beautiful Parian marble, and, as already said, show remarkable similarity in their technique. Thus, in the drapery of the Hermes, as well as in the satyr's *nebris*, the rasp alone gives the finish, leaving a rough surface which, while contrasting pleasantly with the nude, closely imitates actual nature. There is also a great similarity in the flow of muscles and gentle surface-play of skin, but in the satyr a surer hand and more perfect harmony are everywhere evident. Thus the massiveness of the Hermes appears here, mellowed down into beautiful harmony with the luxurious rhythm of the figure, making this satyr seem the blossom of ripe Praxitelean art. The tree here serves truly as a stanch support; the body, resting upon it, assumes wave-lines with more pronounced curves than does the Hermes; while, in the accessories, what seemed crowded has become simpler and more appropriate, only a hairy *nebris* crossing the chest.

Megara, not far removed from Athens, boasted very many works from Praxiteles' hand. By the fourth century the industrious and politic people of this city had become wealthy and prosperous. "The people of Megara," says a contemporary, the Athenian Isocrates, "from a scanty beginning, having neither harbors nor vines, but cultivating rocks, have come to possess the largest houses of any people in Greece; and though they have but a small force, and are placed between the Peloponnesians, the Thebans, and our own city, still they keep their independence, and live in peace."[855] In adding new treasures to their ancient temples, it was natural that they should have employed the talent of distinguished contemporary artists. For a very old temple, Praxiteles executed the twelve great Olympic gods; for Apollo's temple, Leto, with Apollo and Artemis; and, for that of Dionysos, a satyr, referred to above, — all of which were in marble. In the Temple of Aphrodite, where were figures by Scopas, there were also a Peitho, goddess of persuasion, and a Paregoros, goddess of consolation, by Praxiteles; and in a neighboring shrine, the temple-statue of Tyche was also by him.[856]

Several places in Bœotia and Phokis, north of Attica, were rich in his works. Perhaps none of these enjoyed a wider fame than those in Thespiai, the native place of the beautiful Phryne, to whom he is said to have owed much of his inspiration. Here, between an Aphrodite by him and his portrait of Phryne, both in marble, stood his famous Eros, which, as Pausanias tells us, Phryne secured from the master, and then consecrated in the shrines of her native city, peculiarly devoted to that god.[857] This statue was of Pentelic marble, and winged. The god appeared with his bow lowered in the right hand, and at the same time, as an epigram says, shooting from his eyes arrows

of love. In Cicero's time this Eros was still to be seen in the temple where it had so long been worshipped. Caligula, however, violated its sanctity, and robbed the temple of its god. His successor, the devout Claudius, returned it to Thespiai, where it remained until once again torn from its place by Nero, who placed it in the Portico of Octavia in Rome. During the reign of Titus it fell, with the portico, a prey to the flames. All that Pausanias saw at Thespiai was a copy, made by one Menodoros, an Athenian, to take the place of the great Eros by Praxiteles; and another copy seems to have been owned by one Heius of Messana, who lent it to far-off Rome to adorn the festivities of C. Claudius.[858] Whether there still exist copies of this Thespian Eros, it is impossible to say; although the famous "genius of the Vatican," and its several *replicas*, may possibly be a remote suggestion of it.[859] There can, however, be no doubt that Praxiteles represented the god, as we see on vases of his century, in the blooming years of early youth, with golden wings, gentle, pensive, and persuasive, rather than as the impulsive and mischievous babe Eros of later days.[860] A fragmentary inscription, discovered at Thespiai, shows that the master executed one other work at that place, namely, a portrait, of which nothing more is known.[861]

At Lebadeia, west of Thespiai, was a statue by Praxiteles, of the hero Trophonios, in marble, and resembling Asclepios; in Thebes, in the pediments of the Temple of Heracles, eleven of that hero's struggles; in Plataiai a figure of Rhea bringing to Cronos a stone wrapped in swaddling-clothes, instead of the dreaded child Zeus; and, in the same place, a colossal temple-statue of Hera in Pentelic marble.[862] In a shrine sacred to Artemis, at Antikyra in Phokis, to the west of Bœotia, was a marble statue of the goddess, larger than the largest woman, as Pausanias affirms. A quiver was on her shoulder, a torch in her right hand, and her hound by her side. She may be feebly reflected to us in an ancient coin of Antikyra, where Artemis appears with such attributes, and drapery bound about her.[863] In Delphi was a statue by him, in gilded bronze, of Phryne, contributed by her to the sacred place.[864] In Argos was a marble figure of Leto, grouped with Niobe's youngest daughter, Chloris.[865]

But it was not in Greece that the master's most renowned work was to be seen. In a statue of Aphrodite at Cnidos in Asia Minor, antiquity seems to have recognized his masterpiece. This figure in Parian marble of the gracious goddess of love and beauty was so highly prized by the people of Cnidos, that, long after its execution, although oppressed with debt, not even Nicomedes' offer to liquidate it for them could tempt them to part with this work.[866] Journeys were made from all parts of the ancient world to the unpretending seaport town, now made famous, to look upon its beautiful marble goddess. She stood in a shrine built purposely for her, and surrounded by shade-trees, which formed a favorite resort for admiring strangers and citizens. From a dialogue, put into the mouth of these strangers by Lucian, we gain some idea

of the appearance of Aphrodite in her Cnidian statue.[867] "The goddess," says one of them, "stands elevated in the middle of the temple, a most perfect form of art in Parian marble, her lips slightly parted as in a gentle smile. Her whole beauty appears, no drapery enveloping her form; but, as though involuntarily, she covers herself with one hand." "So great," he adds, "is the power of the sculptor's art in this form, that the stone, hard and obdurate, seems as though suited by nature to render all the soft and graceful members." After having enjoyed the front view of the statue, the travellers are made to pass to the rear door of the temple, there to gain a view of the back, the perfection of which rouses one of them to an ecstasy of delight. When, in another place, Lucian seeks to paint to a friend the perfect ideal of female loveliness, he says, "Let her head be like that of the Cnidian Aphrodite; the parts about hair and forehead, and the beautiful cut of the eyebrows, like that there rendered by Praxiteles. Let her eye have the soft, swimming expression, the brilliant lustre and charming loveliness, of the eye of Praxiteles' Aphrodite; and her age be that chosen by the master for the goddess." Again, he says, more generally, that this statue must be the perfect image of the goddess as she lives in the heavens; and a whole chorus of epigrams repeat her praise, ringing changes on themes such as these, that Praxiteles must have seen the goddess in person; to Paris himself she could not have appeared more beautiful, and the like.[868] This Aphrodite, so jealously guarded by the Cnidians before the Christian era, is said to have been removed long after to Constantinople, where it fell a prey to the flames.[869] All that remain to us, then, are but feeble echoes of its grace, faintly sounding from coins of Cnidos, of a later day, as well as from a few marbles; the most of these, however, we find it difficult to enjoy when compared with the noble, fresh beauty of the Hermes, from which the master's spirit breathes directly upon us in every exquisite detail of thought, face, and form. On the coins, from which the general composition of the statue may be remotely gathered, the goddess stands lightly on one foot, either dropping or taking up her drapery from a vase by her side (Fig. 197). Her nudity, the falling drapery, and the vase of unguents, seem to indicate that Aphrodite was here conceived as in Homeric song, where, in connection with the bath, the Graces anointed this laughter-loving goddess with ambrosial oil,—"such oil as to the eternal gods lends fresh beauty."[870]

Fig. 197. Aphrodite on Cnidian Coin.

Among the hosts of marble statues of a later time which may be remote variations on Praxiteles' theme, the one which most nearly approaches the composition on the coins, and has the most grandeur of style combined with

simplicity, is a marble figure of the Vatican, which is now much disfigured by thin drapery about the legs, thus covered in pursuance of a papal order, and painted to imitate the marble.[871] The face of the Cnidian Venus is, doubtless, hinted to us by a small head, recently discovered at Olympia, and still there, — a work of greater value than the numerous indifferent copies discovered in Italy. This lovely head, which, alas! is fragmentary, we have represented in two views, — the one in Selections, Plate XIX., to the left, showing the goddess as looking gently forward; and the other, the less successful view (Fig. 198), as having her head thrown somewhat back. The face here has the long, oval shape, the high, pointed forehead, and the surface instinct with life, so characteristic of female heads of the fourth century, and is, doubtless, the work of a Greek sculptor of that age, who, judging from many points of resemblance to the Hermes, may have worked under the influence of Praxiteles. Like so many genuine Greek marble heads, this work, although but half life-size, is made up of several pieces of marble; the back part, now gone, and, consequently, giving the head an unpleasantly low look, was fastened on by a layer of cement still to be seen. The hair, like that of the Hermes, is sketchily treated, and forms a beautiful contrast to the skin and eyes, which are rendered with such exquisite finish and airy softness, that we forget their obdurate material, Parian marble. In the gentle turn of the head, the hair simply but gracefully surrounding the brow, and the eyes full of liquid tenderness, we seem to divine Aphrodite's true womanliness, and power of love; and from the lines of the mouth faintly may we imagine what must have been the bewitching smile of the Cnidian goddess.

Fig. 198. Aphrodite. Olympia.

A veiled marble Aphrodite by Praxiteles, purchased by the people of the island of Cos, was preferred by them to this nude statue of the goddess at Cnidos; and in the Temple of Adonis at Alexandria, on Mount Latmos in Caria, was still another representation of this goddess by the master.[872]

At Parion on the Propontis was a very celebrated winged Eros in marble, by Praxiteles, said to be gentle and winning in mien, and bearing a dolphin and a flower. From a coin from Parion, on which this Eros probably appears,

it is evident that the youthful god looked upward, with head turned slightly toward the side, while his left arm was raised.[873] From a torso discovered at Sparta, as well as from a statue in St. Petersburg, indicating that there was an archaic rendering of Eros, thus looking to the side, it seems evident, that, in his Parion Eros, the master but ennobled a motive handed down from earlier times.[874] The raised arm does not appear in the archaic work, and seems to have been, not only an innovation by the master, but also one of his favorite motives, as it occurs in his Hermes.

At Ephesos, we are told, was an altar "full of Praxiteles' works," doubtless reliefs being meant; but besides a general resemblance to the description of an altar by his father, in the Peiraieus, we know nothing of this work.[875] The existence, however, in Asia Minor of such an object, which must have been far more difficult of transportation than single statues, is strong evidence of Praxiteles' sojourn there; but that, as one author states, he was employed with Scopas and others on the Mausoleum at Halicarnassos, there is little probability.[876]

To Praxiteles, as well as to Scopas, was attributed the creation of the original Niobe group, which was also in Asia Minor; but which of the masters had most claims to the work, antiquity has left undecided.[877]

Still a few other works by Praxiteles, the provenience of which is, however, unknown, are reported to us. Of one of these, a statue in bronze, mentioned by Pliny as a youthful Apollo watching for an approaching lizard, and called the Sauroctonos, or Lizard-slayer, several copies in bronze and marble are preserved (Fig. 194).[878] There have been many attempts to connect with the religious significance of the lizard this subject, in which Apollo, resting lightly on a tree-trunk, seems to be watching to strike the reptile creeping up the bark.[879] The lizard, like the snake, was supposed to have oracular powers, and to be fond of music, and was consequently associated with this god of divination and music. But no intimation that the god attempted its destruction is to be found in mythology. It is more likely in keeping with the tendency of the age, to bring the gods down to a human level, and to emphasize their human character, that the Apollo Sauroctonos is simply a transformation of the far-shooting archer-god into a merry, playful lad, trying his skill in aiming at the darting lizard. Even the second-rate copies show how ideally graceful the pose given his simple subject by the master.

Of a bronze Aphrodite seen before the Temple of Felicitas in Rome, and likened in excellence by Pliny to the Cnidian Aphrodite, we only know, that, with other bronze works by Praxiteles, it, with the temple, was consumed by fire in Claudius' reign.[880] A bronze Eros, winged, and raising in the left hand his bow, is described in high-sounding but vaguely general phrases by Callistratos, who also tells us of a Dionysos in a sacred grove, clad only in a *nebris*, leaning on his *thyrsos*, and although in bronze, yet soft and luxurious in form,

with eye full of dreamy fire.[881] Concerning a goat-footed Pan, grouped with Nymphs and Danaë, by Praxiteles, two epigrams are our only witnesses; nor do we know more of the bronzes called by Pliny Pseliumene, Canephora, and Stephanusa, the latter, perhaps, a female figure crowning some one.[882] A subject attributed to the master, and called by Pliny "*matrona flens*" and "*meretrix gaudens*," about which so much has been theorized and imagined, is still entirely enigmatical.[883] That Praxiteles executed in bronze a *diadumenos*, or youth wreathing himself, we learn from Callistratos; and a tombstone by him was seen by Pausanias, on which appeared a warrior by the side of his horse.[884] To a chariot by Calamis, he is said to have added a charioteer (see p. 290). Antiquity, like the modern world, was prone to give the name of great masters to works which could not have been theirs; and one of the Horse-tamers on the Monte Cavallo at Rome bears the name of Praxiteles, although there is every evidence that it is a creation of Roman times.

Summoning before us the long line of the master's creations, we find no chryselephantine works by him, but that both bronze and marble were the material employed in his workshop; and we are expressly told, that he was most successful in the use of marble.[885] We also learn, that his marble statues were finished with color; he himself having considered those colored by the celebrated painter Nikias as superior to the remainder.[886] How this toning down of the glaring marble was done, we are not told; but wax and heat, or encaustic painting, may have been the method employed to this end. Nor can we, prejudiced in favor of the pale white figures to which we are accustomed, fully understand the harmony between form and color which alone satisfied so great a master as Praxiteles. And, of the subtle taste which must have been exercised by the ancients in giving tones to statuary, we should be in utter ignorance, were it not for faint intimations, afforded by the delicately tinted statuettes found in Tanagra and in Athens. We find, that not athletes or heroes occupied Praxiteles' energies, but the gods themselves. Among these, however, it is not the more august of the Olympic deities to whom, for the most part, his imagination gives corporeal form. Demeter, the ideal mother among the Greek gods; the charming Aphrodite, five times repeated; the persuasive Eros, thrice; and Dionysos and his merry train, continually recurring, — seem to indicate the bent of his genius. Judging from his Hermes, moreover, we may be sure, that, in all, he made the face mirror the soul with rare and subtle power, and that in the forms he gave play to the graceful and agreeable, cultivating a field by which Greek art was greatly enriched, even though it already possessed the lofty works of a Pheidias, the faultless forms of a Polycleitos, and the impassioned productions of a Scopas.

CHAPTER XXV.

SCOPAS AND HIS ASSOCIATES.—THE MAUSOLEUM.

Scopas' Early Activity.—Temple of Athena Alea.—Its Remains.—Their Style.—Other Works of Scopas in the Peloponnesos.—Scopas' Works in Athens and Other Parts of Greece.—Bacchante.—Apollo.—Nereids.—Scopas at Ephesos.—Works carried to Rome.—Associates.—Leochares.—His Work for Alexander and Others.—Figures of Gods.—Ganymede.—Bryaxis.—Timotheos.—The Carians.—Mausolos and Artemisia.—Halicarnassos.—The Mausoleum.—Its Ruins.—Description of Remains.—Varying Excellence of these.—Probable Arrangement.—Influence of these Sculptures on Later Art.—Mausolos' Portrait.—Style of these Sculptures from Halicarnassos.

Scopas, somewhat older than Praxiteles, was not a native Athenian, but from the island of Paros, and of artist stock; his father, Aristandros, having been a caster in bronze, who executed votive gifts for the Spartan Lysander, after the battle of Aigospotamoi.[887] Scopas, like his father, was employed in the Peloponnesos in his early years. His first work, in which alone he seems to have followed his father's technique, was in bronze,—an Aphrodite Pandemos riding on a goat, and seen in Elis by Pausanias.[888] But a more extensive and celebrated work soon occupied his energies. This was rebuilding and decorating the Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea, which, in 394 B.C., had been destroyed by fire, only a few of its relics having been saved. The young master was doubtless just entering upon his long and honorable career when he rebuilt this temple. Pausanias enthusiastically declares his building to be superior in size and grandeur to all others in the Peloponnesos; and its ruins are still to be seen in the plain of Tegea, near the modern village of Pialé.[889] With Corinthian, as well as Doric and Ionic, columns, Scopas adorned the sacred edifice. He filled both pediments with sculptures; and within, by the side of the temple-statue of Athena by Endoios, he placed statues of Asclepios and Hygieia. In one pediment, Pausanias saw represented the mythic hunt of the Calydonian boar, believed to have been sent by Artemis to ravage the blooming fields of Arcadia. Accompanied by the Arcadian heroine Atalante, Meleager, according to story, with many heroes from other parts of Greece, laid low the furious beast, first hit by the arrows of Atalante, who received, in consequence, the prize,—the boar's skin. Long preserved within the temple, among its most precious relics, were this beast's skin and tusks; but the latter were at last taken by Augustus to Rome. Of Scopas' pedimental sculptures relating to this hunt,

which proved fatal to one, at least, of the heroes, Pausanias says, "About in the middle is represented the boar: on one side are Atalante, Meleager, Theseus, Telamon, Peleus, Polydeukes, and Iolaos, — besides the sons of Thestios, brothers of Althaia, Prothus and Cometes. On the other side of the boar Epochos supports the wounded Ancaios, who lets fall his battle-axe; beside him are Castor and Amphiaraos, Oïcles' son; after these, Hippothoös, then Peirithoös, are represented. In the other pediment is seen the combat of Telephos with Achilles, in the plain of the Caïcos." From this summary statement, we turn with eagerness to the temple-site, where we find that the ruins are in marble from the neighborhood (Doliana), a stone similar in quality to that from Mount Pentelicos. From time immemorial these remains have served as convenient quarries to the inhabitants, who, as late as 1879, were seen carrying off the finely finished marble blocks to build into their ephemeral dwellings. No scientific excavations have as yet been made; but sculptured fragments found by a peasant, built into a wall near the south-east corner of the ruins, are of the same marble as the architecture of the temple, and must belong to its decoration. Among these are a part of the boar's head, covered with bristling hairs, admirably rendered, and having arrow-holes in the side of the snout; as well as two heroes' heads, — all of which remains were recognized as coming from Scopas' eastern pedimental group.[890] The human heads are both flattened on one side, as though for attachment to the back (*tympanum*) of the pediment. One of them, now walled into a modern house above the door, represents a beardless warrior, wearing a round helmet like those seen in the frieze of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassos, and has the frontal bone very pronounced, just above the eyes. These are much more deeply set than in the earlier Parthenon figures. They look upward with an expression of trouble, and have the muscles in intense action, giving the face a character of excited feeling, such as we usually suppose to have been developed only in the later or Hellenistic time. Indeed, the sons of Niobe, — usually supposed to be copies of an original by Scopas, — with their slightly knitted brows and quivering mouths, are mild in their treatment as compared with this head, which, in its intensified pathos, has much of the spirit of the sculptures of the Mausoleum, but more extreme forms. The second head, also youthful and beardless, having small ears, a Herculean neck, and deeply set eyes, is now in the museum at Pialé, with the fragment of the boar. Unfortunately, owing to the obstacles thrown in the way by the ignorant village authorities, no casts or photographs as yet have been made of these Scopian marbles; but there is hope that thorough excavations on the temple-site will soon be brought about, to rescue for us Scopas' great pedimental groups.

But other Peloponnesian cities besides Tegea had works by Scopas. In Gortys in Arcadia were marble temple-statues, — a beardless Asclepios with Hygieia; and, in Argos, a marble Hecate by him, grouped with two others in

bronze by Naukydes, and by Polycleitos, jun., of Sikyon; and, in the gymnasium at Sikyon, a marble Heracles, likewise attributed to Scopas.[891]

Probably as early as 377 B.C., after having gained a name in the Peloponnesos, Scopas removed to Athens, there to live about twenty-five years, until called to Asia Minor to execute the sculptures of the tomb of Mausolos, king of Caria, who died about 350 B.C. (Olymp. 107. 2).[892] Of his works in and about Athens, and in other parts of Greece, we know little more than the names, and that they all were in marble. For Thebes he executed an Athena Pronaos and an Artemis Eucleia; for Megara, a group of Eros, Himeros, and Pothos, the latter variations in character of the god Eros; and, for Samothrake, an Aphrodite and a Pothos, doubtless for the new temple built there during the early part of the century, and of which the ruins have been discovered.[893] Two Erinys (Furies) in Parian marble, not, as Æschylos had pictured them in his tragedy, "terrifying to look upon," but beautiful and attractive, were added by Scopas to a statue, probably by Calamis, on the slope of the Athenian Areopagos.[894] A Canephoros, later owned by Asinius Pollio, a Herme of Hermes, a Hestia between two candelabras, an Apollo in the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnus, and a raving Bacchante, all seem to have been executed originally for Attica.[895]

This Bacchante in Parian marble represented one of Dionysos' female followers in the orgiastic frenzy roused by the god, as it was believed, in his devotees. During the sad, short days of winter, this god of blooming spring and fruitful summer was thought to have fled to remote regions. With rites in which women and maidens alone took part, he was passionately entreated to return. Not in temples, but on solitary mountain tops, in retired valleys, and in the midst of dark forests, these are described by the poets as giving themselves up to the ecstasy of their god. With snakes in their hands, and streaming hair, they leaped wildly about to the screaming flute or dull cymbal, swinging torches, or even members torn from the living beast of sacrifice, and drinking, in their madness, the streaming blood. In art the Athenians had become accustomed, from the Dionysiac theatre, to the sight of such raving Mænads, and, by the excited music of the dithyrambic poets, had been established in their admiration of the ecstasy which they believed the god inspired, and which, according to the grave Æschylos, "permeated the whole being, from the sole of the foot to the crown of the head." Euripides had painted for them in passionate verse the Mænads, rushing by in stormy haste, with fine hair flying in the wind, the head thrown violently back, as though not belonging to the neck, and tearing the goat, and drunk with the blood of the sacrificial animal.[896] But, before Scopas, no one, so far as we know, had represented in marble this subject, in which passionate ecstasy, quivering through face and form, was the inspiring thought. It is probable, that this master's Bacchante was executed for the decoration of the Theatre of Dionysos, completed under Lycurgos about

Olymp. 109. 2. This statue seems to have remained long in Athens, but to have been removed later to Byzantium, there, with many other masterpieces of antiquity, to perish. How successfully Scopas represented the raving Mænad appears from repeated epigrams, as well as from Callistratos' description. Scopas, it was said, not Dionysos, breathed this divine frenzy into the marble. Callistratos vividly describes the statue, saying, that in long and fluttering garments, which left only the arms uncovered, with head thrown back, hair streaming out upon the wind, and swinging, not the *thyrsos*, but the torn kid, ghastly in its color, the Mænad seemed to storm by him, eager for the heights of Kithairon, sacred to the nightly orgies of her god. Among existing monuments, but only in relief, are many which seem remote echoes of such a conception.[897]

Scopas' Apollo, originally in the temple at Rhamnus, with Leto and Artemis by other masters, was carried off by Augustus to Rome, and dedicated to Apollo, on the Palatine, in thanks for the victory at Actium. According to Propertius, the god in this statue appeared singing and playing.[898] The statue of a laurel-crowned and lyre-playing Apollo in the Vatican was long supposed to be a copy of Scopas' conception of the god; but a comparison of it with coins of Nero shows rather that it has reference to Nero, after his musical period in Greece. Still less do Augustus' coins, struck in honor of Actium, correspond to Propertius' description of Scopas' statue; and hence we are left in ignorance as to the master's personification of music.[899] Two striking heads of Apollo in the British Museum, having a sentimental turn, with the mouth open as though singing, and a treatment of hair like that in bronze, piled up over the brow, are so like the works of the Hellenistic age in character and detail, that their original inspiration cannot with any certainty be traced back to Scopas' Apollo of the more simple fourth century. Thus our knowledge of Scopas' activity in and about Athens is most fragmentary.

Concerning some of his creations in Asia Minor, we have more definite data. For the Troad, he executed a colossal statue, probably in gold and ivory, of Apollo Smintheus, crowned with laurel-leaves, and standing with one foot on a mouse-hole, out of which peeped a mouse, the sacred animal of the place. The ruins of the temple have been discovered; but, as a matter of course, no trace of the statue was left.[900]

At Cnidos, a Dionysos and an Athena by Scopas are thrown quite into the shade by Praxiteles' Aphrodite, concerning which the reports are much fuller.[901]

In Bithynia was originally one of Scopas' great works, which was taken to Rome by Cn. Domitius about 30 B.C., and put up there by the conqueror in a temple to Neptune, raised in honor of his triumphs. This was a work in which, according to Pliny, appeared Poseidon himself, Achilles, and Thetis, besides Nereids riding on dolphins, sea-animals, seated hippocamps, tritons, the

train of Phorkys, and other sea-monsters, all so excellent, he adds, that it well might have been the work of a whole lifetime.[902] According to poetic story, when Achilles fell, his mother, the silver-footed Thetis, hearing the tidings, rose with her immortal sea-nymphs from ocean depths, and "mournfully came over the waves the sound of their lament." From the midst of the funeral pyre she snatched his beautiful body, rescuing it from Hades, and, accompanied by all the dwellers of the sea, bore it away to the far-off Isles of the Blest. Her way lay over the waves: and Poseidon himself, and all the dwellers of the sea, joined the wondrous procession, now changed from a funeral to a triumph; for it was not to death, but to eternal life, that they bore the hero. Whether Scopas' sculptures, in which Poseidon, Thetis, and Achilles appeared, represented this procession, we do not know, nor even whether they adorned a temple, or perhaps a colossal tomb, for which the subject would have been most appropriate. From these general descriptions, however, we may infer the ideal bent of Scopas' genius.

In the poetry of all nations, water, and especially that of the sea, is associated with the idea of sadness and restless longing. The moaning of its breaking waves is unceasing. The gentlest breeze ruffles its surface, and it becomes frightful when lashed by the tempest. Unlike the hospitable earth, it takes no abiding form, and bears no refreshing fruits or nourishing grain to gladden the heart of man. In keeping must be the beings chosen to represent it. The development into truly expressive and palpable forms of these subtile ideals which long had lurked in poetry was, no doubt, carried by Scopas to its highest perfection. The constantly recurring type of the Triton, with deeply sunken eyes, sharply drawn eyebrows, and changeful mouth, so suited to these exiles from the earth, whose wailings were heard by the Greeks when tempests beat their rock-bound coasts, was, doubtless, brought to express what it does by Scopas' genius. But these gloomier fancies in ancient art were lightened up by sunny Nereids, as appears by a glance at a frieze now in Munich, but originally from Rome, in which Poseidon and Amphitrite are seen in nuptial procession accompanied by easily riding, merry Nereids, and hollow-eyed hippocamps. Among existing monuments it has more charms than any of a similar character, and may possibly have adorned Cn. Domitius' temple, in which Scopas' famous group stood, it having been discovered in close proximity to the supposed site.[902a]

At Ephesos, Scopas must also have sojourned. According to Ephesian myth, Apollo and Artemis were born there in the sacred grove Ortygia; and in the midst of its cypress-trees seems to have been Scopas' Leto bearing a sceptre, and Ortygia as nurse, carrying in her arms these twin gods.[903] Of an Ares, removed from Asia Minor to Rome to a temple built by Brutus Gallæcus about 133 B.C., we only know that the god of war was a colossal seated figure, and occupied the same temple as a nude Aphrodite by this master, which was

doubtless of great excellence, if Pliny's phrase "antecedens," when comparing it with Praxiteles' Cnidian Aphrodite, refers to quality, and not time.[904] The seated Ares of the Ludovisi collection, and the newly discovered Aphrodite of the Esquiline, have been thought to be free reproductions of these two works by Scopas. But the Ludovisi Ares, having Lysippian features, and grouped with an Eros playing with his armor, is conceived too nearly in the spirit of the post-Alexandrine age to be referable to Scopas of the earlier time; and the heavy proportions of the Aphrodite of the Esquiline have not the grace met with in the original works of his century.[905]

Besides such tantalizing rumors of works by Scopas, extensive discoveries in Asia Minor bear eloquent testimony to his presence in Halicarnassos, the capital of Caria, where was the tomb of Mausolos, reported to have been adorned by Scopas and his contemporaries. Before taking up the consideration of its sculptures, let us first cast a glance at the masters associated with Scopas at Halicarnassos, and, because younger, usually considered his scholars. Of these, Leochares, an Athenian, seems to have been the most important. In a pseudo-Platonic letter, dated soon after 366 B.C., he is mentioned as an able young sculptor.[906] A few years later he appears, executing a statue of the orator Isocrates for Timotheos, who must have dedicated it before 354 B.C., the year of his death.[907] Again we meet Leochares in Halicarnassos with Scopas, about the middle of the century. Later we find him back again in Greece, in the employ of Philip of Macedon. In thanks for the victory at Chaironeia, 338 B.C., that monarch erected a round temple at Olympia, for which Leochares was commissioned to execute statues of the royal family in gold and ivory, those materials which, as we have seen, had hitherto only been used in representations of the gods themselves. For this Philippeion, Leochares executed costly statues of Philip himself, his father Amyntas, mother Eurydike, wife Olympias, and son Alexander, which were seen and described by Pausanias.[908] The modern traveller may still view, among the ruins of Olympia, the circular foundation of this temple, with the fragments of its graceful Ionic columns, again placed upright, and may examine pieces of its cone-shaped roof with the poppy-head decorations; but, of Leochares' costly statues, he will only see the marble pedestals, which, however, will teach him that all the members of the royal family were represented as standing within the shrine.[909] Having once entered into the service of the Macedonian house, Leochares continued in it, and, with Lysippos, executed for Crateros, one of Alexander's generals, a bronze group, consecrated at Delphi, which represented the young Alexander involved in a life-and-death struggle with a lion, several dogs sharing in the fight, while Crateros hastened to the assistance of the young king.[910] From pedestals with inscriptions, discovered on the Acropolis at Athens, it appears, that, with one Sthennis of Olynth, Leochares made portrait-statues of five members of an Athenian family, otherwise unknown to history, indicating

what extensive commissions sculptors now received from private individuals.[911] Again, Leochares executed a statue of one Eubolos, who is mentioned by Demosthenes. The pedestal of Leochares' statue, with Eubolos' and the artist's name, still stands in the Tripod Street at Athens.[912] Concerning another portrait-statue by Leochares, of a slave-dealer, Lykiscos, who was a butt of the comedy of the time, we know little with certainty; as various readings of the text where the statue is mentioned are possible.[913]

Besides these portrait-works, Leochares also executed many figures of gods. Three times he represented Zeus, — once in a statue, seen long after by Pliny in the Capitol at Rome, and called the "Thunderer," which was declared by that writer to be worthy of the highest praise; again in a statue seen by Pausanias by the side of the very ancient figure of Zeus Polieus on the Acropolis, and probably reproduced on Athenian coins; and still again, in a statue in the Peiraieus, grouped with one representing the *demos* of that seaport.[914] Leochares executed three statues of Apollo, — one for the space before the Temple of Apollo in the Kerameicos, and placed with Calamis' figure of the deity; the second, putting on a *tænia;* and the third, bought for Dionysios of Syracuse.[915] Of an acrolith colossal Ares, attributed to this master as well as to Timotheos, we only know that it occupied a temple in Halicarnassos, the ruins of which were discovered by Professor Newton on one of the heights of modern Budrun.[916]

Fig. 199. The Rape of Ganymede, after an Original by Leochares. Vatican.

Of one work by Leochares, the descriptions are sufficiently clear to be able to trace an echo in existing monuments. It represented Ganymede, borne aloft by the eagle to become Zeus' immortal cup-bearer. Even the eagle in Leochares' work, according to Pliny, seemed to realize the preciousness of his burden, and to whom he was carrying it, so carefully did the claws, through the drapery, lay hold of the tender body.[917] In the existing representations of the rape of Ganymede, two distinct classes are traceable.[918] In one, the simpler, the eagle seems Zeus' messenger; while, in the other, it represents Zeus himself, hovering caressingly over the lad with lowered beak; the latter being clearly a more sensual conception of the subject, and hence doubtless of later date. To the first class belongs a small and agreeable statue of the Vatican, in which the whole demeanor of the eagle, as he sails upwards with spread pinions, coincides with Pliny's description of Leochares' work, of which it is doubtless a late copy. Here the lad,

with his shepherd's crook, pipe, and faithful dog, is evidently conceived as having rested on a wooded summit, indicated by a sturdy tree (Fig. 199). But the eagle, Zeus' sure messenger, swooping down, has gently caught his prize, and now, with strong pinions spread, carries the beautiful youth upward past the tree, and towards the height where dwells Zeus, and towards which both eagle and Ganymede are looking. The faithful hound, left below, seeing his master disappearing into the ether, bays for him with upturned head. This subject came in Roman times to be a favorite one for monuments of children or youth early snatched away by death; and it is most probable, that the Vatican Ganymede, which has the usual characteristics of that later age, was such a funeral monument. So late a work does not indeed give us the direct handwriting, as it were, of Leochares, but doubtless retains much of his graceful composition and conception of this difficult subject. The marble appears here made free of its ponderous weight; but the artist does not offend us by violating the inherent laws of his material, although thus applied to sculpture.

Bryaxis, another of Scopas' associates in executing the sculptures of the Mausoleum, was a native of Athens, but must have left it, when very young, to go to Asia with his senior, Scopas, about 350 B.C.; since, nearly forty years after that time, we find him executing a bronze statue of King Seleucos, that one of Alexander's generals who took the royal title in 312 B.C.[919] Bryaxis' life must have been spent principally in Asia, only one of his works being mentioned as in Greece, — a group of Asclepios and Hygieia at Megara.[920] Besides the one portrait-statue of King Seleucos, just mentioned, all Bryaxis' recorded works are representations of the gods. Of these, five colossal statues were to be seen in Rhodes, a marble Dionysos at Cnidos, an Apollo at Daphne near Antioch, and a Zeus and an Apollo at Patara in Lykia.[921] More celebrated than these appears to have been Bryaxis' representation of the Greek god Pluton as Sarapis, that Egyptian deity whose worship, soon after Alexander's conquests, spread throughout the Greek world, and whose ideal is supposed to have received artistic form through Bryaxis.[922] His Pluton Sarapis was said to have been composed of costly materials, — gold, silver, bronze, steel, precious stones, and even of lead and tin, — and to have been covered with a dark color in order to express the gloomy character of this god of the under-world. It was presented by one of the cities in Asia (according to some Sinope, and to others Seleukia) to Ptolemy Philadelphos of Egypt, in thanks for his assistance during a famine, and was put up by him on a promontory near Alexandria. No certain reproductions of this work are left to us; although it is possible that the *modius*-crowned Pluto of the Vatican, with hair hanging down his forehead, and the gloom of the under-world in his deeply set eyes, may be its remote reflection.

Timotheos, the fourth sculptor engaged with Scopas on the Mausoleum, is less known than his associates. An Artemis by him, set up in Rhamnus with

Scopas' Apollo, was carried to Rome by Augustus, where it received a new head, and was placed with the Apollo in a temple on the Palatine.[923] Of an Asclepios by this master, in Troizen, we have no particulars; nor of the hunters, athletes, armed figures, and others engaged in sacrifice, promiscuously attributed to him by Pliny.[924]

The undying fame, however, which these sculptors gained, was not by their single works, but by their united efforts in decorating the tomb of the Carian ruler Mausolos at Halicarnassos in Asia Minor.

THE MAUSOLEUM AT HALICARNASSOS.

The ancient inhabitants of South-western Asia Minor, the Carians, had mingled with Greek colonists, and, at the opening of the fourth century, were ruled by native princes, acting as vassals of Persia. The Persian king, at that time, was being plotted against by his satraps; and, in the midst of these conflicts, one of the smaller Carian houses quietly worked its way up to occupy an important place in history. Hecatomnos of Mylasa, its head, had three sons, Mausolos, Idrieus, and Pixodaros; and two daughters, Artemisia and Ada, — all of whom, following Carian custom, ruled, brothers intermarrying with sisters, — Mausolos taking to wife Artemisia, and Idrieus, Ada. In 378 B.C., Mausolos became satrap for all Caria; and in a reign of twenty-four years he swung himself up to a most powerful position, not only in relation to the neighboring cities, as shown by many inscriptions found at Mylasa, but also to the Persian monarch even, whom he defied. He spread his rule over Lykia, the inner Meander valley, and Northern Asia Minor, to say nothing of the Greek islands along his coasts, his intrigues being directed even against Athens.[925] Besides, he greatly increased his fleet, and protected the commerce of the civilized world, by driving the pirates from the high-seas. So wisely did he husband all the resources of his state, that he was reputed to have gathered treasures equal to those of Crœsus. His former capital, the inland town of Mylasa, was now exchanged for Halicarnassos, a town of Greek colonists, who had nestled timorously on an island and along the shore. Here, from point to point, around the crescent-shaped bay, he laid out streets and squares in sumptuous Ionic style. Vitruvius' record of the admirable architectural plans of Mausolos is confirmed by the ruins still sweeping in a vast semicircle around the bay, and laid bare by Professor Newton in his excavations.[926]

At one end, above the sacred, time-honored fountain Salmakis, was erected a temple to Hermes and to Aphrodite, and, at the other, the regal palace, overlooking the roadstead of the fleet. Between these two points of the crescent, directly on the commodious harbor, was laid out, and surrounded by spacious colonnades, a convenient market-place; while above it, and circling the

hills, a broad street passed from horn to horn, parallel with the seashore. Above the middle point of this crescent street, on a rocky plateau, was the most imposing temple of the new city, sacred to the old Carian god, Zeus Stratios, in the Hellenic form of Ares. In this building the temple-statue was executed by the Athenian Bryaxis, or, according to others, by Timotheos. On the spot where a straight line passing from this temple down to the market-place would have crossed the great main street, was the Mausoleum, — that monument, one of the seven wonders of the ancient world, which should, more than all else, make Halicarnassos and its founder famous. Its site, thus significantly chosen between the two extremities of the city in one direction, and the market-place and largest temple in the other, indicates clearly, that the Mausoleum was included in Mausolos' original plan of his Capitol. But, in the midst of his proud schemes, Mausolos was cut off (according to Diodoros, in 353, and, according to Pliny, 351 B.C.), to be succeeded by Artemisia, his widow and sister, whose crafty and strong policy was not unworthy of her energetic predecessor.[927] No expense was spared upon Mausolos' funeral obsequies. The tomb, the site of which he himself had chosen, and which he had, perhaps, already begun, the queen now raised, with a magnificence surpassing all similar monuments. The finest Parian and Pentelic marbles brought from afar, as well as stone and marble from the vicinity, were provided. Satyros and Pythis, the latter the builder of the Temple of Athena in the neighboring Priene, and a sculptor as well, were called to be its architects. A colony of Athenian sculptors came to decorate it, and seem to have divided the work among themselves. According to Pliny, the east, or front, side was carved by Scopas, the west by Leochares, the north by Bryaxis, and the south by Timotheos, while the *quadriga* on the summit was by Pythis.[928] As soon as the sepulchral chamber was completed, Artemisia dedicated it to the hero Mausolos by a great religious and agonistic ceremony.[929] Her own death ensued only two years after that of her husband, and she was probably buried with him. The Attic sculptors, thus bereft of their liberal patroness, did not, however, relinquish their task, but are said, "for the sake of their own fame," to have brought their work to completion, in which, according to Pliny, "the rivalry of the different hands was evident."[930] Their majestic work gave its name to sepulchral monuments of all coming time; and mausoleum has been the common term applied to such great tombs as that of Alexander in Alexandria, of Augustus in Rome, and, in modern times, of Napoleon in Paris, and Queen Charlotte in Berlin.

According to Pliny's very indefinite account, thirty-six columns, a pyramid of twenty-four marble steps, a chariot with four horses, and sculptures on four sides, formed Mausolos' regal tomb, the whole with a circumference of 134.20 meters (four hundred and forty feet), and a height of forty cubits (42.70 meters); while, from Lucian's dialogues, we learn that about it were represented horses

and men in marble, so naturally that no temple could easily show the like.[930] Although the town had been plundered by the Arabs in 668 A.D., yet, even as late as the twelfth century, Eustathios says of the great tomb, "It was and is a wonder." At that time the ground about it had grown marshy, as naturally would happen when the complicated works were neglected which led off the water from the heights above. Earthquakes may soon have added their destructive power to that of the other elements. But the landing of the Knights of St. John at Halicarnassos in 1402, who were seeking to establish a strong post against the Turkish pirates, as well as a refuge for pursued Christian slaves, was the signal for the complete destruction of the Mausoleum. The small Turkish fort being taken, the Castle of St. Peter (Petronius, to-day corrupted to Budrun) was now commenced on an arm jutting out into the sea. From the ruins of the city, and especially the Mausoleum, layer after layer was removed, to be built into the massive fortification of their castle. The seven gates by which one enters have their jambs and architraves in Greek marble mouldings, and their decorations of Greek lions, guarding the French and Italian coats-of-arms. Marble reliefs, like an ornamental band, girded the heavy outer walls; while Gothic art, with graceful fancy, arched the castle-windows, and groined its ceilings.[931] In 1472 one of the leaders of the Doge Mocenigo's expedition still saw traces of the Mausoleum; but in 1522, before the siege of Rhodes by Sultan Soleiman, even these must have disappeared. The Crusaders' castle then required strengthening; and the Knight de la Tourette afterwards related to his learned countryman, d'Aliscamps, the wonderful things he saw in prosecuting this work.[932] While looking for lime in a field, the knights came upon a terrace of steps of white marble, doubtless left from the Mausoleum. Having removed the masonry above ground, and proceeding to dig farther, they perceived, that, the deeper they went, the larger the structure. Laying bare a great space, they saw an opening, as into a cellar. "Taking a candle, they let themselves down through the opening, and found that it led into a fine, large, square apartment, ornamented all around with columns of marble, with their bases, capitals, architrave, frieze, and cornice engraved and sculptured in relief. The space between the columns was lined with slabs and bands of marble, ornamented with mouldings and sculptures in harmony with the rest of the work; and inserted in the white ground of the wall battle-scenes were represented. Having admired these works, they pulled them to pieces, and broke them up for building purposes. But they soon found a low door, which led into another apartment, where was a sepulchre with a base and helmet (*tymbre*) of white marble, very beautiful, and of marvellous lustre. This sepulchre, for lack of time, they did not open, the retreat having been already sounded. The day after, when they returned, they found the tomb opened, and the earth all around strewn with fragments of cloth of gold, and spangles of the same

metal, which led them to suppose that the pirates who hovered along the coast, having some inkling of what had been discovered, had visited the place during the night, and removed the lid of the sepulchre."

In 1656 a Frenchman visiting Budrun noticed the reliefs in the castle, and in the past century hasty sketches of them were made by Dalton and Mayer. In 1846 the English ambassador to the Porte sent some of these slabs of relief to the British Museum; but it was left for Professor C. T. Newton, in 1857, to make excavations, and secure the wealth of marbles which now adorns the New Mausoleum room of the British Museum. These fragments, even without the remains, still walled into the castle at Budrun, or buried in the museum at Constantinople, show clearly the riches of the sculptural decoration of Mausolos' tomb. They comprise no less than twenty-six colossal and life-size statues; one magnificent equestrian group; two colossal chariot-horses; twenty lions; one colossal standing ram, to which some object had been attached; the foot and head of a boar, as well as of a hound corresponding in scale to the boar; besides a large cloven hoof, probably of an ox; reliefs in isolated panels as well as in three long, running friezes.

This wealth of sculpture and of architectural fragments has incited many, aided by the indications on the site, and the accounts of ancient writers, to attempt a reconstruction of this regal tomb. But the difficulties in the way are great, owing to the scattered condition of the fragments, and the fact that the knights had thoroughly rummaged the ancient building, and removed its treasures from their original position. Moreover, much about the enclosure (*peribolos*) has been from necessity left unexcavated. Pullan, Fergusson, and others have, however, attempted the reconstruction of the tomb, and agree in the main outline but vary greatly in the details.[933] A broad platform, measuring about 427 meters (fourteen hundred feet) in circumference, walled in securely, and probably approached on one side by spacious steps, formed the precincts within which the stately structure of the tomb itself rose. How grand this *peribolos* might be we see from the great tomb-walls of the Heroön at Gjölbaschi in Lykia (p. 415). The enclosing wall at Halicarnassos, once faced with splendid marble blocks beautifully fitted together, was found by Professor Newton on the north side, for a length of 18.30 meters (sixty feet), and reaching a height of 2.44 meters (eight feet): on the east it was also traceable, but the western and southern sides still await excavation.[934] The entrance to this enclosure, as at Gjölbaschi, and the corners and top of the marble wall, must have had suitable sculptural decoration.

Many of the lions now facing each other in solemn couples in the British Museum may, perhaps, have surmounted this wall as vigilant guardians of the grave; one of them having been discovered close by the east wall, evidently where it had fallen. The fondness of the Greeks and of the people of Asia Minor for placing lions over the graves of their heroes is well known. Such

were put up in Phrygia, at Chaironeia, at Cnidos, and on Marathon's field. Here in Caria, the lion, as the attribute of the Oriental sun-god, may have had a special religious significance, and, as such, have been repeated on the tomb of the Carian Mausolos, especially as in Carian myth and names the lion plays a most prominent part.[935] The lines of this tomb are carved in fine blocks of Pentelic marble; there being no piecing evident, like that prevalent in sculptures of the following, or Hellenistic, period. When first discovered, they showed traces of being colored a tawny red. Their size varies but slightly. None of them crouch; but all stand with tail slightly raised, and heads turned to the side, as though watching every approach to the tomb; this effect being enhanced by their protruded or retracted claws, fierce eyes and jaws. Unlike the African, but resembling the Asiatic, lions of to-day, their shapes are compact, and do not fall off at the hind-quarters. In these sculptures, the short, close manes are treated, as a rule, with conventional regularity. Great inequality, however, marks the execution; one head showing a powerful individuality of expression and natural shagginess of hair superior to the rest.[936] The large number of these lions in the British Museum tempts the bewildered visitor to pass them by; but by isolating himself, and regarding each one in turn, he will discover their strong points, and perhaps be able to conceive their power as they still decorated the regal tomb. Some suppose them to have occupied the pyramid of steps above the tomb: others place them between the temple-columns, and still others at the base of the grave-chamber. Professor Newton suggests that they may, in rows like Egyptian sphinxes or the Miletos colossi, have lined the approach. Their monotonous repetition in the same pose has certainly something un-Greek about it, and seems to show the Oriental influence here felt by the Hellenic sculptor, most natural in a land bordering on the great kingdoms of the East. If we may draw an analogy from the great and probably older Heroön at Gjölbaschi in Lykia, some of the lions of Mausolos' tomb must have decorated the entrance in the *peribolos*-walls. They may possibly also have stood on the top of these walls, in this respect being different from the winged half-bulls which seem to spring out over the entrance at Gjölbaschi. These complete lions of the Mausoleum, contrasted with the Oriental winged monsters in Lykia, show how much more developed here were purely Greek forms; although the plan and idea of the structure still retained Oriental characteristics.

But passing within by the rocky steps on the west side, and entering this enclosure, we should, according to Pliny, have found the tomb proper a quadrangular building, having a circuit of about 128.10 meters (four hundred and twenty feet) and towering into the air, and consisting of a massive substructure surmounted by a temple surrounded by Ionic columns, above which soared lightly a pyramid of steps crowned with a *quadriga* and its pedestal. This complicated combination of a lofty columned temple and pyramid towering up

in mid-air is another indication, like the repeated lions, of the influence of the magnificence and wonder loving Orient on the Hellenic architects and sculptors. But while, in the general plan, they satisfied the tastes of their Carian patrons in details of architecture and sculpture, they were true, as the fragments prove, to their Attic spirit. Within the massive substructure, built of huge blocks of green stone, the lowest corners of which were found *in situ*, rested the body of Mausolos. It was his regal grave-chamber; and near the still standing corner-blocks of its narrow entrance were found fragments of a marble sarcophagus, of marble vases, as well as of a costly alabaster vase for unguents; but what may have been the internal finish of this chamber must be left to conjecture. With regard to the exterior, however, we know more. On the so-called Nereid monument at Xanthos (p. 409) two sculptured friezes surrounded the massive base (*podium*); and Furtwängler has shown, that, in like manner, two friezes now in the British Museum probably once encircled, at some distance apart, the four sides of the substructure of this Mausoleum.[937] The material of which these friezes are composed — a coarse-grained Asia-Minor marble — makes it improbable that they were placed directly between the architectural mouldings and the pillars of much finer Parian and Pentelic marble, where one of them — the Amazon frieze — has hitherto been supposed to have stood. These two friezes are nearly of the same width. One representing the conflict of Lapithæ and centaurs, of which there are only two fragments in the British Museum, is one inch narrower than the other, and is finished with adjuncts of bronze. From its fragments, too meagre to judge of the composition, it seems that the same hands that executed the Amazon frieze were also here at work. The subject, moreover, is so strikingly Attic, that it is difficult to conceive what special significance it could have had as the decoration of the tomb of a Carian prince.

On the other hand, in the wider, the Amazon frieze, of which 24.40 meters (eighty feet) have been well preserved, it is possible that the favorite Attic theme may be connected with the Carian myth, according to which Heracles slew the Amazon queen at the river Thermodon, in Asia Minor, and took from her the double-headed axe, which, passing to the Carians, became sacred to their greatest god, Zeus Labrandeus; and it is thought, that, on one slab of this frieze (slab 9), Heracles may be recognized. As a narrow band, this frieze probably once encircled the base of the tomb, which would have given it a length of about 128.10 meters (four hundred and twenty feet). Of the eighty feet preserved in the British Museum, the four slabs discovered by Professor Newton have still their exquisite surface finish.[938] Plate III. represents one of these slabs. The fragments of this Amazon frieze show in composition a general similarity, part to part, and have less intricacy than the Phigaleia or Athena Nike friezes; the groups being composed usually of but two, or, at the most,

three, figures. Thus a limpid clearness marks the composition, enhanced by the great saliency of the relief, which is often undercut, to make it still more pronounced. Tremendous energy and animation pulsate through the forms; and so extreme is this motion, that it sometimes seems exaggerated. The passion which scarcely knows bounds finds expression in the faces as well. The slanting pose of the warriors, either rushing forward or drawing vigorously back, introduces a peculiar antithesis of oblique parallel lines, which admirably sustains the running, frieze-like character, and must have produced a pleasant decorative effect, as the reliefs, like an ornamental band, encircled the plain surface of the lower part of the tomb. The polychromy of the whole frieze is proved by slabs, discovered by Professor Newton, which, on disinterment, showed a ground, like that of the architectural ornaments, of blue, equal in intensity to ultramarine, with flesh of dun red, and drapery and armor picked out with vermilion.[939] There is great variety in the accoutrements of both warriors and Amazons in the different parts. In some the heroes are partly nude, and partly clothed in a short *chiton*, and a long, shawl-like garment with square ends, which flutter wildly in the wind, much as does the drapery of the Phigaleia and Athena Nike friezes. Frequently the heroes wear helmets, and carry sword, lance, and shield, the latter being often strangely fore-shortened, so as to seem egg-shaped. But again, as in the most beautiful slabs, one of which is represented in Plate III., the warriors are thoroughly nude. The shield, of graceful round shape, is so carried that it does not cover any line of the body, but rather throws it out into relief, and serves skilfully to unite the composition, the Amazon being chained in close combat to the hero by seizing this shield with one hand to push it back, while with the other she swings high the threatening battle-axe, ready the next moment to bring it down upon her powerful foe. In the attire, weapons, and action of these Amazons, there is no less variety than in those of the warriors. Occasionally they are helmeted: again, they wear the soft, folding head-dress commonly given them, and from beneath which rich, flowing locks sometimes escape. Often, as in the case of the Amazon, Plate III., sitting excitedly in reversed position on her fleeing steed, they are but slightly clad in a short *chiton*, which partly opens, revealing the rounded thigh and limb, in almost voluptuous contrast to the rugged, vigorous shapes of the heroes. Again, the widely opened *chiton*, as in the slab represented in Fig. 200, forms an exquisite background, as it were, to the soft, rounded carnation of the excited female combatant. A most pleasing contrast to these forms are those of the Amazons wrapped in full drapery, as may be seen in the warrior-woman of Plate III., who, besides her short *chiton* drawn closely about the body by her vehement action, wears a long, squarely ending mantle fluttering in the wind. Still others are clad in the long sleeves, trousers, and buskins generally used by the Greeks as the appropriate guise for the barbarian element represented by these turbulent, law-defying Amazons. Even in the manner of fighting, there is indicated a

difference, — the men combating with system, as though accustomed to military drill; the women fighting capriciously, snatching at the enemy's shield, riding backwards, and the like. In one case an Amazon's farther knee shows above the back of her horse (Plate III.); but with the other leg she clings so firmly to her horse's side, that we have no fear that she will lose her seat. The horse snorts in the fury of the battle; his eye is swollen, mouth open, showing tongue and both rows of teeth; and his nostrils are distended. The veins of his belly swell with the intensity of his exertions. But how different these from the earlier Parthenon horses! The greater realism appears on comparing this Plate III. with Selections, Plate V., from the Parthenon frieze. And yet how

Fig. 200. A Part of the Amazon Frieze of the Mausoleum British Museum.

noble the short heads, vigorous, compact shapes, and fiery action of many of these steeds, of the Amazon frieze!

But there are great inequalities in the execution of these slabs, in some of which sprawling lines, or too suddenly broken ones, are in unpleasant contrast to the harmony of others. In some the heads seem large for the bodies, the rendering is lax, and composition feebly linked together; while in others it is most masterly. These marked inequalities in style have led Professor Brunn to make a critical study of the slabs, comparing one with the other by means of photographs, in order, perchance, to discern the hand of the four different masters who, according to Pliny, worked upon this monument.[940] In so doing he believed that he could discern four different styles, and in accordance arranged the slabs in four series, with the reservation, however, that his classification might, in time, be made invalid by accurate measurements of the marbles. These measurements have at last been made; since, upon the removal of the marbles from their old quarters to the new ones, comparison was possible of

the widths of the mouldings at the base of the slabs.[941] These measurements have shown that there are two decided widths in these mouldings, one being a quarter of an inch narrower than the other. But the classification by Brunn would unite slabs with varying cornices on the same side of the building, which could not have been actually the case. To account for these different widths, Professor Newton suggests, that, at the ends of the building, cornices of one width might have been applied, while on the sides the other width would have found its place. So much having been lost, we are unhappily still in ignorance as to the sequence of many of the slabs.

The influence of this Amazon frieze on later sculptors must have been great, if we may judge from the numerous repetitions of its motives found in other places. Such are found in the frieze, now in the Louvre, from the Temple of Artemis, north of Halicarnassos, — a work executed during the time of Roman rule. A beautiful sarcophagus in Vienna, according to one story originally from Attica, and, according to another, from Ephesos, is also adorned with scenes evidently copied directly from this Amazon frieze.[942] The frequent representation of the back is a feature not met with before, but one which, in the friezes of the Great Pergamon Altar, should be most extensively developed.

Above the substructure decorated with the two friezes described, there arose the second part of the Mausoleum, a temple-like edifice surrounded by thirty-six graceful Ionic columns. It doubtless served for the worship of the dead, and for frequent rites held in connection with his memory. But what sculpture decorated it within and without, we know not. Possibly a third frieze and a number of square carvings, sunken within a high framing of marble, and in one of which Theseus is seen to struggle with Skiron, adorned this temple-part of the tomb. If so, doubtless these latter were applied to its walls as panels. The third frieze represents chariot-races, doubtless like those celebrated at Mausolos' funeral, and is of thinner, finer marble. Of it, five large fragments, and about one hundred smaller ones, are in the British Museum. Although unable to fix the exact place of this very fragmentary frieze, we must stop for a moment to admire one of its well-preserved bits. In it the face of the charioteer, who is clad in long, flowing robes, is finished with the fineness of a gem.[943] He has an expression of apprehension; and his whole gesture of bending eagerly forward, besides the fragments of flying steeds, give us some conception of what must have been the interest of this frieze, and the skill with which the different emotions of anxiety, triumph, etc., must have been brought out. The long robe of this charioteer gives the impression that it belongs to a female, but the form is that of a male clad in the ancient livery of the charioteer. Comparing the treatment and composition with the chariots frequently represented in the Gjölbaschi monument, we shall realize how much more intense these Mausoleum chariots and horses, and how nearly they verge upon a noble realism.

Above the temple, with its surrounding Ionic columns, towered a pyramid of twenty-four marble steps, skilfully upheld by an architecture which made it seem, as the ancients said, "hanging in the void air." Many of these steps were found where they had been precipitated, but as yet no sure signs of any decoration upon them have been found.

Surmounting them, however, and bringing the lofty edifice up to a height of 42.70 meters (one hundred and forty feet), was, finally, the four-horse chariot by Pythis, doubtless on a lofty pedestal. Fragments of the wheels were found, together with parts of two of the horses, all on a colossal scale. The wheel has a diameter of seven feet seven inches, and the horses are in proportion; but the very colossal size, added to the lack of many parts, prevents Pythis' horse, now placed on a level with the eye, from producing the impression it must have given when at its original elevation high above the ground. From the few hoofs attached to the base, and the lack of action in the shoulders, it is inferred that the horses did not appear prancing and in excitement, but standing, and possibly pawing the ground with one hoof. The bronze harness, still on the head and neck of one of these horses in the British Museum, adds to the exceedingly realistic impression of the massive head, long mane falling over the forehead and on each side of the neck, and the natural surface of skin and veins. Compare this ponderous head with Selene's Parthenon steed of an earlier day, and its peculiarities will most vividly appear.

The parts of twenty-six statues executed from large blocks of Parian and Pentelic marble with little or no piecing, are also so mutilated, that it is impossible to divine either the subject of many, their ruling thought, or the place they occupied. With the exception of one equestrian statue, the quiet of the muscles and the composition of the drapery seem to indicate that they were represented as standing or sitting in attitude of repose. The unfinished backs of the majority show, also, that they were not to be viewed from all sides, but probably stood in niches, or against a wall. Before the magnificent fragment of a bounding steed (Selections, Plate IX.), which bears a closely draped rider, every one must stop, rapt in astonishment; although head and legs of the horse, and upper part of rider, are gone. Some parts were broken away by a sledge-hammer, and the surfaces of the horse show that it once served as a target for the bullets of the barbarous residents of Budrun. And yet so great is the art in this fragment, that the marble fairly throbs and pulsates with life. To use Professor Newton's words, "The rearing movement affects the whole frame; and the solid and unwieldy mass of marble seems to bend and spring before our eyes, as if all the latent energy of the animal were suddenly called forth, and concentrated in one forward movement. Equal skill is shown in the representation of the rider. Nothing can be more perfect than his seat. The right leg and thigh seem to grow to the horse's side; the

manner in which the waist yields to the movement of the rearing horse is admirably expressed by the composition of the drapery; the position of the bridle-hand is carefully studied; the elbow is fixed; the wrist flexible; the thumb bent firmly over the reins." The upper jaw and nose of a horse found near this fragment may have belonged to it, in which case "the mouth of the horse must have been represented open, and his nostrils distended with rage, as would be characteristic of a horse in the excitement of battle," and as the horses appear on the frieze. The high finish of this group, as seen in the surface of the left hand, beautiful in its masculine power, in contrast to the rougher work of Pythis' *quadriga*, seems to indicate that it was intended for closer inspection, — to decorate, perhaps, the lower part of the Mausoleum. The close-fitting trousers, called *anaxyrides*, worn by the rider, and usually given in Greek art to Asiatics, have led some to consider it an Amazon in conflict with some foe on foot: others think it represents a Persian, or perhaps one of the mythic ancestral princes of Caria.

One colossal statue, measuring over three meters (nine feet, nine inches) in height, and composed of more than sixty-five fragments, is evidently a portrait, and represents a man in the prime of life, standing quietly, wrapped in full drapery.[944] It is surmised to be Mausolos himself; and its firm, resolute features, lion-like, long, wavy hair, and commanding aspect, accord well with the description Mausolos' shade gives of himself in Lucian's dialogues, where he says, "I was a tall, handsome man, and formidable in war."[945] The fact that this statue was found with fragments of the *quadriga* led Professor Newton to suppose that it originally rode on this chariot on the summit of the tomb. By Mausolos' side, Professor Newton supposed the grand veiled female figure found with him to have stood, acting as charioteer, — a goddess conducting the hero to immortality; thus making the whole group, as it surmounted the lofty tomb, incorporate the idea of an Apotheosis. So unbending, however, is the pose of these statues, so carefully finished their lower parts for chariot-figures, that some object to this theory, and suppose them to have represented Mausolos and Artemisia as standing perhaps within the temple; but at present there are no means of arriving at certainty upon this interesting question. The possession of this supposed portrait-face of Mausolos is of prime importance, as showing us how the sculptors of the Mausoleum were approaching actual life in their work, and yet idealizing it. Were the long locks still unbroken, and hanging at the side of the face, the character of strong and un-Hellenic portraiture would, no doubt, be enhanced; while the deeply set eyes and firm mouth would preserve the impression of the heroic. The drapery of this statue and of the one called Artemisia (now at last relieved of many ugly, cumbering lines from the restorer's hand), when compared with the Parthenon marbles, shows much more realism, as seen in the break of folds and the surface treatment, full of wrinkles; but, compared with the

Hermes of Praxiteles, the drapery seems but a timid advance towards realism, although full of beautiful motives leading to it.

But our survey of the sculptural decoration of the Mausoleum would be incomplete without making mention of other fragments, — parts of a hunter and boar; a fine colossal seated statue, — perhaps a throned and fully draped Zeus; several female heads, doubtless goddesses, rich and full in treatment, and with foreheads encircled by regular curls; besides beautiful heads of the Apollo, Heracles, and Sophocles type, and one of a Persian, wrapped in the peculiar head-dress, called *kyrbasia*, covering chin, mouth, and forehead. How different all these faces from the passionless generalized types of the Parthenon! The eyes are in every case deeply set, and so varied as to be individualized; while from all beams a pathos and depth of soul expression most fascinating, whether in the rich beauty of the colossal female heads, or the stronger lines of the bearded male faces. This profusion in statuary, of portraits, heroes, gods, and barbarians, and, in relief, of mythic combats and of scenes from the beautiful chariot-race, opens up to us a glimpse at the wide range taken by the Attic sculptors in this monument, and seems to foretell tendencies carried out by the sculptors of the following age. Mausolos seems the forerunner of the Hellenistic rulers; and so these sculptures on his tomb seem to mark the passage over to a more luxurious, naturalistic, but still noble art, such as we shall see was encouraged by the princes of Pergamon.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE NIOBE GROUP. — ATTIC SCULPTORS OF THE FOURTH CENTURY B.C.

Niobe Myth. — Niobe Marbles. — Their Date. — Description. — Artistic Character and Thought. — Widely scattered Traces. — Artists of the Age of Scopas and Praxiteles. — Silanion. — Euphranor.

THE story of Niobe was sung first in the "Iliad," then by successive lyric poets, — Archilochos, Alcaios, Sappho, and Pindar: finally Æschylos and Sophocles worked it up into powerful tragedy. Although varying somewhat in detail as told by these different writers, its outlines are simple and harmonious.[946] Niobe, the daughter of Tantalos, her home in Sipylos, becomes the happy wife of Amphion of Thebes, and in time the proud mother of many blooming sons and daughters. As her father had communed with the immortals, so Niobe was privileged to have the companionship of Leto, the wife of Zeus himself, and mother of Apollo and of Artemis. But forgetful of her mortal origin, and filled with unbecoming pride, Niobe exulted over her friend by reason of her numerous offspring, and, according to one story, even presumptuously bade the Thebans no longer to bring offerings to Leto and her divine children, but to worship her, their own happy queen, instead. The indignant Leto, with lightning speed, now repaired to her son Apollo and daughter Artemis, adjuring them to mete out punishment to such impiety. The angered gods, carrying out their mother's entreaty, sought out Niobe's offspring, usually said to have numbered fourteen, boys and girls, each equalling the sacred number seven. According to one version, the sons were in the *palæstra* at Thebes, two of them engaged in wrestling; according to another, they were hunting on rocky Kithairon: while the daughters were all at home. In one short day the silver-toned arrows of the gods laid them low, like budding flowers, fresh and dewy, broken off in their youthful beauty. The bereft mother was left to mourn alone, and even though turned to stone, as the story went, still wept, and refused to be comforted; her anguish serving as a warning to all who were tempted to overweening pride. Tragedy, concentrating the myth, made the dire event take place, not in widely scattered places, but beneath the very eyes of the agonized mother; and, in the remains existing, art follows its leadings. Although Pheidias represented the scene on the throne of his Olympic Zeus, the most celebrated treatment of the subject is ascribed sometimes to

Scopas and sometimes to Praxiteles, masters of a later time, much more prone to express the extreme emotion embodied in such myth.[947]

The group thus ascribed to these two great masters was originally in Asia Minor, and was brought to Rome by C. Sosius, Anthony's legate in Syria and Kilikia in 38 B.C. This general held his triumphal entry into Rome in 35 B.C., and, as was customary, graced it with treasures from the Orient, among which was, probably, the Niobe group, which he afterwards placed in the temple he built to Apollo, called, after him, Sosianus, and in which the sacred statue was a cedar-wood Apollo, likewise from the Orient.[948] So indefinite are the statements of Pliny with regard to these statues, that we know nothing of their original use, nor of the mode in which they decorated Sosius' shrine. The subject, however, is so appropriate for one of those grand funereal monuments so numerous in Asia Minor, that the supposition made by Milchhöfer, that the group originally decorated a tomb, is most plausible, although in opposition to the older theory, that it was connected with a Temple of Apollo at Holmoi in Kilikia.[949]

When, in 1583, twelve statues, many of which clearly related to the Niobe myth, were unearthed near the Lateran at Rome, they were hailed as the original group brought from Asia Minor, and were immediately purchased by the Medici family.[950] A group of wrestlers, found on the same site, was set aside as not belonging with them. After 1593 the restorer's hand was put to the statues, nine of which are in Pentelic marble; and the interest roused by the group was such that other statues were sought out from among antique marbles, and added to the number. In 1775 all were removed from the Villa Medici to Florence, and in 1794 were put up in the Uffizi, where the figures now stand. Since, however, numerous genuine Greek sculptures of the fourth century B.C. have been brought to light, and we have become familiar with the freshness and vigor of their style, the fond dream, that these Niobe statues of the Florence gallery are the originals by Scopas or Praxiteles, is dispelled, and the conviction takes its place, that they are Roman reproductions of the great work, which, alas! has disappeared. The finding in still other museums of better *replicas*, and of figures clearly belonging to the group, spurs on to a search for missing members; while the repetition of the same statue in the Florence gallery shows the necessity of sifting out superfluous figures, to discover, if possible, the composition of the original.

About the main figures, both grouped and single, there is no difference of opinion (Fig. 201). Thus, there can be no doubt about Niobe's seven unhappy sons, whose well-knitted and compact forms, short-cut hair, and peculiarly shaped ears (where not restored), are those of the youthful athlete; while their energetic faces express different shades of apprehension or actual suffering, and their position indicates flight, death, or falling wounded by the arrows of the gods. The figure of one of these youths (Fig. 201, *a*), of which there

are exact duplicates in Florence, flees over the rocky ground, so that his right leg is behind a great rock, while with his left hand he catches up his *chlamys*, which otherwise would hinder his flight.[951] Another son, only found in the Florence collection, and likewise fleeing, has a different position (*b*). Placing the left foot upon a rock, he draws the right after it, and raising his left arm, wrapped in drapery, looks back with slightly opened lips; a shade of trouble gathering over his eyes and eyebrows, as though becoming aware of the presence of the avenging gods. One step farther in the tragedy shows us a son existing in two *replicas* at Florence (*c*) besides one at Rome in the Capitoline Museum. Having fallen on one knee, the youth supports himself on the rocks with the left arm, places the right at his hip (both of the arms are antique), and looks back, as though defiantly meeting his fate. Indeed, how fierce the struggle with death in all the sons appears on comparing their attitudes with the gentle sinking of the sisters! Still nearer death is the son represented in the figure long called Narcissos, but recognized by Thorwaldsen as one of Niobe's sons (*d*). He has fallen on both knees; and his left side, contracted by pain, he seeks with the left hand, which seems to have been correctly restored. The fate of all Niobe's blooming sons is prophesied in that figure (*e*) who lies stretched in quiet death on his mantle, spread over the rough rock, his eyes half closed, lips opened, and arm laid gently on the breast. Of this figure at least four *replicas* exist in Florence, Munich, Turin, and Dresden, the best known being that in the Munich Glyptothek, whither it came originally from the Palazzo Bevilacqua in Verona.[951a] Besides these five sons are two others, traceable in statuary, thus completing the number usually ascribed in poetry to Niobe. One (*f*) — if we may judge from size, and longer, curling hair, the youngest — is found in three *replicas*, — one in Florence, another in the Vatican, and a third in the Louvre. This latter, discovered at Soissons in France, an ancient Roman settlement, was, however, found, not alone, but grouped with the figure of an older, roughly clad man (*g*), who, no doubt, represents the faithful pedagogue or slave always

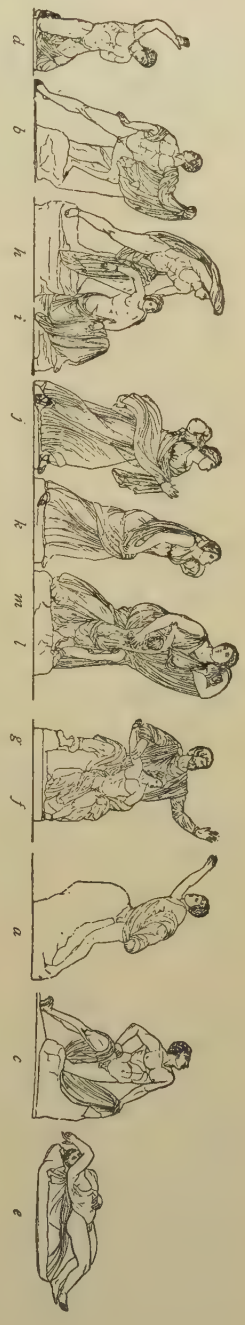

Fig. 201. Niobe and her Family. Florence.

attendant upon the younger sons of high-born Greek families, and whose protecting, kindly character is beautifully pictured to us by Sophocles in his "Electra." The slave, whose right arm is antique, puts his hand on the affrighted boy's shoulder, as though to assure him; but of the other arm, restored as pointing upwards, we do not know the original position. The remaining son (*h*), forgetful of self, checks himself in his flight, to protect, if possible, the sister (*i*) falling at his feet, and looks up with an expression of agony and apprehension. This figure is preserved to us in two *replicas;* the one in Florence being incomplete, and without the sister. The other, which is in the Vatican, has the sister, and was recognized by Canova as belonging to the Niobe family.[952]

Of Niobe's daughters, usually fabled to have been seven, less statues are preserved to us; but among them some are of such beauty as to make up our lack in part, at least. One, in the vigor of beautiful youth, and still in full flight, is preserved to us in two *replicas* (*j*). But not from the Florence statue, fully restored, and with feeble, shallow drapery, do we gain the full impression of her fearful, anxious haste. A far better copy — that headless statue of the Museo Chiaramonte in Rome, with its impetuous, stormy drapery having cavernous folds and fine, fluttering ends — best tells the sad story. This statue, vastly superior in workmanship to the remaining figures of the Niobe group, flies over a flat surface, and her mantle is lifted so as least to impede motion. It is said to have originally belonged to the Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, whose treasures came principally from Hadrian's villa. That the lower part of the figure, from the knees downwards, seems short in proportion to the rest, is clearly a shortcoming; but as it is frequently met in rapidly moving draped figures, — as, for instance, in the goddess hurling a vase in the frieze of the Pergamon altar, — we may infer that the ancient sculptors had some reason for these representations, perhaps giving such proportions for purposes of optical effect. The arrows of the gods have overtaken a second daughter, the statue existing in Florence alone (*k*). She appears halting, as though suddenly smitten. Her head is thrown back: one arm seeks the wound in the neck, the other drops her mantle; and her feet refuse to continue the anxious flight in which they tremblingly halt. Of the third daughter (*i*), sinking at her brother's feet like a broken flower, mention has already been made. The fourth, doubtless the youngest (*l*), seeks shelter with her mother (*m*). This daughter's figure is found in Florence, and in a *replica* in Berlin, where, separated from the grand figure of Niobe herself, it is restored as Psyche. Concerning the three remaining daughters, to make out the seven, we are very much in the dark. It is possible, that, corresponding to the son stretched in death, there was also a daughter; since such a figure, although lacking in statuary, is hinted to us by reliefs, as on a marble, disk-shaped carving now in the British Museum.[953] Here we see, in a composition made up of elements traceable to different sources, one

daughter beautifully quiet in death, lying on her back, her drapery about her, and her arms thrown above her head. Of the two remaining daughters, no statues exist; but in a Niobe relief now in St. Petersburg, owned formerly by Campana,[953a] the central group, where one sister tenderly supports another, — something in the pose of the Amazon, with her wounded companion, of the Phigaleia frieze, p. 398, — may be an echo of such missing members. Other statues in Florence, formerly reckoned as the Niobe daughters and a nurse, corresponding to the pedagogue, are now usually rejected. Such are the one restored sometimes as Psyche, another called Anchirrhoe, and a third clearly a Muse.

Fig 202 Niobe. Florence.

But towering up in size and spirit above her children and attendants, and sheltering her frail daughter, appears Niobe herself, whose grand form has nowhere been found repeated exactly in statuary. Unfortunately the glorious Florence statue stands in so poor a light that it has been impossible to procure a satisfactory representation of it. Of the head (Fig. 202) other *replicas* are found in various galleries; the most celebrated being in Brocklesby Park in England, but not greatly superior to the head in Florence, if a comparison of the casts is to be relied upon.[954] As the statue stands before us, Niobe, hastening over rocky ground, seems to have checked her steps, for the unseen gods are letting fly their unerring darts, and her children, as a frightened flock, press towards her; while she, with eyes quivering with bursting tears, and lips parted

with unutterable anguish, looks upward to the spot whence comes her sorrow. Raising her mantle, — doubtless to protect the cowering child who clings to her sheltering form, and like a solitary rock against which beat the wild and stormy waves, — she alone breasts the vengeance of Heaven; but her knitted brows, and lower lid drawn convulsively upward, show that she is conscious of her remediless fate. Maternal love, however, still supports her as she protects her youngest, bringing a gentle ray of pathos into this scene of desolation, and touching with silver light the darkness rapidly gathering about her. The child's tender form comes out through thin, clinging drapery, in beautiful contrast to the mother's heavier shape; and the group, looked at from the front, offers many lines of great beauty, but in the rear the swelling mantle is left unfinished.

Although in relief the avenging Apollo and Artemis have been found represented as shooting their arrows, no fragments of statues of gods were found with the Florence group; and it is most improbable that they formed a part of the Greek original. The agony of the mother, and the terror of her children in the marble figures, indicate sufficiently the presence of the avenging deities; and their bodily representation would doubtless have only added a too great baldness to the already painful scene.

The different points from which these statues are intended to be seen, and their varying size and pose, naturally rouse the question as to their original composition with relation to each other. Soon after being discovered, the arrangement they received in the Villa Medici was in the spirit of the time; Niobe occupying the centre of a rocky eminence, about which her children appeared in picturesque confusion. In trying to arrive at the original arrangement, the size of the pedagogue makes it improbable that Niobe could have formed the centre of a pedimental group. And the unfinished backs of so many of the figures militate against another theory, — that the statues occupied a semicircular open-air pedestal like one found at Olympia.[955] Nor is it possible to think of the statues as standing between columns or in niches: their varying size, and internal union of thought, forbidding their separation, the figures seeming to press forward from either side. We are, therefore, still in ignorance as to the composition of the original group, which in all probability inspired these copies from the Roman age.

But while thus baffled as to the general composition, and the place of the single figures, how strong the impression left by this fragmentary creation, and how rich the chords it strikes, finding a response in every human heart! The Niobe myth is one of the saddest: in it the just but severe judgments of the gods are visited upon both innocent and guilty. Its subject naturally suggests torture and pain, which we might expect to see pictured in forms too piteous for contemplation, something, perhaps, like the ghastly agony of the damned in mediæval figures. But not so: the sculptor has placed limitations upon himself and his art. We are indeed impressed by this manifestation of the divine

judgments, but a deep and tender sympathy for the victims takes possession of us. Niobe, the proud queen and fond mother, does not give herself over to paroxysms of extravagant grief, though she beholds every earthly joy ruthlessly torn from her in one short hour. No frantic gesticulation, no wild look, betrays terror, rage, or other baser feelings. Unfathomable grief is there; but grief which seems tempered by a consciousness of justice, and a certain degree of submission. This moderation seems portrayed in her children also, as though the gods in wisdom had not permitted the full measure of their punishment to weigh too heavily on their innocent victims. Our natural aversion to scenes of grief is, moreover, overcome by the great beauty which the sculptor has thrown around the marbles. The disturbing bodily anguish is veiled from our eyes. Indeed, the Greeks believed the wounds inflicted by the immortals to be painless. Youth has been selected for all the forms. Even Niobe is not old: the type of her face, its deeply set eyes and generous lines, show the ripeness, but yet the freshness, of blooming womanhood. Moreover, touching marks of affection. occurring throughout, temper the terribleness of the scene. Niobe clasps her youngest daughter in her fond embrace, and a brother strives to shield his sister from her impending fate. In short, mother and children are of a race of heroes; and a family resemblance of rich, full beauty runs through the whole. The touching pathos, which the sculptors of the fourth century developed to a higher degree than had been done before, appears here, even though shimmering through these remote copies of their original works.[956]

Many lesser stars cluster around the constellation of Scopas and Praxiteles. The names of these minor masters are continually being culled from fragmentary pedestals discovered on Attic soil.[957] Of some, honorable mention is made by ancient authors; while the numerous sculptured tombstones and votive monuments found in Attica testify to the high average excellence of the humbler carvers, and a few fragments show the rare attainments of greater men.

Praxiteles' own sons and scholars, Kephisodotos and Timarchos, were among the younger generation, rising about these masters; but, since their prime fell long years after the death of Alexander, they belong properly to the opening years of the following period, where they will find their place.

Silanion of Athens must have been a contemporary of Scopas and of Praxiteles, since he is said to have made a portrait of Plato, who died in 348 B.C. (Olymp. 108. 1). This master was remarkable for having, although self-taught, attained to great professional excellence.[958] Among his works — of which we know little more than the mere names — were several portraits, a few figures from heroic myth, but no gods. His Achilles is simply mentioned by Pliny as a noble work, and of his Theseus in Athens we know even less. Of his dying Iocaste, the unhappy wife and mother of Oidipus, in Theban myth, we are told that he added silver to the bronze in order better to give the pallor of death.[959] Thus, if this

story be true, to the tragic pathos expressed in form, Silanion seems to have added the illusion of a realistic copying of nature. His portraits of Corinna and Sappho, poetesses of the sixth century B.C., must have been purely ideal creations; and the Sappho was praised by Cicero, who tells us that Verres carried it off from the Prytaneion at Athens.[960] Silanion's portrait of Plato was ordered by Mithridates the Persian, who dedicated it to the Muses in the Academy, that retired spot at Athens so often frequented by the great philosopher. Unfortunately, the probable portraits of Plato are very few, and we have no means of connecting them directly with Silanion's work.[961] Four subjects from the athlete's life are mentioned as by this master. These are three Olympic victors in the boxing game seen by Pausanias, and an instructor training athletes mentioned by Pliny.[962] A portrait of the sculptor Apollodoros completes the list of Silanion's known works, and is remarkable as combining with portraiture the expression of great passion.[963] Apollodoros studied philosophy with Socrates, but forsook that profession to become a sculptor, in which new calling he required great things of himself. The story is, that he was often so dissatisfied with his work when completed, that he destroyed it, winning for himself the epithet, "the insane." According to Pliny's extreme praise, Silanion's portrait represented, not a bronze figure, but anger (*iracundia*) itself. The master seems to have been a true son of the Attic school of his time, in this expression of passion; but in its combination with portraiture there is, perhaps, evident a realistic tendency in his genius, more like that which we shall find characterizing contemporary Peloponnesian art, and to be strongly expressed in the Hellenistic age.

Another master, Euphranor, though a native of the Isthmus of Corinth, seems to have left many works in Attica. His prime is stated by Pliny to have been in Olymp. 104; but, since he executed a portrait of Alexander, he doubtless was active long after that. So varied were his gifts, that he seems the Leonardo of that century. He not only worked in metal and marble, modelling imposing colossi, and chiselling fine silver cups: he was also a painter, wrote treatises on symmetry and color, and, according to Pliny, was more anxious to learn, and more active, than all, excelling in every thing he undertook.[964] Lucian mentions him with Myron, Pheidias, and Alcamenes among sculptors; with Apelles and Parrhasios among painters; Quintilian gives him the place in art that Cicero occupied in literature.[965] As a painter, he was the scholar of Aristeides of Thebes; and his pictures are more fully described than his statues, but of the latter a stately though sterile list is preserved to us. In Athens, Pausanias saw his Apollo Patroös in the Kerameicos.[966] An Hephaistos from his hand was remarkable for the admirable impression it gave of the limping of the god.[967] Other statues were seen in Rome, — an Athena, and a Bonus Eventus carrying in the right hand a saucer, and in the left ears of grain and poppies.[968] By this master there was a Leto, bearing her children on her arms, in the Temple

of Concordia. Several repetitions of such a group have been recognized, not only on coins, but in statuary; the best-preserved *replica* being in the Museo Tolonia at Rome, where it is probably correctly restored.[969] It represents that moment of Greek myth when Leto, fleeing before Python, bears on one arm the babe Apollo, who turns to slay the pursuing monster, while on the other arm his tiny sister Artemis sits quietly looking on. This story of Apollo as slaying the destructive monster, to deliver mankind, and afterwards, although a god, doing penance for having stained his hands with blood, thus containing one of the most powerful ethical dogmas of the Greek religion, furnished frequent inspiration for artists. Pythagoras of Rhegion treated the subject, and on coins and vases it is not unusual.

In older representations, Apollo appeared full grown, as seen on vases of the sterner style. But in this century, when childhood and womanhood came to play so prominent a part in art, we see Apollo, as a babe in his mother's arms, performing the first tremendous task of his divine career.

A Paris by Euphranor was said to have combined many excellences. According to Pliny, one could see in the statue, not only the arbiter between the goddesses and the lover of Helen, but also the slayer of Achilles.[970] Besides gods, goddesses, and heroes, Euphranor is said to have represented, in colossal size, a "Virtus" and a "Græcia;" a priestess with the temple-key (*cleiduchos*), said to have been of most beautiful forms, and a praying woman; an Alexander and Philip on *quadrigæ* were also from his hand.[971]

Of his painting, it was said, that, though greatly concerned for symmetry, Euphranor made the bodies too slender in proportion to the heads and extremities; and it is possible, that this one hint as to the style of his art may be passed over to his statuary also.[972] We know, that he claimed for his painting of Theseus, that he had made him appear as though fed on flesh, while the one by Parrhasios seemed fed on roses.[973] Whether, in his statuary, there were companion-pieces to his painting of Odysseus simulating insanity, or to this Theseus, and whether his skill as a painter encouraged the pictorial element, capable of producing illusion in statuary as well, must necessarily be left to the realm of conjecture.[974]

CHAPTER XXVII.

EXTANT ATTIC SCULPTURES OF THE FOURTH CENTURY B.C.

Head from Southern Slope of Acropolis. — Choragic Monument of Lysicrates. — Theatre of Dionysos. — Statue of Sophocles. — Silen from Theatre of Dionysos. — Origin of Satyr and Silen Types. — Attic Tombstones. — Funereal Rites. — Illustrated on Vases. — Variety in Monuments. — Tombstones with Sirens, etc. — Variety in Reliefs on Tombs. — Relief of Damasistrate. — Ancient All-Souls' Day. — Dead represented in Paintings, as seated in their Temples. — Ceremonies about Tombs. — Increased Luxury in Tombstones. — Repetition of Same Type. — Tombstone of Polyxene. — Tombstone of Mother with Infant. — Tombstone of Amenocleia. — Tombstone of Hegeso, compared with Tombstone from Peiraieus. — Interpretation of Scenes on Tombstones. — Ideal rendering of Every-day Scenes. — Lack of Realism in Treatment usual. — Reliefs representing Repasts. — Lekythos-shaped Tombstones. — Votive Reliefs. — Vignettes on Public Decrees.

While the records of statues of gods and goddesses produced in the fourth century are most numerous, it is noticeable, that, compared with the age of Pheidias, few temples and public buildings were now erected; and consequently architectural sculptures from this age are lacking on Attic soil. A few single statues and many votive and tomb reliefs, however, make up for the lack.

A head in Pentelic marble, found on the southern slope of the Acropolis, and now in the collection of the Archæological Society at Athens, is of such great beauty, and is so characteristic in its treatment, that, even though injured, it is of inestimable value in forming our judgment of this age of scanty remains (Selections, Plate X.). It belonged to a statue from which it has been rudely torn, and represents, in more than life-size forms, not immature and girlish beauty, but the full bloom of ripe womanhood.[975] The nose, the upper, and a part of the lower, lip, have been sadly injured; but in this noble head, tipped slightly to the right, the gaze seems to reach the distance, as though filled with some delightful emotion. The wavy hair is gathered in a simple knot behind, from which once hung curls, as appears from their points of attachment, still visible. A hole through this knot shows that a bronze pin ran through it, which is now gone; and a bronze band confining the hair has had the fate of the pin. A second band, however, in marble, which passes across the forehead, intertwining in the rich locks, is still visible. On the right side of the head is a piece of now shapeless marble, for which it is difficult to find an explanation. Possibly the goddess rested her head on her hand; or it

may be, that she leaned against some support; but this fragment may be the trace of some peculiar head-ornament. The slightly opened mouth, through which are seen the upper teeth, gives the impression at first sight of singing; but, with the head raised like this in contemplation, it is natural for the lips to open slightly. So new is the cast of this beautiful face, and so remarkable its intensely absorbed expression, that the question becomes a most interesting one, who the goddess may be, represented here. Certainly this face has not the Aphrodite type, there being nothing of the love-seeking, bewitching eye of that goddess, with her expression of immediate presence; neither do we see the cold, imperious Hera. The fact that the head was discovered on the southern slope of the Acropolis, where Pausanias reports the existence of a shrine to Themis, as well as its intensely contemplative, rapt expression, make it probable that this is indeed the inspired prophetess Themis, the counsellor of Zeus, the mother of the Hours, and goddess of order in the universe.[976] But the rich motherliness of her type seems to point to the goddess Ge Curotrophos, the Carer for Youth, who was also worshipped on the same site. A recently discovered inscription happily gives us the key to this beautiful combination of types, teaching us that these goddesses reported by Pausanias as worshipped in separate shrines were in reality reverenced as one being called Ge Themis.[977]

Forgetting for a moment the expression of great soul-beauty beaming through this face, our attention will be drawn to the remarkable handling of the marble, the exquisite use of its translucent effects, producing soft and subtile skin, and, again, its bold, easy treatment in the hair, calling to mind similar peculiarities in Praxiteles' Hermes. Indeed, so strong are the reminders here of what the ancients praised in Praxiteles, — the truth to nature which seemed to turn stone to beaming life, — as to leave no doubt, that, if not by that master, it is fully worthy of his great name, and belongs at least to his school. That this head was celebrated in antiquity, appears from a copy made in Roman times, which is now in the Berlin Museum. A comparison of the two heads (Selections, Plate X.) will show how the artist of later times smoothed away all the peculiar charms of surface treatment; how, making the eye more naturalistic, he has robbed it of expression; and, finally, how he has left off the curls, and dryly elaborated the hair to suit the taste of his day, sacrificing that exquisite bloom which marks the Athenian head.

Of the architectural monuments of this age in Athens, decorated with sculptures, almost the only one a tall complete is the choragic monument of Lysicrates, popularly called the Lantern of Diogenes, and erected in accordance with an interesting ancient custom. At the expense of some wealthy citizen, a choir was furnished and drilled for musical or dramatic performances, to add to the brilliancy of the public festivals held in honor of the gods. The contest for a prize, which took place between several such choirs, furnished an attractive feature of these solemnities, and was generally held between the

morning and evening offering. To the leader (*choragos*) of the successful choir was then awarded the prize, usually a brazen tripod, which was put up in a public place, accompanied by an inscription stating the circumstances, and forming a lasting commemoration of the service done to the gods and the state. Frequently small temples were built for the highly prized tripod; and, as many of them decorated the street on the eastern slope of the Acropolis, it was called the Tripod Street. This choragic monument of Lysicrates (Fig. 203) is one of these structures, — a graceful, round building of the Corinthian order, and still stands well-nigh intact. It bears the inscription, —

> "Lysicrates of Kikyna, son of Lysitheides, was *choragos*.
> The youths of the tribe of Acamantis obtained the victory.
> Theon played the flute; Lysiades, an Athenian, was the instructor;
> Euainetos was *archon*."

From other sources, we know that Euainetos was *archon* at Athens in Olymp. 111. 2 (335 B.C.); so that we have the exact date of this graceful monument, which, when seen by Stuart in the last century, was used by the Capucine monks as a closet in their convent-garden. Of its narrow, sculptured frieze, Lord Elgin took casts to England; and, since that time, the originals have suffered so much from the weather, and from the wantonness of Athenian youth, that the casts of the British Museum have become invaluable. The structure is composed of a quadrangular basement surmounted by a circular Corinthian colonnade, around the top of which runs a narrow frieze (Fig. 204), which should be considered as a continuous relief, beginning and ending with the inscription. The succession of the cuts is indicated by the letters *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*. To the centre of the roof over the whole, it is supposed, was affixed the tripod won in the contest. The story represented in this relief is evidently one sung in the Sixth Homeric hymn to Dionysos, and is brimming full of life and humor. It was said that the god, in the shape of a beautiful youth, about whose head clustered dark, rich curls, and whose form was wrapped in a purple mantle, was one day seen walking on the seashore by Tyrrhenian pirates, who were cruising about. Believing him to be the son of a king, for whom they might obtain a heavy ransom, they seized the god, bound him, and took him on board their ship. Suddenly the bands loosed themselves from the youthful form; and the helmsman, recognizing the divinity of the prisoner, warned his

Fig. 203. Choragic Monument of Lysicrates. Athens. (Restored)

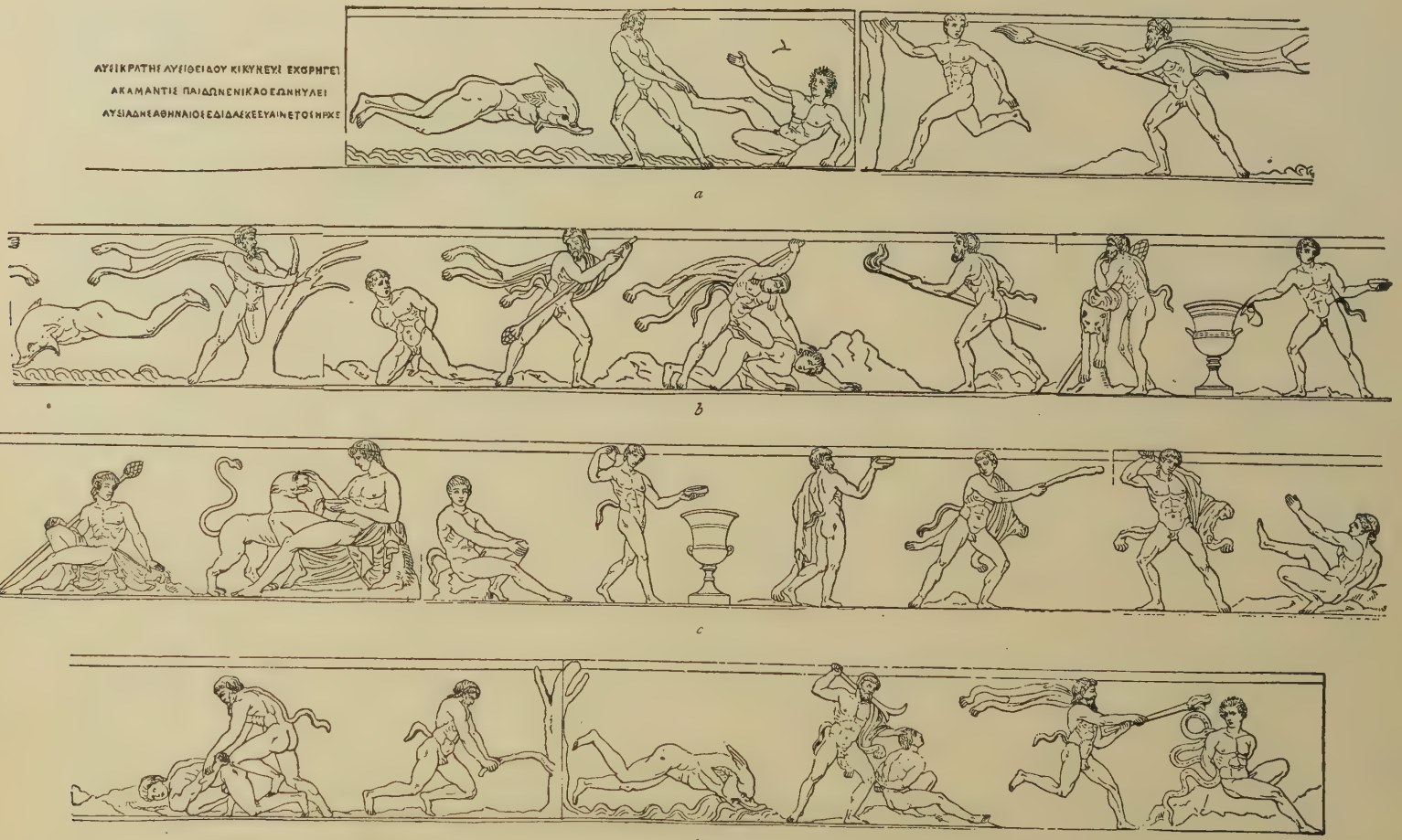

Fig. 204. Frieze around the Summit of the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates. Athens (slightly restored).

comrades to desist from their impious course. But in vain: on putting out to sea, behold! waves of wine flowed over the ship, the god took on the form of a lion, and the affrighted sailors all leaped into the sea, there to be transformed into dolphins. A few touches are added to the story by Ovid, such as that twining ivy bound the oars, and climbed the masts and sails.[978] In the Athenian monument the sculptor has swung loose from a slavish illustration of the myth. The scene lies on shore: instead of waves of wine, and the god turned into a lion, we see the god surrounded by his faithful attendants, bearded, as well as more youthful and beardless satyrs, a lively, excited crowd, carrying out with unbounded eagerness the god's decrees of punishment. Corresponding well with the running character required of such an encircling frieze, there is no strong centralization of the interest in any one point; but the eye runs along, ever delighted with new motives. And yet symmetry is retained by placing the god in the centre, the groups on both sides of him corresponding to each other, and yet marked by pleasing variety. Dionysos, larger than the rest, a beautiful, beardless youth, whose flowing curls, bound by a fillet, fall over his shoulders, reposes on a rock, over which is thrown a mantle. Apparently unconcerned about the tumultuous scene taking place around, he strokes his panther, who paws wistfully at the bowl of wine held by the god. As if keeping watch on each side of him are two seated satyrs. One, holding a *thyrsos*, turns uneasily towards Dionysos: the other impatiently clasps the knee. These two figures thus form, as it were, the first steps over to the wild excitement and eager haste of the remaining scenes. We see first, on each side, standing satyrs, engaged with wine in large vases. Another, with back turned to the capacious vase, watches with contented mien the fight beyond, which has grown serious; and the corresponding satyr on the opposite side, with well-poised step, seems to be offering the bowl he carries to a fellow on the point of departure for the fight. Thus the quieter central scene is adroitly connected with the tempest raging beyond. Here bearded satyrs, or powerful youthful ones, run with burning torches, and swing the barbed *thyrsos*, or short, thick club, over the unhappy pirates, whom they have in several cases already subdued. Others in comical haste jerk off branches of trees, to use against their enemy; one drags a pirate by the foot towards the sea; and another is aided by Dionysos' snake, which is curled around the victim's arm, and thrusts its fangs into his shoulder. A few of these unhappy offenders, leaping into the sea to escape the eager satyrs, are already half transformed by the god's unseen power into dolphins, whose lively delight in coming to their element is most amusingly expressed in the marble. Throughout how wiry and strong the forms of these satyrs, so well suited to carry out such severe tasks! and how admirably is their merry, unbridled character given! When this sculpture was executed, lighter comedy had crowded into the background severe tragedy; and, among the Attic people, a keen taste for the

amusing and pleasurable had been developed. In this unpretending frieze the spirit of the time is mirrored; and what glimpses does it give us of the capabilities of art, even as represented by the decorations of a simple private monument! the tall, slender proportions of the figures at the same time showing a departure from the sterner older models.

Among the few public works undertaken in Athens during the fourth century, was the restoration of the Theatre of Dionysos, the ruins of which, within a few years, have been laid open on the southern slope of the Acropolis.[979] The original time-honored building of wood, which fell in on the occasion of the rival performances of Aeschylos, Choirilos, and Pratinas in 500 B.C., was rebuilt in stone. This theatre, doubtless, suffered in the Persian war, like all the other public buildings in Attica. But the first recorded restorations were made between 343 and 329 B.C., under the direction of Lycurgos, at whose proposal bronze statues of the great trio of tragedians, Aeschylos, Sophocles, and Euripides, were put up. Of these bronze figures, no remnant has been found in the recent excavations, but many pedestals that once bore statues have come to light; and it is possible, that in several fine monuments found in Italy we have reminiscences of those portraits worked over into marble. Such, perhaps, is the portrait statue of Sophocles, discovered before 1839, in Terracina, restored in a masterly manner by Tenerani, and now in the Lateran Museum (Fig. 205).[980] Here we seem to see all the dignity and beauty of manhood in forms so generalized as to produce a magnificent specimen of idealized portraiture. How worthy of the great poet it represents, and how full of benignity and high intelligence, is this face! calling to mind many faces seen in the beautiful Attic tombstones of this century.

Fig. 205. Statue of Sophocles. Lateran Museum.

Among the sculptures found on the site of this Theatre of Dionysos, and which probably adorned it, is the colossal form of a cowering silen, unfortunately poorly represented in the cut (Fig. 206). His obese form acts as an architectural support, and is the first known example of this kind, but was repeated frequently later.[981] He has lopping ears, and a face strikingly like the busts inscribed Socrates, who was said to have had a silen face. It is a curious and interesting

fact, that the original form for satyrs and silens seems to have been the same; this silen and the youthful beardless satyrs being developed out of an older conception.[982] Thus, up to the fifth century, satyrs and silens both are bearded, and have equine tail, hoofs, and ears, — types which had probably been brought by way of the north, as they are seen on coins of Macedonia and Thasos, and on Chalkidian vases. Little by little, through the union of Attic and Peloponnesian elements, the goat character of these sprites seems, in the popular fancy, to have crowded the equine form out of art. By the fourth century the silen, who came to be looked upon as one, the leader, of the youthful crowd of satyrs, received pigs' ears; while his followers preserved their caprine character, and are represented as youthful, beardless, and so graceful as to be well-nigh perfect human forms. The remaining sculptures found in this theatre are so inferior to this amusing, toiling silen, as probably to belong to a later day, when the theatre seems again to have been repaired.

Fig. 206. Architectural Support in Theatre of Dionysos. A Burdened Silen. Athens.

But while Athens has yielded few masterpieces, witnesses from this fourth century to its wonderful and varied art, yet testimony is not lacking in the great number of tombstones lining the highways about the city, which are now partly removed to the collections of other countries.[982a] Although the names of most of the sculptors who executed these humbler marbles are not preserved to us, and although the men and women honored by them are unknown to fame, still the spirit manifested in these unpretending sculptures brings us very near to the innermost life of the Athenians of old, and gives us clear views of family devotion and private virtue, which make these monuments the more precious. We cannot fail to be touched by the sweet spirit of affection that sounds from a metric inscription on a tombstone in the Sabouroff collection. A husband raises it to his wife, putting into her mouth the words, "That all may know my years, twenty-five years old was I when I ceased to see the light of the sun. Of my gentle being and serious-mindedness (*sophrosyne*), my husband knows better than all others of that." Furthermore, these tombstones open up to us priceless glimpses into the spirit of the art of that time, which transformed by its magic wand of ideality all that is limited and fleeting into enduring forms, appealing to our common humanity, and possessed of a sweetness greater than that of the sculpture which preceded, and more delicate than that which followed.

But the erection of the tombstone, with its sculptural ornament, was the central link in a chain of beautiful funereal rites among the ancient Greeks, and gains its proper significance only in connection with these. Before wandering among the ruined homes of the dead, now eagerly explored in search of anti-

quities, and before gazing upon the figured marbles there placed by surviving friends, let us therefore turn aside for a moment to look into an ancient house of mourning. The dying person, having covered his face, breathes his last. Friends close the eyes and mouth of him whose soul has gone to join the shades of the departed; the women and next of kin wash and anoint the body with perfumed oil, and, as though decking it for a feast, wrap it in garments, usually of white, which by Solon were limited to three.[983] Preparations are then made for the first of the three principal acts of burial, the solemn *prothesis*, or lying in state. The body is placed on a rich couch in the front vestibule of the house, in view of the street, — a custom still observed in modern Greece. If it is a man, a wreath of leaves is placed upon the brow; but if a lady, born to riches, a diadem of gold; while, for her poorer sister, one of painted terra-cotta takes its place. Holy water, brought from a neighboring house, is placed at the door, for the purification of those who pass out; a similar custom being retained among the Greeks of to-day.[984] The nearest relations, female servants, invited friends, and hired singers now surround the solemn bier; and the mourning wail is sounded, its refrain being echoed by the whole company. A quaint, painted clay tablet, discovered in Athens, and there preserved, pictures to us one of these funereal scenes; the house being indicated, as was usual in ancient art, by a simple pillar at the left side of the painting.[985] Here the family are gathered around the rich couch on which lies the dead. His mother is foremost among the women, laying one hand on his pillow, and having the simple word "*mētēr*" inscribed by her side. The inscriptions tell us what each figure is; and we see that grandmother, younger sisters, father, and brothers are all there, the female members of the family standing about the head andsides of the couch, and the males at the foot. The latter, with arms thrown up, as if keeping time, and mouths open, as if in singing, seem to be chanting the sad wail, so often read of, and which consisted of responses, the strophe and antistrophe; while the women, with hands raised to the head, the ever-recurring and significant gesture of mourning, seem to be awaiting their turn to take up the dirge. Such scenes, intended to impress by their sadness, but often grotesque through the artist's lack of skill, are rarely found except on earlier vases. In later times, wedding and other scenes were represented for the tomb; and, even where the dead appears, a different spirit becomes evident. In a scene on a beautiful vase in Athens, belonging to this century, the mourning is not painfully evident; but friends stand, sadly conscious of their loss, about the bier, one at the head having a fan, while little winged figures, representing, as is thought, the fluttering unseen spirit (*eidolon*) of the dead, hover about the group.[986] The majority of vases of this more highly developed art in Athens show friends sitting in silent thought at the grave, or speaking with a traveller along the highway, who stops to drop a word of comfort to the mourners. Again, and most frequently, friends come to deck the tomb with sacred sashes, or to pour out sweet ointment

from vases.[987] In one case a beautiful woman, perhaps the deceased herself, seated on the steps of the tomb, is giving gentle expression to her sorrow by letting down her full locks. On each side approaches a sympathizing friend, bringing a basket with gifts for the grave. One holds out an *alabastron* in her right hand; and in both baskets are seen sashes to be added to those already decorating the steps of the grave, and small vases, doubtless full of sweet-scented unguents, to be poured out to the dead or hung on the monument, from the top of which springs a full growth of acanthus. In glancing over the paintings, even on these humble ointment-vases, we see shining out brighter and brighter that beautiful spirit developed among the Greeks, striving to ennoble all it touches. Here the frantic grief of mourning friends turns into the representation of their sweet offices of devotion to the memory of the dead; while the nobler thoughts come, as a matter of course, to be expressed in nobler forms.

But to return to the ancient house of mourning: the first sad duty of the *prothesis* accomplished, the second is undertaken. The night passed, the procession leaves the house before the rising of the sun, in order that the rays of Helios may not touch the dead, banished now to dwell in the shades of the under-world. The course of this solemn train in winding through the narrow streets was fixed by law, and it was forbidden that the mourners should give violent expression to their grief. A woman, bearing a vase for the libations at the grave, heads the procession; and slaves of the house, or, if the dead is a man of note, chosen citizens, bear him, or horses draw the open hearse upon which he lies, while mourners, accompanied by the music of flutes, keep up their sad wail.[987a] Before the dead, walked the men of the funeral train, while behind followed the nearest female relatives, all clad in sombre robes of gray or black, and, it is said, as a principal sign of grief, having the hair of the head cut short, some of the locks being placed in the hand of the dead or laid beside him in the grave. Having called the departed by name for the last time, thus taking a solemn farewell, and having placed in the mouth the coin to fee the inexorable ferryman Charon, friends lowered the body into the grave; often, however, cremation took the place of burial. These coins with the dead have been found, of which there is an interesting specimen in the British Museum. It is a small silver coin, still united to the jawbone, and was found in a beautiful urn from a tomb in Athens. With it was found a small but exquisitely modelled figure of a Siren kneeling on a rock, and tearing her hair in expression of intense grief; this figure is to be seen in the gallery beside the coin. A burial scene is also preserved to us on an ancient vase, where four slaves let the body down into the grave.[988] There, as excavations have shown, the body was surrounded with vases, vessels, and small images. In one grave near Athens, which was opened in the presence of Benndorf, were found more than a dozen graceful and gayly painted small

vases, arranged in several rows over the body of the dead. The numberless Tanagra figurines, and especially those being excavated at Myrina in Asia Minor, testify to the lavishness with which the dead were surrounded with statuettes.[989] Some of them seem to have had reference to the gods of the under-world and their worship, while the greater part appear to have been intended to make sociable the last home of the departed. In children's graves have been found toys, many of which are to be seen in the British Museum; in like manner, favorite garments and food are said frequently to have been laid away with the dead. If a large number of bodies were to be interred, as was the case after battles, the same ceremonies were performed; and, in Athens at least, a funeral oration was pronounced over those who had fallen. When all was over, the friends gathered in remembrance of the dead, and, for the first time, partook of food, as did Niobe in mythic times. This custom obtained also in other lands, for King David observed it after the death of his child; and it seems to be echoed in modern Greece, in the portioning-out of food among the relatives on the evening after the funeral. While these ceremonies were thus strictly observed, corresponding care was taken with the place of burial. This, in earliest times, was in the dwelling itself of the deceased, as may be gathered from ancient writers, and from the finding of more than a hundred graves among the houses of the oldest part of Athens.[990] The great highways without the city walls became, however, the usual place of sepulture, where burial monuments lined the way, recalling to the passer-by the memory of departed generations. Thus, beyond the Dipylon, the broadest and finest of the city-gates, along the roads over which the traveller passed on his way to the busy harbor, or to the sacred shrines of Eleusis, were the tombs of many private families, as well as of distinguished statesmen like Pericles and his compatriots. Here each battle-field, except sacred Marathon, was represented; and monuments were erected over the bodies of the fallen, piously brought to this spot. When the remains could not be recovered, memorial tombs were erected for the lost. Here, as we gather from those exquisitely colored paintings on numbers of vases discovered recently in Athens, and mentioned above, friends decorated the grave with signs of victory, gayly colored sashes, or fresh wreaths. For this purpose, was often used the evergreen ivy of Dionysos, god of mysteries, in whom the Greeks recognized the idea of new life; sometimes the deep-colored rose which sprang from Adonis' blood was used, or the acanthus. Around the most important tombs were planted groves of cypress, poplar, willow, and elm, sacred to Kore, the goddess who passed the winter-months in the cheerless under-world, and took her place again in Olympos with returning spring. These monuments of the dead, with their precincts, were regarded as consecrated spots; and to disturb them was an act of sacrilege, to prevent which stringent laws were passed. The tombs seem to have been looked upon as temples to the dead, just as the temples proper were

often considered the tombs of the gods; and so graves became the scene of many religious offerings. Slain beasts, we are told, were brought to appease the lower gods, and make easy the reception of the departed, who, it was believed, until he had tasted of blood in which there was life, would not rest from wandering in darkness and pitiable unconsciousness. Upon the anniversary of death, and upon other stated days, further offerings of food and drink were brought to the graves. Traces of this custom have been found in many tombs; and a relic of it seems still to exist in certain parts of Greece, in the custom of pouring libations of dark wine upon graves on anniversary days.[991] The care of the ancients for the last dwelling of their loved ones did not, however, end here. The tombstones were washed, and anointed with sweet-smelling sacred oil; upon them also were hung garlands of flowers and vases of perfume, these love-offerings being accompanied with prayers to the gods. Thus it is said by Plutarch, in his life of Aristeides, that the *archons*, once every year, washed and anointed the tombstones of those who fell in the battle of Plataiai; and it is a well-known fact, that there was in Attica a yearly festival for the dead, — an ancient All-Souls' Day. On vases from Southern Italy, the dead are represented as seated in their little temples, receiving libations and offerings from friends.

The monuments about which friends once thus gathered, performing their solemn rites, were of different sizes, shapes, and styles, varying with the locality, the wealth of the people, and the times. In the rich satrapies of Asia Minor, they were often extensive structures, such as the so-called Nereid monument from Xanthos. Often they attained colossal size, like the celebrated mausoleum at Halicarnassos, and called into play for years the activity of distinguished sculptors. In Greece the tomb-monument appears to have been much less pretentious; but great variety of form prevailed, the fierce lion of Cheroneia towering above the fallen warriors of the unhappy battle-field being in strong contrast to the humbler monuments of private persons. Surveying this vast array, we find, that, while sculptured tombstones from the olden time were numerous in Attica, almost none are preserved from the fifth century B.C., that great age of triumph over the Persians, when temples were built and colossal chryselephantine statues were erected to the gods. The *archon* Eubulides, however, about 400 B.C., gave the official signature permitting gravestones in Attica to be made larger; and, soon after that, sculptured tombstones began to appear in Athens in great numbers, perpetuating in their subjects what was most beautiful and sacred in life.[992] The form gradually changed, monuments of the rich being made more imposing than in olden times. The confined space of the older monuments — doubtless due to Solon's laws restricting extravagance — became more ample, the tomb being frequently modelled after the front of a temple, having a pediment, supported usually by two pilasters, between which were placed figures in relief, seated or standing, as if

occupying the temple. These tombstones, having at first figures about half life size, grew larger until they attained heroic proportions. But the law of Demetrios Phalereos, toward the end of the fourth century, again restricted their size. The chapel-like form of tombstones had reference, doubtless, to their sacred character; for the pediment was a holy symbol, pertaining to the house of the deity, and was not used about the dwellings of mortals. This shape was, moreover, advantageous for the artist, since it gave him a retreating background for his figures. In the monuments from the earlier part of this century these are in very low relief; but as they increase in size, the relief becomes higher, until the figures seem to be full statues, seated within their shrines. This appears on comparing the quiet monument of Hegeso, having much of the simplicity of the Parthenon frieze, with that of the two Athenian ladies, Demetria and Pamphile, now in Athens. Frequently the number of figures represented does not correspond with the number of persons mentioned in the inscription; and it would seem that the work was often not intended for any particular family or individual, but was made applicable by the addition of an appropriate inscription. The heads are often made of separate pieces of marble subsequently affixed; this occurs even in reliefs of the best period: and it is an interesting fact, that often painting and sculpture are combined on the same monument. Sometimes the grave was adorned with a simple column or standard, surmounted by the figure of a Siren, with head and body of a female, and the legs and wings of a bird, a lyre being frequently borne on the arm. We are at a loss to know whether these birds represented to the Greeks the singing of the funeral dirge, or those beings which, as poetry tells us, were thought to attach themselves to the souls wandering over the asphodel-fields of Hades, and to instruct the dead in the laws of the gods. By their music, we are told, they banished all memory of earthly things from the minds of the deceased, and filled them with love to the eternal and divine. When placed on the graves, the Sirens would thus become the symbol of never-ending lament for the dead, and, at the same time, of comfort to the survivors, who were reminded that their loved ones were in safe keeping. Sophocles called them the daughters of Phorkys, who sing the ways of Hades; and Euripides called them the winged virgin daughters of earth, sent by Kore to comfort the mourner with their plaintive music. A Siren was the simple but significant decoration over the grave of the great Sophocles himself. A huge Siren of Pentelic marble, playing a shell lyre, was discovered outside of the Dipylon at Athens, and is now in the museum of the Theseion. Others appear simply in relief in the pediment of the monument, sometimes tearing their hair, but usually playing upon various musical instruments. Of the latter class, one of the best-preserved examples is a small tombstone, found in Athens, but now belonging to the Berlin Museum (Fig. 207). Here we see above the lady, busy with her bracelet, and the attentive maid, two Sirens facing one another. Although somewhat rudely executed,

still the earnestness with which one of the Sirens strikes her lyre, and the other blows her double flute, is unmistakable, and forms a strange but significant contrast to the familiar every-day scene taking place below. Another form of Attic tombstone has only recently been understood. It is the half figure placed upon the grave; one example of which, to be seen in Athens, is most effective, though the hair and other parts are left unfinished. A veiled woman here appears before us, represented only to the waist. Her hand fingering her veil, and her bended head, give an expression of sorrow which is more impressive than any gesture of violent grief, and must have been most touching in the figure as it looked down from its ancient monument upon the passer-by.

In the numerous reliefs on tombstones, there is also a most pleasing variety, although the range of subjects is limited. The sculptors do not tire of representing nearly the same scene over and over again; but it is done with such exquisite variations, that the subject seems always new. These scenes may be broadly classed in two great divisions, — those which are reminiscences of life, giving us, not actual portraits of the dead, as in earlier and in later times, but their common affections, favorite occupations, or general traits in representations of ideal form; and those of the second class, which seem to have been developed towards the close of the fourth century, in which the dead are represented as heroes and are worshipped by their families and kin. To the former class belong those vigorous reliefs which show us a strong youth engaged in close combat with an enemy. Fine instances of these are the tombstone of Dexileos, found at Athens, and another of heroic size in the Villa Albani. In some cases the relief shows us the manner in which the deceased came to his end. If he was a shipwrecked sailor, he is represented as seated sadly on the shore in front of his ship. Oftener, however, the scene is taken from daily occupations, from family gatherings, or sports in the wrestling-school. Of wonderfully perfect composition and execution is a tombstone, now in Athens, the figures of which are in heroic size. A glorious youth, in the full vigor of early manhood, and the very picture of graceful life, rests at ease on his mantle, which is thrown carelessly over a slab surmounting two steps.[993] He looks quietly out into the world, apparently undisturbed by the earnest gaze of the draped older man, who with one hand thoughtfully resting on his beard, and the other clasping a long cane, forms a speaking contrast to the freedom and unconsciousness of his happier young companion, who is doubtless the deceased. In one hand the youth holds a short, knotty club; his little attendant quietly sleeps at his feet, while, on the other side, his vigilant hound keeps watch with nostrils to the ground. Unhappily no inscription accompanies this grand monument, to tell us whom its

Fig. 207. Tombstone with Sirens. Berlin.

noble forms commemorate, or what artist with masterly hand here executed a work destined to outlive the fleeting years and memories of his age, to be a joy to later generations.

Many of these tombstone scenes represent the family and friends gathered about the chair of one of their number, who is always larger than the rest. In

Fig. 208. Tombstone of Damasistrate. Athens.

these, remarkable tenderness of feeling is expressed, as the friends look into one another's faces, and join hands. In a relief at Athens, which the inscription tells us is of Damasistrate, daughter of Polycleides, it is, probably, the latter who holds the hand of the seated lady (Fig. 208). As she looks affectionately into his face, she fingers her veil, and seems to speak. Even the

servant, in long sleeves and house-cap, behind her chair, takes an eager interest in the conversation ; while the friend or sister, in the background, stands sadly with head bent forward, and one finger resting suggestively against it. What a poem on friendship we may read in these simple, speaking gestures! and how can we sufficiently admire a people who made these common, every-day scenes the vehicle of expressing so much that is noblest and best? A mother's love could not be more touchingly told than in another but also fragmentary relief in Athens (Fig. 209), where a mother, Polyxene, bends gently forward over her child, and embraces it with her left arm, while, with the right hand, she holds the matronly veil in place. Her servant is evidently a deep sympathizer in the family sorrow ; the touching metric inscription tells us besides of the mourning of husband and parents, who are, however, not represented. In one of the family scenes on a tombstone relief in the collection of M. Sabouroff, Russian ambassador in Berlin, we have perhaps artistically the most exquisite example of these works. Its well-nigh complete forms, which the restorer's hand has not touched, give fully the harmony and grace of these subjects, and show, besides, the sculptor's fertility in making variations upon the favorite theme. On one beautiful tombstone (Fig. 210), now in Athens, appears a young and most graceful woman, seated on a chair, holding in her lap her box of jewellery, or adornments, while she looks placidly up at a friend, who regards her with great concern and affection. An infant in swaddling-clothes, held by another friend, doubtless indicates that the mourned-for was a young mother ; and the sleeved arm at the back of her chair shows that her faithful serving-maid was not lacking. Thus we see that, if family gatherings are depicted, there are no violent signs of sorrow, but many of domestic peace and joy, tinged with faint suggestions of sadness, more elevating and ennobling than unbridled lamentation.

Fig. 209. Tombstone of Polyxene. Athens.

When ladies appear, busy with the toilet, in every case there is so much dignity and grace about the whole, that it does not seem a trivial act, but the expression of womanly fondness for a graceful exterior, and an intuitive longing to win love by beautifying the person. Such is the tombstone, now in Athens, of Amenocleia, daughter of Andromenos the Athenian (Fig. 211). She appears standing within her little temple-like chapel, steadying herself on the servant's kerchiefed head, and holding one foot out, in order that the latter may arrange her sandal, in which operation the lady appears much absorbed. Opposite her stands another, apparently higher in station than the kneeling maid. She wears no cap or long sleeves, but appears as richly attired as Amenocleia herself. In her hand she holds ready the casket, which has often been looked upon as a sacred incense-holder; but the frequent recurrence of reliefs, in which the lady lifts from such a box a veil, shows clearly that it is not connected with religious rites, but simply with the toilet, and contains articles of personal adornment. In the toilet scene on the Siren tombstone, mentioned on p. 495, a seated lady, wearing large round earrings, a band in her hair, and a veil almost dropping from the back of the head, appears, clasping about her wrist a bracelet which she may have taken from a casket held by her no less graceful companion. The latter has ready also a fan, and seems much pleased with the adornment of the lady who is seated. The Sirens above them, alone remind us that this scene concerns those who have entered the realm of the departed. A comparison of two of the most beautiful of these toilet-scenes will show the change which seems to have led to the decided expression of sadness on tombstones of later date, even when such a simple subject is represented. The older of these reliefs (as we may judge from its style), one of the noblest monuments of the kind, and discovered but a few years ago near Athens, once stood over the grave of Hegeso, daughter of Proxenos (Fig. 212). It is of Pentelic marble, and in the form of a small temple, with pediment. Between its pilasters appear two beautiful women in profile. One is seated on a graceful chair, with feet resting on an artistic footstool, usually the sign of rank in ancient Greek sculpture. She looks with a gentle, womanly expression at some object probably once painted, which she has taken from a casket, and which is here held open by a companion standing before her. The striking contrast between these two figures is significant. The one seated is richly clad, a veil falls over her head, and a short sleeved *chiton*, buttoned over the shoulder, drapes her graceful form;

Fig 210. Tombstone representing Mother, Infant, and Friends. Peiraieus.

Fig. 211. Tombstone of Amenocleia, daughter of Andromenos. Athens.

her feet are sandalled; her hair is elaborately arranged, being gathered behind into a net-like headdress; two fillets wind through the wavy front locks, which are separated from the forehead by a low diadem. The unaffected elegance of this lady, "to the manner born," is evident in the easy pose, the bended head, and the graceful dainty play of the fingers; while becoming simplicity marks the servant who holds the casket. A long *chiton*, with tightly fitting sleeves, clothes in easy folds this smaller form, whose feet are entirely covered by shoes; but her beautiful face is so like that of her mistress, that the two might be taken for sisters, were it not for the outward signs of distinction in rank. Contrasting Hegeso's figure with that of Philis from Thasos (Selections, Plate II.), how near of kin seem the two, and yet how much more refined in style the Athenian sculpture! Before this beautiful Hegeso tombstone could be seen by competent judges, it had been thoroughly washed by its ignorant owners, and the last traces of color, which once gave it the necessary finish in detail, had been entirely obliterated. In the base there is still a round hole, which doubtless often received the libations brought by kindred. In determining the age of this relief, the exquisite grace, devoid of all luxurious fulness, and the mere shadow of emotion flitting over the faces, as well as the harmonious adherence to true relief, remind us forcibly of the general style and treatment of the Parthenon frieze. Nothing more is expressed than the noble, beautiful character of the persons, as they are absorbed, without affectation, in the attractions of the toilet. These features of its art lead to the conclusion that this relief belongs to the beginning of the fourth century. By way of comparison, let us turn to that other relief now in the Peiraieus (Fig. 213), and found there in the vast necropolis. We are struck by the similarity, in composition and general treatment, to the group of Hegeso and her maid; but yet the spirit breathed is different, showing a change in funeral art. The casket seems to be opened reluctantly; and the lady to be adorned sits bent in sadness, quite absorbed in thought, and but little inclined to interest herself in its contents. Such is the gentle pathos of her pose, that we seem to be able to divine her thoughts, and the sadness of life cut short takes possession of our souls.

While some have looked upon these scenes on tombstones as representing the happy re-union in Elysium and its occupations,[994] the larger number of the students of antiquity consider them but the simple, unaffected mirror of Athenian life, without mysterious reference to the hopes and joys of another world, such as was usual in Roman times. The absence of individuality, the strongly conventional type in the figures of these tombstones, is further explained as the expression of a peculiarity in the Greek civilization of that time, which regarded humanity in broad classes, and emphasized general characteristics. Thus, in art, the shades of personal character are merged in certain types, as the athlete, warrior, or husband; and woman appears simply as maiden, wife, or mother.

Fig. 212. Tombstone of Hegeso, daughter of Proxenos. Athens.

Fig. 213. Tombstone. Peiraieus.

In another large class of tomb reliefs, the idea of a repast is indicated, as seen in a relief found in Athens (Fig. 214), where a bearded man, probably the deceased himself, reclines on a couch, holding extended a saucer. At his feet sits, doubtless, his wife, sharing in the feast of good things usually in these reliefs spread on a gracefully shaped table before them, but here omitted. The dog, as so often seen in funereal representations, originally with a religious significance, here quietly gnaws his bone. A nude cup-bearer stands by, ready with the vase and pitcher to pour out the drink required; and a friend is at the head of the couch. Frequently, in reliefs of this class, the symbolic snake also curls up by the head of the bed. Sometimes the figure of the

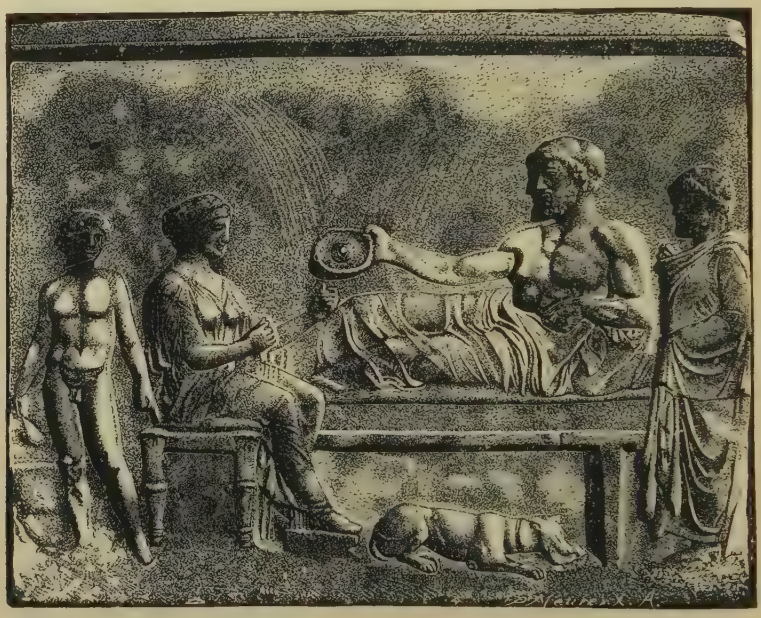

Fig 214. Tombstone on which is represented a Repast. Athens.

deceased wears a *modius*, showing, perhaps, that now he has become a divinity of the under-world. Sometimes smaller relatives stand by looking on, or approach in attitude of adoration, bringing a swine for offering; and frequently a horse's head, or a row of riders, is carved in one corner of the slab. The significance of this class of scenes has been most variously interpreted; but there can be little doubt that it concerns the worship of the dead himself, and grew out of the custom of bringing offerings of food and drink to the departed, or perhaps more directly from the funeral repast held about the grave.[995] The horse, like the dog appearing in the earlier reliefs, may have been a religious symbol; but in the later, where groups of riders sometimes appear, he may have been introduced to indicate the rank or profession of the deceased. Of these tombstone reliefs representing feasts given to the dead, there exists, as

we have seen, in archaic Greek art, one single instance; from the age of Pheidias, none are preserved; but from the following century exists the slab described above, assigned to that time on account of its excellence. The remainder of these reliefs, exceeding two hundred and thirty in number, belong to a later period; many dating, apparently, from the declining years of the Roman Empire. Here the interest consists less in the art-character than in the peculiar faiths it opens up. While by far the greater part of these tombstone reliefs are to men, in some cases an inscription designating the deceased as a *heros*, there are a few also to women. An interesting inscription on an Attic tombstone of this class, now in Nice, shows that they were not merely ordinary funeral monuments, but were regarded in the light of votive offerings to the dead, just as similar offerings were brought to the gods.[996] How far this votive character applied to all tombstone reliefs, is uncertain.

Fig. 215. Tombstones in shape of the Lekythos. Athens.

Continuing our wanderings among the abodes of the dead, we shall find that still another favorite and beautiful monument in Attica, in the fourth century B.C., was a long, slender marble vase in the shape of a colossal ointment-vase (*lekythos*), sometimes decorated with reliefs (Fig. 215). On one of these a beautiful figure (Myrrine) is led away by Hermes. On another we see a curious bit of side-play by the sculptor. In addition to the high relief surrounding the front of the vase, and representing a mounted youth, and others on foot, there is scratched in, under the handle of

the vase, a relief of such grace that we regret that the sculptor did not follow out his fancy, and finish his sketch. We trace here the outlines of a beautiful woman busy with her toilet, and looking at something in her raised right hand, while she listens to a remark concerning it, made by a young girl leaning confidingly on her shoulder, and pointing to the object held.

Besides these numerous tomb monuments, there have also been found in Athens very many votive reliefs, which are clearly the work of the fourth century. They are unlike the reliefs of the preceding age, in that they are more pretentious, both in composition, and in the number of figures introduced, and seem to represent some actual religious rite taking place within the temple. Such are the reliefs to Asclepios (Fig. 216), which seem to show

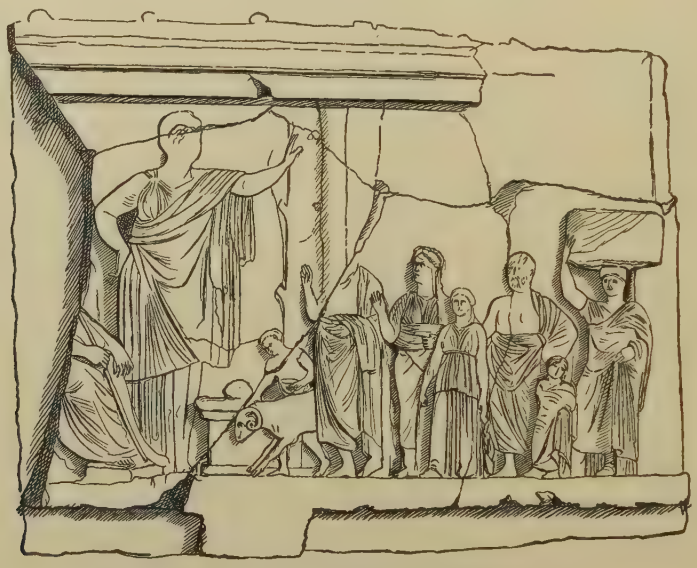

Fig. 216. Votive Relief to Asclepios and Hygieia. Athens.

the inside of a temple in its longitudinal section.[997] The altar stands in the centre; and behind it sits the noble, but sadly fragmentary, figure of the god Asclepios. Standing beside him is the colossal form of Hygieia, looking complacently down on the family of worshippers, approaching with the ram for offering struggling to get away from a small attendant. The first two worshippers, doubtless the father and mother, raise the right hand in adoration; while the remainder are occupied with bringing other offerings, or have not yet joined in actual devotion. How different from the uniformly low relief of the votive slabs of the Pheidian age (p. 378), the much higher relief here used, with its deep shadows and strong lights, as well as the representation in full front view of so many of the figures, and the elaborate drapery! We see evidently, even in this humble slab, the richer, more luxurious character of the art of this age.

The reliefs at the head of public decrees of this time, found in Athens, are especially interesting, as their dates can be positively fixed. They show the gradual progress from simpler to more elaborate forms; while those of the later years of the century grow careless in execution, and with its close entirely disappear. One of these reliefs, a vignette at the head of a treaty made with Corkyra in 375 B.C., shows us a seated male figure of dignified mien, conversing with a standing female draped like Kephisodotos' Eirene, but holding her veil with one hand. Athena, helmeted, stands by, attentively listening to the diplomatic conversation going on between the man, who doubtless represents the powerful *demos* of Athens, and the veiled woman representing the weaker state, — the island of Corkyra, as the inscription indicates. In another of these vignettes, dated 362 B.C., Athena stands with bended head while the treaty is being closed with Macedonia; the whole style of the relief being less severe, and Athena's pose full of serious contemplation, as becoming to the goddess of the discomfited Athenian state.[998]

From all the shattered monuments found in Athens, — from the playful reliefs of the choragic monument of Lysicrates to the sad tombstones and the votive reliefs of the pious, — we see how truly ideal the bent of art in Attica, during the century of a Praxiteles and a Scopas. And the more we study these monuments, even though we are robbed of the famous masterpieces of their time, the higher grows our sense of the beautifully poetic and truly human character of the age that gave them birth.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

LYSIPPOS AND THE ARGIVE-SIKYON SCHOOL DURING THE FOURTH CENTURY B.C.

Artists in Argos. — Subjects treated. — Art in Sikyon. — Lysippos. — Reports concerning him. — Multitude of his Works. — His Zeus. — Poseidon. — Cairos. — Representations of Lesser Gods. — Heracles. — Portraiture. — Portraits and Statues of Alexander. — Attempts to trace Lysippos' Originals in Later Works. — Other Portraits. — Athletes. — Apoxyomenos. — Proportions of this Statue. — Lysippos' Success in representing Animal Life. — Characteristics of his Art. — Lysippos' Brother, Lysistratos.

Turning from Attica, and its wide-spread artistic activity of the fourth century, to the Peloponnesos, we shall find there, also, masters of name, but having, as in the previous century, a narrower range in their art than their Attic contemporaries. In Argos, which, with its Polycleitos, had been the beacon light in the fifth century B.C., there must still have existed an independent school during the early half of the next century. Polycleitos' pupils and their contemporaries were now working there. These were Polycleitos the younger, his brother Daidalos, Antiphanes of Argos, Cleon of Sikyon, and others of minor fame. Some of these men, already mentioned in connection with the great votive offerings for Aigospotamoi, were also employed in the execution of an extensive thank-offering made by the Arcadians, led on by the Tegeans, for a victory won over the Lakedaimonians, 369 B.C.[999] Antiphanes' scholar Cleon from Sikyon, according to Pausanias, executed for Olympia, in 388 B.C., the first statue of Zeus from fines taken from the delinquent athletes; and the pedestal of this very statue has been discovered at Olympia with Cleon's name.[1000] Judging from the subjects mentioned, Argive sculpture, at this time, does not appear to have developed ideals of the gods, but occupied itself with statues of athletes and heroes. Between Argos and Sikyon, judging from the hints given us as to the nativity of the different masters, there seems to have been a lively artistic interchange; but, by the time of Alexander the Great, Sikyon appears to have pressed time-honored Argos permanently into the background.[1001]

The glory of Sikyon art now centres about the great Lysippos, who was for the Peloponnesos what his contemporaries Scopas and Praxiteles were for Attica. A native of Sikyon, he commenced life as a plain worker in metal

(*ærarius*).[1002] He is said to have been encouraged to undertake an artistic career, by a remark of his celebrated fellow-countryman, the Sikyon painter Eupompos; who, being asked which among his predecessors he had taken as his model, pointed to a crowd gathered near at hand, and exclaimed, "Nature herself is to be followed, not any artist!" [1003] But Lysippos did not study nature alone; he made the works of the older masters his study as well. Varro reports of him, that he copied not the failings of the earlier men, but their best attainments; and Cicero says, more definitely, that he called Polycleitos' Canon his instructor; and the fact that he worked exclusively in bronze seems to indicate affinities with his great Peloponnesian forerunner.[1004] But Lysippos was an innovator in the traditional method of representing the human form. Pliny says, that, for the further development of art, Lysippos accomplished great things, in that he expressed the character of the hair, made the heads smaller than the older masters, and the bodies more slender and lean, so that his statues seemed taller. "The Latin," he adds, "has no word for the symmetry which Lysippos most carefully observed, and by which, in a new way, he changed the square (*quadratæ*) statues of the ancients. Of these older masters, Lysippos used to say, that they represented man as he is, but that he himself represented man according to his appearance; or [following another translation] as he should be." [1005] Again, we read of the elegance of his work, and of the finenesses, even in the least details.[1006] Quintilian emphasizes his truth to nature, coupling his name with Praxiteles; and Propertius speaks of the life-likeness, or *anima*, of his works, thus using a term frequently applied also to Myron.[1007] From being a humble worker in metal, Lysippos advanced to the fore-front in the art-ranks of his day, furnishing colossal statues to distant lands, and, indeed, becoming Alexander's chosen sculptor. It is believed that his artistic career commenced early in the century, perhaps soon after 372 B.C., when Troilos, for whom he executed a statue, won at Olympia; but Pliny places Lysippos' prime at 328 B.C. (Olymp. 113).[1008] In an epigram, he is spoken of as an aged, gray-haired man; and late in the century, after Alexander's death, he was still employed by the Macedonian rulers, having designed for Cassander, after the founding of Cassandreia, 316 B.C. (Olymp. 116. 1), peculiar vases for the famous wine of the neighborhood.[1009] In this long period of activity, extending over well-nigh sixty years, he is said by Pliny to have produced more works than any other master, and of such excellence that any one of them would have made him celebrated.[1010] The story is, that, after securing the pay for each completed work, Lysippos laid aside from it one gold *denarius;* and that after his death, when the box was broken open by his heirs, the number of pieces found was fifteen hundred. Such incredible activity can only be accounted for by the fact that this master worked exclusively in bronze, for which he would need to prepare only the models, leaving their casting to his large school of assistants.

Of this army of bronze statues, many of those in Greece were removed to

Rome; and, of many others, no notice is preserved to us. Judging from those of which records exist, Lysippos represented but few gods, and of these less frequently the youthful than the older deities of Olympos; Zeus appearing four times among his works, and Poseidon once. Of his statues of Zeus, all in bronze, one was in the market-place of Lysippos' native town, Sikyon; another, a standing figure, and an object of worship, in the Temple of Zeus Nemeios, in the neighboring Argos; and a third grouped with the Muses in a temple at Megara.[1011] Lysippos' most celebrated Zeus was, however, a colossus in Tarentum, said to have measured about twenty meters in height, and to have been only second in size to the Colossus of Rhodes by his pupil Chares.[1012] But the silence of ancient authors about these Zeus representations, and the lack of any reproductions of them, leave us no means of judging of their character.

Fig. 217. Poseidon Isthmios. (Lange's Restoration.)

Of his statues of Poseidon, one cursorily mentioned by Lucian has been shown by Lange to have been in all probability the great Poseidon Isthmios, which, in its pose, was the canon for later Poseidon ideals, as remotely reflected for us in numerous gems, coins, statues, and reliefs, the best known being a statue in the Lateran.[1013] From these representations of the god, varying in their minor attributes, it is evident that Lysippos' Poseidon stood quietly leaning forward, and resting the right arm on his right knee, raised by placing the foot upon an elevated base. This remarkable attitude, first applied, as Lange believes, by Lysippos to statuary, was doubtless suggested by athletes at rest in the *palæstra*. The older masters had represented the athletes in most varied action, — hurling the disk, dropping the oil, or carrying the spear; and there was nothing left for Lysippos but to represent them in repose. From this, as Lange reasons, it was only one step more to apply the situation to the active, powerful ruler of the seas. To give the god a more majestic appearance, his raised left hand held the trident, or sceptre, planted firmly on the ground; and in his right hand was probably held a small dolphin (Fig. 217). Of the peculiar excellences of Lysippos' Poseidon, of the ideal expressed in the head which we may suppose looked off commandingly into the distance, we are unfortunately as little able to judge through the later reproductions, as we are of Pheidias' Zeus or Athena through their later variations. The engraving, which gives

the Poseidon of the Lateran with the addition of the proper attributes, indicates that the general scheme of the statue emphasized splendid physical force in the great "Shaker of the Seas."

Among the youthful gods to whom Lysippos gave form, none have attained the celebrity enjoyed by a Cairos (Favorable Opportunity) which originally stood in a temple-court at Sikyon, and, later, was removed to Constantinople. Cairos was to the people of Lysippos' day, as Curtius has shown, an actual god, believed to influence men at critical moments, when sudden decision was required, and leading them to the proper improvement of every fleeting opportunity.[1014] He was the god of the *palæstra*, a radiation of Hermes as it were; having, like the latter, an altar in Olympia. In the medical art, he had, naturally, great influence, and by Menander was named the god and teacher of mankind. He is called upon continually, in Sophocles' Electra, as the prompter and helper to every deed of daring. But this god, so peculiar and subtle in his being, naturally received from poetic fancy many different attributes, which came to be multiplied and elaborated as time went on. As has been beautifully said, the Cairos' ideal is like a folk-melody which has been sung and resung until it has so many variations that it is well-nigh impossible to recognize from among them the original simple strains. From the numerous epigrams on the Cairos of Lysippos (whether a statue or relief is unknown), it has been thought that it represented a slender youth with bashful mien and downy chin, a long lock hanging over the brow, while, behind, the hair was too short to be caught. His feet were winged, his toes resting on a rolling ball, indicating, that in a twinkling, if not seized by the forelock, the lucky moment would be far out of reach.[1015] In the hands, the epigrams give him a pair of scales, the symbol of fluctuating fortune, and a sharp-edged razor. Thus is placed before us an elaborate, but exceedingly frosty, allegory, which, on account of its recondite significance, is lacking in the direct warmth of true poetry. The same character seems to run through the few plastic representations of this god preserved to us. From the fragment of a simple beautiful relief found in Athens, and a more complete one in Turin, down to a still later one in Torcello near Venice, can be traced this multiplication of attributes, quite contrary to the spirit of true plastic art. As these, however, are nearly all late Roman works, we have no assurance that they approximate the Lysippian original. The poetical epigrams may have given descriptions of the Cairos by Lysippos which are not to be taken literally, but understood in the same manner as the sayings about Myron's famous cow. Removing the confusing and unplastic attributes ascribed to Cairos, such as the ugly forelock, the sharp-edged razor, the balancing scales, and rolling ball, there remains a lightly moving youth, speeding over the ground, but hardly touching it with the tips of his winged feet, as the original form in which, without any positive *data*, we may believe that Lysippos conceived and represented Cairos, the special god

of athletes, producing a figure the direct outgrowth perhaps of the study of athletic frames and attitudes, in which the master excelled.

Of Lysippos' representations of other youthful gods, we know even less than of this much-discussed Cairos. A *quadriga* with the Rhodian sun-god, by him, so pleased Nero, that, in a burst of barbarous enthusiasm, he caused it to be covered with gold. But this treatment so detracted from the artistic worth of the work, that the removal of the precious metal at a later day was considered only to have increased its value, even though ugly scars were left behind.[1016] An obscure passage in an ancient author leaves it uncertain whether Lysippos represented Hermes and Apollo struggling for the lyre; Lucian mentions a bronze Dionysos by him; Pliny tells of a satyr from his hand, in Athens; and Pausanias, of a bronze Eros in Thespiai, put up after the consecration of Praxiteles' Eros in marble.[1017]

The master's numerous representations of Heracles, the powerful, much-enduring hero, doubtless exercised great influence on later art. This victorious combatant of monsters, and "toil-laden hero," appears now burdened with care, and weary, now engaged in conflict, and now rejoicing in the full cup, in statues varying from those of cabinet-size, suitable for a table-ornament, to those of colossal proportions. The largest was a Heracles in bronze, originally at Tarentum, whence it was removed to the Capitol at Rome, by Fabius Maximus, in 233 B.C. In Constantine's time it was taken, with ten other statues, to Constantinople, and put up in the Hippodrome, the present Atmeidan; but in 1202 it was melted down by the Crusaders for its metal.[1018] The size of this figure was so great, that the thumb could scarce be spanned by a man's girdle, and the length of the shin-bone equalled the height of a man. In it the hero appeared, wearied after his tremendous labors in cleaning in a single day the stables of Augeias, where, it was fabled, were lambs, sheep, and cattle, countless as the clouds of the sky. According to the descriptions of Lysippos' colossus by a Byzantine writer, the hero, without quiver, bow, or club, appeared seated on the symbol of his purification of the stables, a basket over which was spread his lion's-skin. His attitude was that of repose after exhausting labor. The right leg and arm were easily extended, and the left leg was drawn up; while on the open hand, supported by his knee, the weary hero rested his head, pondering sadly over the many trials still to be overcome. His chest and shoulders, we are told, were massive and broad, the hair thick but short, the arms powerful, and the rump full. We have seen the hero in the metopes of Olympia, likewise leaning his face on his hand, pondering over his trying mission, but in a standing posture and with his foot on the conquered lion, ready at any moment to continue his labors. Lysippos seems to have brought the hero one stage farther, showing more complete exhaustion, and, perhaps, a shade of discouragement in the lack of what might indicate further action. Possibly this new type may be echoed in the famous

Belvedere torso of the Vatican, Michel Angelo's favorite antique; a work so sadly mutilated, however, that opinions vary widely as to its original pose, and general artistic character. On many ancient gems, the reposing hero is to be seen; but they all vary in detail from the descriptions of Lysippos' statue, and we can only hope that excavations at Tarentum may some day throw light on this old colossus.[1019] Of a second Heracles by Lysippos, we have only Pausanias' bare mention that he saw it on the market-place at Sikyon.[1020] A third statue, according to several epigrams, represented the hero as robbed of his weapons by Eros; and the gems on which the reposing hero appears with the god Eros seated on his shoulder, and the club by his side, may offer variations, at least, on this theme.[1021] Still a fourth representation of Heracles by Lysippos, although scarcely a foot in height, enjoyed great celebrity on account of its grand outlines. This bronze statuette, called Heracles Epitrapezios, or table-ornament, represented the jovial hero, seated on a rock, covered with his lion's-skin. With the right hand he held high a goblet, and in the left his club, while his gaze was directed upwards; forming, it would seem, a suitable decoration for the centre of a festive board. Alexander, it is said, was so fond of this bronze, that he carried it about with him on his campaigns. It came afterwards into the possession of Hannibal, and then of Sulla, and was finally owned by a rich Roman, Nonius Vindex, when seen by poets who sang its praises.[1022] Besides these single figures of Heracles, Lysippos represented him (whether in reliefs or statues, is uncertain) as engaged in his struggles. From Alyzia, a retired town in Acarnania, on the west coast of Greece, according to Strabo, a Roman general removed them to Rome, that they might be seen.[1023] It seems probable that Lysippos developed the massive corporeal type of Heracles as a powerfully muscular, bearded man in full years, in distinction from the earlier representations, on Attic friezes and in Olympia, as more youthful and lithe; and this physically more powerful type of Heracles seems to have held its own in art, down through later times.

Portraiture was also a strong point with this great Sikyon master. One class of portraits represented men of the past, according to their characteristics, as traced in their history and literary productions. The second class of portraits represented living people. To the former must have belonged Lysippos' representation of Æsop, the fable-poet of centuries long before the master's day, and the ideals of the Seven Wise Men, which he is said to have incorporated in bronze.[1024] An ancient poet grows enthusiastic over this portrait of Æsop, who was conceived by the Greeks as an unfortunate cripple from birth, but, like the famous Pasquino, the Roman tailor, and others thus afflicted, as gifted with sharp wit making up, as it were, for the bodily defect. That Lysippos thus represented Æsop, we do not know; but the deformed marble Æsop of the Villa Albani, with a suffering but genial face resting on

the unsightly shoulders, is of such masterly conception, excellent workmanship, and realistic rendering, that we would fain believe it to be in the spirit of Lysippos' celebrated bronze.[1025] Socrates he perhaps represented in bronze for the Athenians; and his own countrywoman the poetess Praxilla, who lived in the early part of the fifth century B.C.[1026]

But his portraits of Alexander, whom he represented in all ages from boyhood upwards, have won for him the fame of being chief among the portrait-artists of antiquity.[1027] According to the ancients, the great Alexander had a skin of dazzling white, and cheeks of roseate hue; but, on account of a natural deformity, carried his head inclined to the left, a defect which was increased by a wound received in Illyria. His eyes were small, but soft and liquid in their expression, having a fire akin to that conceived to light up the face of Dionysòs, or to beam from Aphrodite's countenance; and his hair rose boldly from his forehead. Lysippos alone, of the ancient masters, is said to have so blended these peculiarities into a whole, that, while every characteristic feature was preserved, he still gave the king a lion-like and virile appearance. It was reported by Roman authors, that Alexander allowed himself to be represented in painting by Apelles alone, in gems by Pyrgoteles, and it is even affirmed that he issued an edict to the effect that none but Lysippos should represent him in statuary; a statement which, however, cannot be correct, since it is known that Euphranor, Leochares, and others made statues of the monarch. The general impression, that only one man was permitted to make Alexander's portrait, doubtless originated in the resemblance of the numerous representations of the monarch in later days, and the constant desire to associate works of art of doubtful origin with some familiar name. This general familiarity with the monarch's appearance was, moreover, increased by the Roman emperors, many of whom, as Caracalla, sought to imitate him, and encouraged his worship by setting up his busts. Alexander Severus was so devoted to Alexander's cult, that he had a statue of him put up in a private chapel connected with the imperial residence. Alexander's head was also found on Roman seal-rings, and women used it for adorning their persons. Lysippos is known to have represented Alexander once as looking up, and carrying a spear, the suitable attribute of a conqueror. Upon the pedestal of this statue a poet is said to have written, —

"What power, Lysippos, hath thy bronze!
The conqueror's daring mien,
And Alexander's glorious self,
Embodied here are seen.
The living metal seems to say,
With eyes uplift to Jove, —
'Mine are the realms of earth below,
Thine, the realms above.'" [1028]

Again, Lysippos represented the great conqueror as one of an extensive group executed in honor of bloody Granicos, Alexander's first battle in Asia. In this work Alexander appeared with twenty-five mounted and nine foot soldiers, who fell about him at the first onslaught. This group formed one of the attractions of Dion in Macedonia, Alexander's capital, and was removed to Rome by Metellus, the conqueror of Perseus, the last king of Macedonia, and at last adorned the Portico of Octavia.[1029] That these numerous riders and foot-soldiers could not all have been exact portraits, as reported by Pliny, is evident from the fact, that, with the exception of Alexander, the warriors portrayed all fell at Granicos, and were buried there. Still another group in which Alexander appeared was the hunting-scene, described above (p. 460), in which Lysippos was assisted by Leochares. While portraits of Alexander in bronze and marble are not infrequent, — a fact which may be understood readily from their importance in Roman times, — it is difficult to trace in them reflections of the greatness of Lysippos' power in portraiture. As the foundation on which our knowledge of Alexander's face is based, must be considered that marble bust, now in the Louvre, discovered near Tivoli in 1779, by Azara, bearing Alexander's name, and presented to Napoleon Bonaparte by the finder. Here, although the surface has been sadly injured, still we see the lion-like hair rising from the forehead, the small, voluptuous eyes, as well as the defects of Alexander's neck seen in the greater fulness on the left side. But more of the grandeur of Alexander's face seems preserved to us in another marble head, now in the British Museum, and originally from Alexandria (Fig. 218). The head is tipped slightly to one side, giving it, however, a bold and daring look, which is increased by the manner in which the hair is thrown up from the forehead and falls about the neck. The form of the upper eyelids and the sweep of the eyebrows are such as to give the eyes an almost sensual expression, which is increased by the mouth, in which the tongue is just visible between the teeth. That grand, shaggy-haired head of the Capitol at Rome, long called Alexander, has so remote a resemblance to these heads, that it is difficult to believe it to be even an idealized portrait. Another and similarly formed head of the Uffizi, but with an expression of pain, and called the Dying Alexander, is evidently but a

Fig. 218. Portrait Head of Alexander the Great. British Museum.

variation on one of the youthful giants of the Pergamon frieze, and has no connection with the great Macedonian. Statues of the monarch are also thought to exist; among which, however, only the one in Munich may be traced with probability to a Lysippian original.[1030] In it the nude hero stands with the right leg raised on a rock, while he looks off commandingly into the distance; thus having a position which may perhaps be traced to Lysippos, as its originator in statuary. The statue was restored by Thorwaldsen, as though preparing to anoint his raised leg with oil; but it is more probable that Alexander should have appeared putting on his armor, an act which may find its explanation in his constant desire to emulate his great heroic ancestor Achilles, the turning-point in whose life was the donning the armor brought him by his mother Thetis.

Lysippos also represented Hephaistion, Alexander's most intimate friend; and from an inscribed pedestal, once in Rome, we learn that he also represented Seleukos, one of Alexander's generals, after he had become king.[1031] Among his other works, and following the tradition of the Sikyon school, were five statues of victors in the Olympic games, the inscription of one of which has been discovered at Olympia.[1032] A statue by Lysippos, of an athlete scraping his body with the strigil, became very famous in after-centuries, and is known as the Apoxyomenos.[1033] The athletes, before the active exercise of the games, anointed their bodies with oil, both to protect themselves from cold, and to limber their skin. In addition, they sometimes sprinkled their bodies with the finest sand. In the intense exertion of racing, wrestling, etc., the perspiration naturally flowed freely, catching the dust of the arena. To remove this, a curved scoop was used, called by the Greeks *stlengis*, and by the Romans *strigil;* and its employment, even without the bath, was looked upon as one of the main sources of bodily health and strength. The great weight laid upon these customs of the *palæstra* appears from the contributions made by the Sicilians to the Rhodians, after the latter had suffered from an earthquake, when they received seventy-five talents ($88,350) to be spent in replenishing their gymnasiums with oil. The artistic forms given the strigils, many of which are preserved, show the labor spent even upon such humble accessories. The bronze Apoxyomenos by Lysippos — a young athlete occupied with removing the oil and sand from his body — was placed by Agrippa before his baths in Rome; but Tiberius, finding delight in the statue, removed it to his private apartments. The people, robbed of the sight of their favorite, so clamored for its restitution, when Tiberius appeared in the theatre, that the emperor was obliged to restore the statue to its place. In 1849 there was discovered in the Trastevere, at Rome, a marble copy of this lost bronze original; and it now forms one of the main attractions in the brilliant Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican (Fig. 219).[1034] The left hand alone was entirely missing. Owing to a misunderstanding of Pliny's statement, the restored hand, which should doubtless

have been left empty, has received a die. We see in this statue a very tall, slender figure, with a small head; and when compared with the works of earlier masters, the Doryphoros of Polycleitos, or the Parthenon figures, it furnishes an admirable illustration of the innovations introduced by Lysippos into the proportions of ancient sculpture. Comparing this figure in detail with the copy of the Doryphoros, in the Argos relief, engraved on p. 386, we find, that, while the head in the relief is only about one-sixth of the whole length of the figure, in the Apoxyomenos it is little less than one-eighth, and while in the relief the length of the body predominates over that of the limbs, here it is much shorter in proportion; giving the whole figure a more slender effect, but a less grand one, than that rendered by the older master. The ankles and wrists are also more slender than in the older figures, preventing the extremities from looking too heavy, as was said of those made by Euphranor. In archaic art a similar relationship between head and body, and body and legs, is often met with, as seen in the Æginetan sculptures; so that it seems as though Art, after having made her full circuit, returned with Lysippos to the proportions of her infancy. But, besides this change in proportions, the Apoxyomenos shows in its pose an elegance, and effective, restless grace, such as we might expect from the great Sikyon master, who is said to have shone by these qualities, which, however, in the marble, with its necessary supports, do not come as fully to expression as they must have done in the bronze. The surface, especially about neck and chest, in which the details are naturalistically given, and the rendering of the hair, not in masses, but in individual curling locks, confirm the statements of the ancients as to Lysippos' care in expressing hair, and in finishing details. The face follows the general scheme of Praxiteles' god of the athletes, Hermes; but, unlike that great work, soul-light does not glow in the

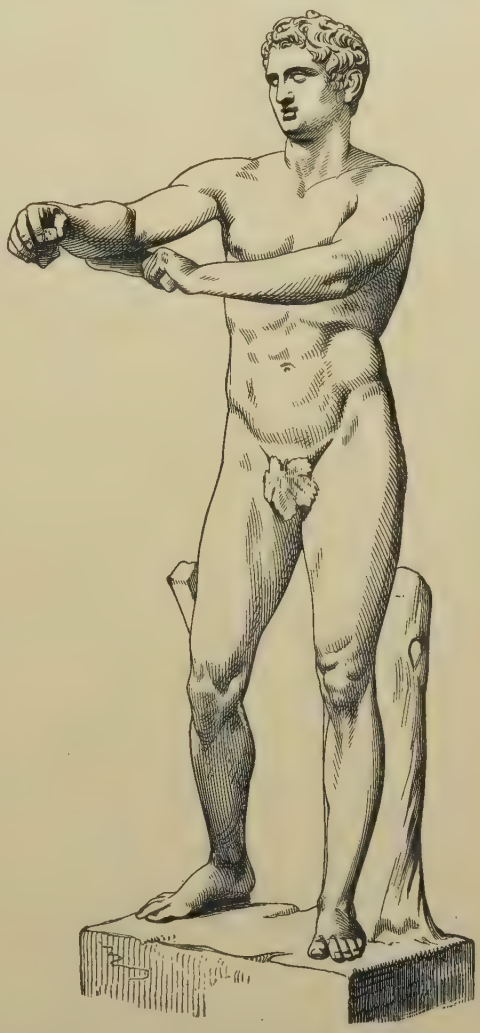

Fig. 219. The Apoxyomenos after Lysippos. Vatican.

countenance. In the muscular features, where restlessness lurks in every line, we seem to see rather an ideal of the athlete, verging very near to the actual naturalism of portraiture.

Animal life the Sikyon master is said to have represented with great success. Besides the lion and dogs of hunting-scenes, in which Alexander appeared as mentioned above, a dying lion is spoken of, which was removed from Lampsacos by Agrippa, as well as *quadrigæ* of different kinds, and an untamed horse of great lifelikeness, who pricked up his ears, and raised one hoof: this was destroyed by the Crusaders in Constantinople.[1035] An inscription with Lysippos' name has been discovered at Thebes, together with the name of Polycleitos the younger; but, unfortunately, the work that accompanied it is not preserved.[1036] Consequently, all that we have from which to form an estimate of his artistic achievements and peculiarities are but copies of a later day, and the reports of the ancients. But even with these unsatisfactory *data*, it seems safe to infer, that, following the tendencies of the Argive-Sikyon school, his energies were devoted mainly to the creation of fine corporeal forms, and to the perfection of the physical frame, for the attainment of which bronze was the most suitable medium. But he could not remain where the masters, such as Polycleitos, of a sterner, older time, had stood; and he introduced an element of greater elegance, and perhaps showiness, into his work, in keeping with the stream of his time. This latter influence, doubtless, led to his developing details, as he saw them in nature, much as Praxiteles did in the drapery of his Hermes. Granted that this conception of Lysippos be correct, he seems to be one of the direct sources whence flowed many of the streams traceable in the Hellenistic age, on the very threshold of which time he stood.

Since the activity of the most of Lysippos' scholars falls in the opening years of the following, or Hellenistic age, they will be considered under that period. One alone, Lysippos' own brother Lysistratos, may, however, here find his place alongside of his greater brother. Of his early life we know little. One statue alone by him, of Melanippe, is mentioned. The interest he awakens is due, however, to what Pliny says in a much-discussed passage, — that he took casts directly from the human form and face, with a view to attaining more perfect portraiture.[1037] Taking for his method a process so mechanical, even though, as it is said of him, he afterwards worked up the forms in wax, we cannot but feel that his method was contrary to the free spirit of ancient art. Hence some have tried to explain away the statement of Pliny, claiming that there is no evidence that the ancients used piece-moulds.[1038] But several objects recently added to the British Museum go to prove conclusively, that the ancient Greek sculptors were familiar with, and skilfully used, plaster-casting.[1039] These objects are the head and two arms of an Eros found in the region of Kyrene. But besides these fragments from the Kyrenaica, others have also been found in Athens itself in no small numbers, in and about the

ancient graveyard, outside the Dipylon.[1040] Some of these are of most beautiful form, and are now to be seen in the museums of Athens. Among them was the left arm of a man, from elbow to wrist. In this, the bone was still left, around which the squeeze for the form of the arm was to be made. Doubtless other such relics would have been preserved, were it not for the perishable nature of plaster. These discoveries of objects, from the time following close on to the age of Lysistratos, go, moreover, to confirm Pliny's statement with regard to the methods in portraiture of this sculptor, but do not raise him any higher in our estimation as a genuine artist.

CHAPTER XXIX.

DIVERS SCULPTORS AND MONUMENTS FROM OTHER PARTS OF THE GREEK WORLD DURING THE FOURTH CENTURY B.C.

Prominence of Sparta. — Bœotia under Epaminondas. — Arcadia. — Messene. — Damophon. — Other Artists of this Age. — Lion of Chaironeia. — Sculptured Reliefs. — Tanagra Figurines. — Their Diversity. — Their Affinity with Other Works. — Art in Sicily. — Tarentum and Siris Bronzes. — Eros and Psyche in Berlin. — Art on the Islands and in Asia Minor. — Cnidian Remains. — Demeter. — Cnidian Lion. — Remains from Temple of Ephesos. — Subjects of Sculptured Columns.

TURNING from the dazzling glories of Attic and of Argive-Sikyon art, in this age of Praxiteles and of Lysippos, we may now seek to gather up the fragmentary rays which stray to us from other parts of the Greek world. At the close of the great civil war which humbled Athens, Sparta stood at the head of the Greek states. To her leader Lysander, the hero of Aigospotamoi (406 B.C.), divine honors were paid, the first instance in Greek history of such respect being shown to living mortals. To him were awarded golden wreaths and statues; to him altars were raised, offerings made, and hymns of praise were sung. In emulation of Athenian patronage of arts, two Victories were dedicated by Lysander, in commemoration of the battles of Ephesos and Aigospotamoi, besides three tripods in Amyclai, and the colossal group at Delphi already described (p. 394). But Sparta's narrow-mindedness and sectional spirit seem to have shown themselves even here, Peloponnesian and insular masters being employed to the exclusion of the Athenians. The few existing marbles which may be ascribed to this age show no development in that peculiar art which had flourished in Laconia, but rather that it had lost its vitality; these later monuments lacking altogether in local coloring.[1040a] An aggressive, arrogant policy towards the other states and the foreign powers caused Sparta's rapid decline from her leadership. The young Theban power in Bœotia was now roused against her; and under the guidance of Pelopidas and Epaminondas, the Arcadian confederacy was consolidated, and its new capital, Megalopolis, laid out in 370 B.C. Temples were built, and furnished with statues; theatres and bridges were put up; and a colossal ring, fifty *stadia* in length, enclosed this new city, which could thus be appropriately called "the great city." The ruins still testify to the skill and taste of the builders. Mantineia was also now rebuilt, and its temples filled with new statues; the shrine of

Athena at Tegea was renewed with great outlay, and a costly votive offering of many bronze figures sent to Delphi. But it is noteworthy, that, in all this artistic activity in Arcadia, artists of the Attic school, Kephisodotos, Praxiteles, Scopas, and others, as we have seen, were employed, besides many sculptors of less fame of the Argos-Sikyon school. Of native talent, but one master alone is mentioned, Samolas by name, engaged with Argos masters in executing for Tegea the bronze votive offering of nine figures for Delphi (p. 397).

But, besides Arcadia, its neighboring state Messene also enjoyed great political prosperity at this time, offering sculptors many opportunities for exercising their powers. Its brave and warlike people, in order to escape servitude to Sparta, had been obliged to leave their homes, and find refuge in Sicily, Italy, and Africa; but recalled by Epaminondas, and protected by Thebes, they returned to their homes and sacred places. In 369 B.C. their capital Messene sprang into existence as if by magic. Other cities — Pylos, Eira, Methone — were rebuilt; and their ruined battlements still exist to tell the story of this activity. We learn that the sculptures of one Damophon abounded in the shrines of his native town Messene, and in the neighboring Megalopolis. His activity must, consequently, have fallen soon after the building of these cities. In Messene were several works ascribed to this master, — a remarkable figure of the mother of the gods; an Artemis Laphria represented as huntress; an Asclepios with his children; an Apollo; the Muses; a Heracles; an Artemis Phosphoros; a Tyche; and a figure of Thebes, doubtless put up in commemoration of the help received from that city.[1041] All these were in marble, — a material, as we have seen, not used by the great Argive-Sikyon sculptors. Megalopolis also teemed with the works of Damophon, who alone of the Messenians, according to Pausanias, made worthily the statues of the gods, among which were Core, Asclepios, Hygieia, Hermes, Aphrodite, and many others.[1042] Of these, some were in marble, and others were acroliths, in which the main part was of wood, but the extremities of stone. The same was true of Damophon's statues of Eilytheia in Aigion, on the Gulf of Corinth, executed, it is presumed, while he and his countrymen were in exile there.[1043] Not a single work in bronze, the favorite material of Argos-Sikyon masters, is mentioned as by him; but that he was skilful in the use of gold and ivory appears from his having repaired Pheidias' Olympic Zeus to the perfect satisfaction of the people of Elis, who, in consequence, heaped honors upon him.[1044] His frequent creation of acrolithic statues, in which the gilded wood and white marble were doubtless intended to take the place of the gold and ivory of expensive chryselephantine statues, seems, moreover, to indicate, that, as far as was in his power, he kept up the traditional method of representing the gods, to which these imitations must have come nearer than the bronze figures of Argos and of Sikyon, or those in marble of contemporary Attica.[1045] Damophon's reli-

gious and ideal tendency, as evident in these frequent representations of the gods, seems, moreover, to show a bent quite foreign to that of Lysippos, but akin to that of Attic sculptors. The fact that at Megalopolis he must have worked with the Attic masters, and that the Messenians always regarded Athens as their ally, suggests a direct relationship between this master and the contemporary Athenian school.

In Megara, Apellas, Theocosmos' grandson, now meets us. He executed praying women, and statues of philosophers.[1046] In Olympia, Pausanias saw a *quadriga*, a charioteer, and a figure of Kynisca, by this master. Kynisca, a Spartan queen, was the first woman allowed to send horses to the Olympic races.[1047] The inscribed pedestal of this group, as recently discovered, shows that the *quadriga* was of diminutive size; and it has been conjectured that Kynisca appeared praying for victory, and was, therefore, one of the praying women mentioned by Pliny.[1048]

In Thebes, during her short period of prosperity under Epaminondas, the arts were liberally encouraged. This great man held before the Thebans the maxim, that, to be the first in Hellas, they must put the Propylaia of the Athenian Acropolis at the ascent to their sacred Cadmeia; thus indicating the importance he attached to monumental works. Sculptors from Attica and from the Peloponnesos were called to adorn temples, and to erect statues to victors. Both Praxiteles and Scopas, as we have seen, were there employed; and Lysippos also left his name at Thebes. But the names of a few Theban sculptors have also been found there, as well as appearing in ancient records.[1049] Most prominent among these are Hypatodoros and Aristogeiton, co-workers, and perhaps brothers. Their most extensive works seem to have been two large bronze groups, executed for Argos, and consecrated at Delphi in honor of victory over the Spartans, doubtless in the Corinthian war 393–387 B.C.[1050] One group represented a scene from the campaign of the seven mythic heroes against Thebes, and the other the deeds of their sons, — subjects which are familiar to us from the tomb at Gjölbaschi.

From such scanty records concerning sculptures in Bœotia, we turn gladly to its monuments, which within a few years have been collected in part into the growing museums at Thebes, Tanagra, Thespiai, and ancient Chaironeia. The museum at Thebes already numbers two hundred pieces; and the other collections, though smaller, contain many important works. The few belonging to the developing stages of art have been mentioned under archaic monuments. The larger part belong to a developed stage, and many even to the declining days of Roman dominion. The sculptures which peopled the temples have nearly all disappeared; and the most part of what are preserved are tributes erected by mourning families, or the state, to their dead.[1051] Taking the lead, is that national monument which marks the great historical crisis when the liberties of Greece were crushed in the battle of Chaironeia, Aug. 7, 338 B.C.

On the Bœotian plain, spread out at the foot of Mount Parnassos, thirty thousand Macedonians, led by Philip and by his son Alexander, then only eighteen years of age, met and annihilated the combined forces of Thebes and of Athens. So terrible was the conflict, and so bloody the hand-to-hand fight, that the river which winds through the plain received the name of Haimon, the stream of blood. When the battle seemed hopeless, three hundred Theban youth, the "sacred band," threw themselves into the conflict, but in vain; the whole number falling before the enemy. Over their common grave, a grateful people raised a colossal monument, — a lion of gray Bœotian marble. Into this grave we are privileged reverently to gaze, since, twenty-one hundred years after the battle, it has been opened, and the brave youths have been found, as they were piously laid away, side by side, their remains still showing the marks of the hopeless struggle.[1052] Cruel lance-points still pierce both thighs of one; another has his chin fearfully crushed; and a third, his skull. This solemn tomb is again to be closed, and the brave dead left to rest in peace. Above them the Greeks propose to raise again the monument, placing upon it the lion, which, with its pedestal, will once more tower up thirty-nine feet against the blue sky of Greece, as Pausanias saw it centuries ago. He noticed the lion, and explained its presence as referring to the courage of the fallen; but the inscription, he says, is lacking, adding, "Because, as I believe, fate has not crowned their bravery with the reward it deserves." [1053] The lion, the monument erected to these brave men, has also suffered. Later generations, thinking treasure might be concealed within, laid a mine, and blew its colossal form into many fragments. Modern travellers have often passed by the spot where these were half hidden in the earth; and Professor Mahaffy tells us that he found wild bees at work in the mouth of the upturned head, the honeycomb clinging to the teeth.[1054] These scattered fragments, with the exception of one paw, have, however, been recovered; but it will be no slight matter to bring them into their places again. The paws, recently found, measure more than three feet in length; and the weight of the head is estimated at not less than four and a half tons. The back of the lion was left quite rough, but great care was lavished upon the neck and belly, doubtless because these parts were most exposed to view. The head, of which there is a cast in the British Museum, is thoroughly natural (Fig. 220). The jaws do not widely yawn, but between the slightly opened lips the teeth show; and the eyes seem fiercely directed upon some hated object. The pupils are indicated by deep round cavities in the eye, over which swell powerful muscles. The idea embodied in this majestic beast seems to be that of a lion who, rising, growls at the enemy in low but ominous tones. Its artistic style and execution have nothing local, but strongly resemble Attic works; the nearest parallel being a life-size steer, still adorning the tomb of one Dionysios, in the Kerameicos in Athens.[1055] In its general scheme, this Chaironeian lion is the same as that

archaic lion, now before the Arsenal at Venice, and originally from the Attic battle-field of Marathon. Of the few reliefs found in Bœotia, and doubtless also belonging to this century, the majority show a striking similarity to Attic tombstones in charm of subject and in execution.[1055a]

But our picture of Bœotian art would be incomplete without noticing those modestly beautiful figurines in clay with which the graves at Tanagra and elsewhere were peopled. This custom was in vogue throughout most parts of

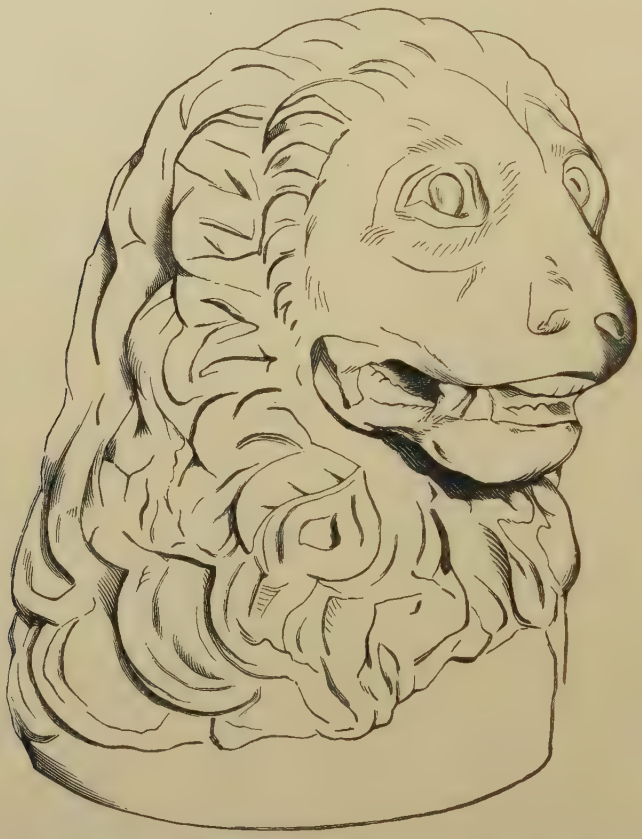

Fig. 220. Head of the Lion from the Tomb of the Theban Warriors who fell at Chaironeia.

the ancient Greek world; and such figures are sometimes found in temples, as well as in tombs.[1055b] But, while discovered on so many ancient Greek sites, those from Bœotia and from Attica still continue to assert their artistic superiority. In Bœotia, near the high-roads over which for ages passed commerce and armies from Athens in the south, to Chalkis in the north-east and to Thebes in the north-west, were situated the tombs, but principally along the greater road leading to Chalkis. In these were found the terra-cottas; the greater part coming from Tanagra (modern Grimadha), although they have been found as well at Thebes, Thespiai, and other places. Unfortunately an

ignorant and greedy peasantry have dug here for the most part, and the restorer has clandestinely patched together whatever has been found, so that it is impossible to tell what method was originally observed in distributing these beautiful companions of the dead, and whether they were used by poor as well as by rich. Extensive excavations, however, by the French, at Myrina in Asia Minor, show that, there at least, these statuettes were frequently thrown into the grave, and often even broken beforehand, as is evident from their exceedingly fragmentary condition, and the fact that the heads and bodies of the same statuettes were sometimes found at opposite ends of the grave. A custom seems here indicated, similar to that prevailing in modern Greece, of breaking a vase upon the tomb after burial.[1056] The rapid multiplication of these statuettes, which are often found in great numbers in a single grave, was facilitated by the use of piece-moulds, one for the front and one for the back of the body; such having been found on many sites. The two clay impressions thus formed were united at the edges into a complete shape; the clay while still moist being retouched, in the better figurines, by the thumb, or modeller's tool. The heads were, on the other hand, a free creation, and very varied, even on figures from the same mould. Of four beautiful figurines in the Sabouroff collection, the heads and the objects held are so varied, that only careful attention brings the fact to notice, that in design, drapery, and size, the bodies are exactly alike. The same is true of thirteen others of another type, some of which are in the Louvre. Where the heads are preserved, the sutures connecting them with the body are almost always skilfully hidden, seldom having the awkwardness observable about figurines patched up in modern times. A hole was left in some part of the figure, usually the back, for the escape of air during the firing; and the majority of the statuettes were applied to a square clay plinth before being put into the furnace.

The veil which has so long hung over polychromy in Greek art is here at last partially lifted, showing the perfect harmony in which color and statuesque form could be united. The color is never painted directly on the dark clay; but when complete with all its accessories, the figure received a thin coating of white, or pipe-clay, upon which were applied the rosy, azure, or golden hues which in some cases still delight the eye. One standing figure of the Berlin Museum (Selections, Plate XI.) carries a golden fan, and wears a broad hat richly hued. The delicate blue garments are encircled by broad golden borders, unfortunately but faintly given in the phototype. If we look into the blue eyes, and if we catch the gentle, modest expression of the red-lipped mouth, we are quite satisfied that the Greeks had precious secrets at their command with regard to the gradation of colors as applied to plastic forms. It was not always, however, that they had produced such subtle and delicate combinations; as a glance from these exquisitely blended hues back to the staring harsh colors of archaic figurines will readily prove. In these advanced

statuettes, nearly all the bright colors in simple and clear tones appear; but ethereal sky-blue and tender rose-tint seem the favorites, while a combination of white and gold is sometimes met with. The hair is, without exception, a reddish brown; suggesting the possibility, that anciently the hair was dyed with *Khenna*, still used universally in the Orient. The eyes are a delicate blue, the lips red, skin a soft and mellow but not naturalistic flesh-tone, the wreaths green, and rocks a grayish blue. These colors have too often faded altogether, or — what is much worse — have been very considerably retouched. The collection of M. Sabouroff in Berlin contains many untouched specimens of most varied types, offering a fine school for the study of color as used by the ancients.[1057]

The purport of these companions of the dead is not in all cases easily divined. A few are furnished with the familiar symbols of well-known figures of the gods. Thus, do we see a fleet huntress with her hound, it is probably Artemis; do we meet the merry satyr face and form, there can be no doubt that we are following the artist into the realm of mythology; and where winged boys float with inexpressible grace, or hide in the arms of a beautiful woman, there can be no doubt that Eros, fabled to make lovely women more lovable, is intended. But a larger class of youths, maidens, and richly draped women, who appear seated, standing, and reclining (Selections, Plate XI.), are often found with no attribute; or these are confused, — for instance, a vigorous youth carries the tragic mask, Melpomene's attribute, or the apple, Aphrodite's symbol. In the Sabouroff collection, one has his bronze spear, and a maiden carries in her arms a vase of perfumes (*lekythos*) like many found in graves, thus, evidently, representing a friend bringing offerings to the deceased. The artist's mind, in designing many of these beautiful figures, seems, then, to have been filled with scenes from daily life. He shows us, in the figure of the Berlin Museum represented in the centre of Selections, Plate XI., a lady, as she would appear walking closely wrapped in well-held garments, and wearing on her head the light, pointed, and broad-brimmed hat; calling to mind, in her appearance, the enthusiasm of Dicaiarchos, a scholar of Aristotle and traveller in Bœotia, who considered the Theban ladies, by reason of their elegant carriage, queenly stature, and beautiful person, to be the most perfect among the women of Greece. "They cover their heads," as he adds, "with a white veil, showing only the eyes;" a mode of dress which finds an exact reflection in many figurines. But the coroplasts (moulders of puppets) also show us these ladies of old adorning themselves, doubtless in the privacy of the house, as seen in two figures in the British Museum, or as dreamily reclining, or playing with a pet dove alighted on the shoulder, as seen in the beautiful figures of the Berlin Museum (Selections, Plate XI.).

We might expect, that such humble and diminutive works of art would, necessarily, owe their effect to a certain coquettishness and piquancy of pose

and subject, as is the case with modern porcelain art, so much of which never rises above the level of mere attractiveness. But these ancient terra-cottas of such humble size, fascinating us by their charms, and ennobling the paltry material of which they are composed, seem to belong to the very same family as the ancient statuary itself, and hint to us, how great our loss in the disappearance of the large and perfect statues of which these figurines are doubtless the graceful reflection, as the vase-pictures are of the greater paintings of this wonderful century. Among the marbles of Græco-Roman times, — such as the seated ladies, absorbed in thought, and others restored as Muses, — are many which vividly call to mind motives ever recurring in these Tanagra terra-cottas, and only changed to suit the new taste and circumstances.[1058] An exhaustive treatment of this branch of art would take in, besides, a world of homely actual scenes, in which caricature also plays an important part.

Could careful observers have stood by to note the exact build of the different tombs from which these little figures were taken, what a boon it would have been to the archæologist! Their exact age could then have been established, independently of conjectures founded on characteristics of style. The only light from ancient writers is a remark by Dicaiarchos, to the effect that beautiful and peculiar decoration adorned the house-doors of Tanagra, and that the people put up gayly colored offerings of burnt clay. Even in Pausanias' late day, the inhabitants of Aulis, on the high-road to Tanagra, were all potters by trade. A comparison, however, with similar figures coming from Megara, and accompanied by an inscription of about the time of Alexander, places also the Tanagra figurines of the better sort in the second half of the fourth century, when in literature and the higher arts the majestic dignity of the past had yielded to the spirit of the new age. In these statuettes we seem, then, to have an intimation of the delicious grace and truly human ideality which characterized that time, permeating even the humblest walks of art-life. So akin are these figurines to objects found in Attica, that it would seem as though Bœotian potters, living along the high-road connecting their land with Athens, must have felt the moulding influence of the great streams of Attic art, which, by the end of the fourth century, permeated the ancient world even to the remote Crimea and Italy.

In Sicily, at the court of Dionysios of Syracuse, art was highly regarded; and coins teach us the graceful forms it there assumed. But of sculptured temple-monuments of the fourth century, like those from the temples of the preceding century, there are no traces.

In the literary accounts of art encouragement by the Greek cities in Southern Italy, Tarentum stands out prominently. But from this land only a few stray bronzes exist. Of these, two, now in the British Museum, although but seven inches in height, show a grandeur of style recalling the praise expended by the ancients on Lysippos' table-ornament, Heracles Epitrapezios. These

are the celebrated bronzes of Siris, one of which is represented on the right hand in Selections, Plate XII. They consist of two groups in high relief, which once served as ornaments to a piece of armor, and covered the buckles by which the breastplate and back-piece of a cuirass were united at the shoulder. These little bronzes were found in Southern Italy, within a small ruin, near the ancient Grumentum (Saponara), and the river Siris.[1059] The fact that they were discovered in the vicinity of the spot where, about 280 B.C., Pyrrhus, king of Epeiros, first gave battle to the Romans, nearly losing his life on account of the splendor of his armor, has led to the conjecture that these fragments were a part of the spoils of that engagement, and possibly the very armor of Pyrrhus himself. But their being found within a ruin seems to indicate rather that they came either from a tomb, or from a temple where they had made part of a votive offering. They were purchased by the British Museum for a thousand pounds, and have been greatly admired on account of the superiority of their workmanship, and their masterly composition, as well as the passion expressed in such small faces. The subject of both groups is the same, — that of a combat between a warrior and an Amazon. In the one represented in the plate, the female warrior has fallen on one knee, and her antagonist, a bearded and helmeted hero, has caught her by the hair, — a group calling to mind some figures in the frieze of the Mausoleum. Although the action is the same in these two Siris reliefs, there is no monotonous repetition. The surface is modelled with great refinement, as well as breadth. In Thorwaldsen's judgment, "these bronzes afforded the strongest possible proof that, in art, majesty is not dependent upon mere mass; since," as he says, "these diminutive works are truly great, while many modern colossal figures are, notwithstanding their size, petty and mean." This bronze possesses an additional charm in the pleading, sorrowful expression of the fallen Amazon, as well as in the stern, unrelenting face of the warrior, in whose overhanging brows vengeance seems to brood. The passionateness expressed, as well as the grouping, suggest to the mind the school of Scopas, and doubtless give, as the approximate date of these rare bronzes, the second half of the fourth century. A close examination of the workmanship heightens still more our admiration of these ornaments. The bronze is not cast, but hammered out, like modern *repoussé* work, to an unrivalled thinness, and with great surety. The parts less convex are generally more massive, being more furnished with metal, than those which have a greater projection. Where the relief is very strong, as in the heads, the plate is reduced to the thinness of paper; and, on the reverse, we observe cavities nearly an inch deep. Remembering the difficulties attending this process, the accuracy of blow and knowledge of form required to bring out the exquisite anatomical details here seen, we cannot enough admire the artist's skill; while, if we consider that it was bestowed, not upon a statue, but upon armor, we realize how deeply the spirit of true art had permeated every handicraft.

Equally grand in its design, but having more slender proportions, is that other bronze of the British Museum, found, it is said, at Tarentum, and representing a half-seated youth (Selections, Plate XII., left hand). Like the Siris bronzes, it is decorative, and, as the holes in it indicate, was attached to a mirror-cover, like those recently discovered at Corinth, and now in the British Museum. A finely developed youth, of athletic frame, appears half seated, half leaning against the background, which is, unfortunately, lost. He was probably grouped with another figure, which is now gone. Grand simplicity marks the fall of the drapery, and all its minor beauties cannot fail to attract us; but the eye is fascinated by the noble form and beautiful head. There is here a near kinship to the features of Praxiteles' Hermes, but a greater slenderness of body, and a less massive build of face. It is not, like the Siris bronzes, *repoussé*, but a casting. The surface is unusually well preserved for bronze, mirroring with force and beauty the play of the muscles beneath. Obscurity hangs over the exact site of discovery, but its date may be safely fixed as the second half of the fourth century B.C.

In connection with these rare bronzes should be noticed one other acquired in 1883 by the Berlin Museum, and of uncertain provenience, but purporting to come from Epeiros in Greece, and representing Eros and Psyche (Selections, Plate XII., central figure). This beautifully finished bronze is executed in the technique of the Siris bronzes, being hammered out, and once formed the decoration of a humble mirror-cover. It is the oldest existing representation of a scene which later came to be a very favorite one for funeral monuments. Here Eros, as a beautiful winged lad, stands by the side of Psyche, who is wrapped fully in graceful garments, and has her arm over his shoulder. His affection is gently expressed by his hand under her chin as though to turn her head for a kiss, which in later art is always actually represented, as seen in groups like the one in the Capitol at Rome. In this bronze there is such pleasing suggestiveness and exquisite grouping, as well as moderation in rendering, that there can be little doubt that this rare work dates from the latter half of the fourth century B.C., being another witness to the delicate modes of expression then prevalent, and to the subtile beauty of the artistic thoughts of that age.

The figure of a wounded Philoctetes, forming the decoration of a helmet, and said to have been found in Greece, and now in the Berlin Museum, is very akin in form, build, and expression, to the Siris bronzes, and doubtless dates from the same age, and, perhaps, workshop. In it the pain of the wounded hero is powerfully expressed in the small figure pressing the aching head with the hand; but still much is left to be imagined, there being in the face no expression of intense suffering. Other exquisite bronzes found in Etruria are, doubtless, also Greek work of the fourth century: instance the Hypnos found in Perugia, and many smaller works.

To the islands and Asia Minor we may now turn to fill out our knowledge

of the monuments of this great creative century, when numerous ideals were being developed for later times to draw upon. On the island of Andros, a statue thought to represent Hermes, with a female figure thoroughly draped, was discovered among the tombs, and shows the signs of the art of this time.[1060] The female figure is draped like the statue commonly called the Muse Polyhymnia; and having been found in various countries, such as Kyrene, Delos, and Italy, it seems probable that it was rather a favorite figure for the decoration of graves, representing the dead herself as deified, or perhaps simply as a mortal, and accompanied, as in this case, by Hermes, the leader of souls.

On the island of Melos, a colossal marble head was discovered in 1828, which, judging from its style and spirit, belongs to the great century when Scopas and Praxiteles were in their prime (Selections, Plate XIII.). Inscriptions found with this beautiful head, which is now in the British Museum, show that the place of its discovery, a grotto, was sacred to Asclepios, god of healing, and that it was dedicated by a Roman of about the first century B.C. These facts led to the belief that it represents Asclepios: others have, however, pronounced it to be Zeus himself.[1061] If it be Asclepios, it approaches the older ideals of that god, whose resemblance to the Zeus heads we see on comparing Zeus on coins, with the earliest extant Asclepios reliefs, found within a few years in the ruins of his temple at Athens. The discovery in a Roman shrine, among many inferior works, of this colossal head, from the best time of Greek art, may be due to a custom, most frequent in Roman times, of removing older statues from their original site, and consecrating them in new shrines.

Let us, with the aid of the phototype, study this noble head in Parian marble more closely. Its generous forms, covered with lightly curling locks, and once crowned with a wreath of metal, are strongly contrasted to the stunted skulls of most Roman Jupiters, and are possessed of an infinite beauty, although the force of many of the shadows is lost in the present false mounting, which makes the head look upward in an attitude of devotion, unsuitable to him who was the hearer, and not the offerer, of prayer. Mark the forehead, significant of wisdom and power. In its centre, is an elevation from which the curling locks grow gently upward; below, its lines blend in exquisite harmony with those of the nose and eyebrows; at the sides, they pass gently into the prominent temples, there being here only a slight depression, — a feature which contrasts most favorably with the exaggerated Otricoli forehead (Fig. 143). The subtle, elastic lines of the eyebrows, without any indications of hairs, sweep off on either side, at a graceful angle, to the nose, and, disappearing in the temples, seem capable at any moment of contracting, and of casting over the eyes a look of lowering anger. There is no narrow and abrupt break at the bridge of the nose, as in faces of a baser cast; nor are

the muscles, directly over the eyebrows, like small hills, indicative of brute force, as in faces of simply physically powerful men. The features express spiritual power, combined with the highest self-control. The eyes, on which color is evident, have a mild expression, and lie, unlike those of the Parthenon heads, deeply embedded beneath the brow, — a peculiarity appearing in Attic sculpture in this century after Pheidias. The nose, which, by rare good fortune, is perfectly preserved, is of great beauty and strength, being of equal width from forehead to tip, where the finely shaped nostrils seem capable of instantaneous dilation. Around the full lips clusters the manly, curling beard, giving force to the lower part of the face. Benignity is one of the chief characteristics of this face; but the serene forehead and placid eyes are combined with such powerful brows, nose, and mouth, that were these brows contracted in anger, these nostrils distended and these lips moved by passion, we feel that the serenity would be transformed into dire wrath like that of the mighty Zeus.

Although no names of native sculptors of Asia Minor are preserved from this age, yet that there was activity there, is evident from the many existing monuments, and from the fact that during this period Attic sculptors of fame, — Scopas, Praxiteles, Leochares, and Bryaxis, — doubtless assisted by native talent, peopled the shrines and beautified the tombs. The Mausoleum, with its elaborate sculptural decoration, has already been described; but the less-famous marbles discovered by Professor Newton in the neighboring Cnidos, as well as others excavated by Mr. Wood in Ephesos, remain to be noticed.

The artistic spirit of Cnidos, known from the ancient writers, is richly borne witness to by the numerous temple ruins, and choice fragments of statuary, discovered by Professor Newton in 1858. The ruins had long served as a quarry for Greeks and Turks, for building-purposes; and, only twenty years before the modern excavations, whole ship-loads of marbles had been removed by Mehemet Ali, to build his new palace in Egypt.[1062] The spot which yielded the largest number and choicest marbles was a sacred precinct (*Temenos*), within which had originally stood a small temple. These remains occupied a platform, from one side of which rises a sheer precipice, while the other overhangs the sea. In the face of this precipice were three niches cut for statues, which, however, no longer occupied them. On a base which had once borne a statue, was found recorded the dedication of a temple and a statue to Demeter and to Persephone, by Chrysina, wife of Hippocrates, in obedience to the god Hermes, who appeared to her in a dream, and declared that she should be priestess of these goddesses, at a place called Tathne, doubtless the very spot where the inscription was found. Other inscriptions showed, that, besides Demeter and Persephone, Hades, Hermes, the Dioscuri, and Hecate, — all deities of the nether world, — were here worshipped; but from the lack of all public dedications, and from the modest character of the ruins, Professor Newton adjudges this to have been a private shrine for the *cultus* of these gods, erected by Chrysina.

The character of her inscription, moreover, is such, that it clearly dates from about the middle of the fourth century, giving us a clew to the age of the sculptures found. On this site was discovered that draped seated Demeter of schistous marble, with her beautiful head of Parian marble, now occupying the small anteroom adjoining the Archaic Room of the British Museum, and seated still among the many votive offerings once dedicated to her, and to the other deities of the nether world, by the pious women of Cnidos (Plate IV.). The body is sadly injured, so that the effect of the enveloping drapery is well-nigh lost; and the back is left flat, a proof that the statue must have occupied a niche, doubtless some distance above the eye. The shortness of the waist, which, as the figure now stands, strikes every observer, is peculiar to many sculptures. It is not the mutilated form, however, but the head, which claims our reverent attention, so akin in spirit and workmanship to Praxiteles' Hermes, that we would fain associate it with the great master whose Aphrodite, we know, was the centre of attraction at Cnidos, the home of this Demeter. From the inscriptions alluded to above, together with the character of the head and dress, there can be no doubt that Demeter, the mourning mother in Greek myth, is represented in this figure, which, alas! has suffered so cruelly at the hand of time. But enough remains for us to be moved by the look of maternal tenderness in this face, dispelling any impression that Greek art was cold and passionless. There is an expression, also, of the sorrow of her who anxiously sought her lost daughter Core; so gently told, however, in the quiet, peaceful lines of the face, that we scarcely know where it lurks. A matronly veil, severely simple, intended for covering, not ornament, falls over her head and long curls: her age is that of one who has passed the bloom and freshness of early youth, but upon whose face, though sorrow has left its impress, years have not yet ploughed their furrows. The manner in which this sorrow is expressed is a fascinating study, as has been well pointed out by Brunn.[1063] It is a fact of daily observation, that, when deep and long-continued sorrow is felt, the eyes become sunken, the adipose tissues in which they are embedded diminishing in volume, especially at the outer corners. This we see in Demeter's face, to which, however, the sculptor has not given a haggard, painful look. Again, we notice, that in life, when the mind is anxious, the eye turns away, involuntarily, from near objects, and gazes forward and upward, as into an unseen and dreaded future; when the emotion is intense, or momentary, the eyebrows are strongly knitted, and the eyelids are convulsive in their lines. But Demeter's chastening sorrow has become a part of her being: she does not look directly forward, as does Zeus in his placid dignity, or gently downward, as does Hermes in pleasant thought; but her lower lid at the inner corner moves slightly upward over the raised eyeball, and her gaze is directed into the distance. The curve of her eyebrows, indicative of sorrow, is also so subtle as scarcely to be perceived; but just in front of her temples we notice that the skin of the otherwise calm,

high forehead is drawn up, forming a slight swelling, such as in nature ensues after long weeping. In life, moreover, it is no uncommon thing, when weeping is at hand, to see the mouth open and contract, the upper lip become pointed and raised, while the corners hang down. But how subdued these lines in Demeter's face! Her lips, slightly opened and drawn forward, sink at the corners, but so softly that at times it seems as though a smile of maternal love hovered about the mouth. Moreover, the mellow surface of this Madonna-like head is radiant with light and feeling, enhancing its benignity, and resembling the surface of Praxiteles' Hermes. If the Hermes presents incomparably the emotions of joy, this Demeter, in the same inimitable manner, reveals the softness and tenderness of grief.

In the glass case by the side of this maternal goddess of the British Museum, are many fragments of sculpture, found with her in the *Temenos* of Cnidos, the greater part showing the same mellowness and tenderness of style. They are principally hands and feet of female figures, some colossal, some life-size, and others very small, but all of beautiful workmanship and in Parian marble. One delicate foot swells with remarkable softness in its sandal, which still shows red color. The palm of a colossal hand, grown dark from exposure, and two smaller ones, still creamy-white and partly opened, have the same charm of surface seen also in the Hermes, the Demeter, and the beautiful Themis head found in Athens (p. 484). The main folds across these fragments are indicated by boldest strokes, a fine contrast to the cushion-like muscles over which they pass; there being throughout a tenderness and richness in the treatment of the marble, unlike the energetic and sharper lines of the Mausoleum or of the Tegea sculptures from Scopas' school, and alone to be compared with the extant sculptures from Praxiteles' hand. Although diligent search was made in the neighborhood of these fragments, no marble bodies were found; but whether this is due to the fact that the statues were acroliths, the bodies of wood and the extremities alone of marble, will probably always remain unknown.

Cnidos has yielded one other noble monument of sculpture to the British Museum. It is a colossal monolith in Pentelic marble, ten feet long by six feet high, the form of a lion in repose, its lower jaw and a part of its paws alone lacking. Like the lion of Chaironeia, and like so many others preserved to us from antiquity, it once surmounted a tomb, the ruins of which were found strewn about upon a lonely and bold headland jutting out into the sea.[1064] Here on the top of a high basement, surrounded by a Doric peristyle with engaged columns, once arose a pyramid of steps, supporting a pedestal on whose summit reclined the lion. The tomb is conjectured to have been for the Athenian warriors, who, under Conon, in 394 B.C., gained off Cnidos a great naval victory over the Lakedaimonians. The grandly severe style of the lion, as well as the fact that the marble is of one block, and not pieced as

was extensively done in works of the following century, go to establish the time of the erection of the monument as the earlier part of the fourth century. Raised high above the eye, on the edge of a precipice which falls abruptly into the sea, and commands a wide view of the surrounding archipelago, every harsh feature of the lion must have blended into grand harmony. His majestic repose, in contrast to the unquiet rising and muttering of the lion of Chaironeia, must have been a fit expression of the calm and conscious strength of victory.

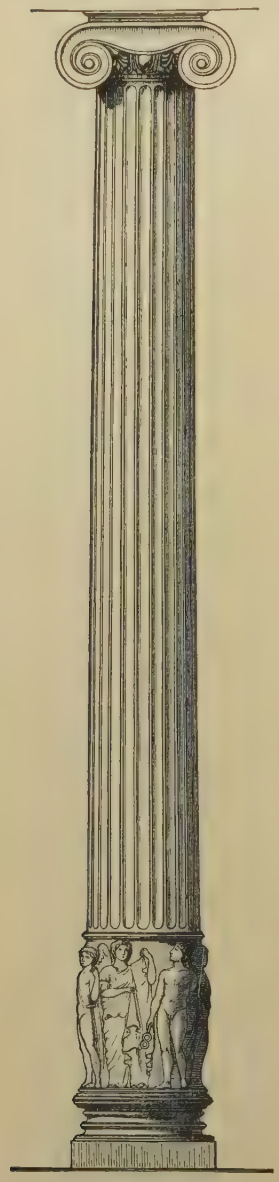

Fig. 221. Conjectural Restoration of one of the Columns of the Temple to Artemis, at Ephesos.

The architectural sculptures, discovered within a few years by Mr. Wood at Ephesos, throw unexpected light upon the character of art in another part of Asia Minor during this century. The Ephesian temple of Artemis was famous from remote antiquity. To it Crœsus had contributed, in the sixth century B.C., costly columns, which, as we have seen (p. 181), must have had their lower ends sculptured in relief, showing a luxury in decoration foreign to Greece itself, but most natural to the more voluptuous Oriental Ionians. The ancient temple was set on fire by one Herostratos, on the very night of Alexander's birth, July 21, 356 B.C. Its destruction, however, only roused the Ionians to renew their sacred shrine on so grand a scale, that, when built again, it was reckoned one of the seven wonders of the world, and was famed to be the largest temple of antiquity. Callimachos, in a burst of enthusiasm, exclaims, "Upon nothing more divine or more luxurious does the day-dawn break." Although Philip of Macedon, in commemoration of the birth-night of his son, made a liberal contribution, and the Ionians gave much towards the new structure, yet the weight of the undertaking fell upon the pious Ephesians themselves. Ladies contributed their gold ornaments, and individual citizens paid for the new columns. Of these, there were one hundred and twenty-seven, of which thirty-six were sculptured (*columnæ cælatæ*), as Pliny describes them.[1065] The additional phrase, "*una a Scopa*," has been interpreted as signifying that the great sculptor Scopas made one of these columns; but the text is probably corrupted, and should read "*columnæ cælatæ imo scapo*," or columns carved at the lower end. They seem, moreover, a continuation of the old style of decorating columns, as in Crœsus' time, when

Oriental tastes must still have prevailed. Of these elaborate columns, which probably stood sixteen at each end of the temple, and one on each side behind the front row, six sculptured drums were discovered by Mr. Wood, and now adorn the British Museum.[1066] All around the body of each column were varied scenes in high relief, composed of figures of more than life-size, and once, doubtless, making up an *ensemble* about like the column represented in Fig. 221. On the best-preserved drum, five figures are in good condition, three of which may be seen at a time without changing the point of view (Fig. 222). The scene, as beautifully interpreted by Robert, relates to the myth of Adme-

Fig. 222. Sculptured Drum of one of the Columns of the Temple to Artemis, at Ephesos. British Museum.

tos, who, on the celebration of his nuptials with the fair Alkestis, omitted to invite Artemis, and thus incurred the displeasure of this goddess.[1067] She then sent snakes to his bridal-chamber; but Apollo entreated his angered sister for his friend, and, besides, wrung from the Fates the promise, that, when Admetos came to die, his life should be spared, were any one found to accept death in his stead. When the hour came, Alkestis gladly offered herself for her loved husband. Thanatos (Death) now led her to the under-world; but Persephone, as one story has it, was overcome by this sight of self-sacrificing love, and took from Thanatos his prize, and sent her back to the smiling earth. Another story was, that Heracles, for his love to Admetos, robbed the dread Thanatos of

Alkestis after a severe struggle, and took her back to her husband. On the column the two myths seem combined. Hades (not seen in the cut) is enthroned as becomes the god supreme of the under-world; and by him stands Persephone (also not visible in the engraving), who seems to have bidden Hermes, leader of souls, conduct Alkestis back to the upper-world. We see Hermes looking up towards the world to which he is to lead back Alkestis, and bearing his lowered *kerykeion* in one hand, while the other, placed firmly on his hip, is hidden in his mantle, which has dropped from the shoulder, and is buttoned about his upper arm. His position is an easy, expectant one, the motion of his legs being such that he seems about to step forward. Next comes the beautifully draped Alkestis, whose head, alas! is gone; but the motion of one hand, and of the opposite arm, indicate that she is buttoning on her outer mantle, preparatory for the journey. While apparently looking back, the motion of her feet shows that she is about to move away with Hermes. Her beautiful drapery, with its careful surface-treatment, in which the wrinkles of nature are mirrored, without, however, detracting from its grand sweep, calls forcibly to mind the drapery of the so-called Artemisia of the Mausoleum. The next figure is Thanatos, from whom the beautiful Alkestis is rescued. He is a nude figure in full front view, with a sheathed sword hanging at his side. With raised left hand he beckons his consent that his lovely charge may leave his dark abode. Large wings springing from his shoulders, and his face, expressive of mysterious melancholy, together with his sword, at once reveal the Greek conception of the god of death, the brother of Hypnos, god of sleep.[1068] Thus, in Euripides' tragedy, Alkestis saw him winged and carrying a sword. The bit of a strong arm, of a sixth figure, may belong to a Heracles waiting for Alkestis' arrival upon earth. The remaining figures are gone, leaving no trace as to whether Apollo and the expectant Admetos were among them. In this relief, the details, especially of the nude figures, show a neglect of the last finishing touches: perhaps, from some cause, the work was left unfinished. The general composition, and contrast of figures, are, however, worthy of a great master. The exceedingly difficult task of representing a row of standing figures, without their seeming sundered, is admirably accomplished; and at the same time, when seen from any point, they form a complete group. The ingenious manner in which requisite variety of planes is obtained without disturbing the general outlines of the shaft by undue projections, is, moreover, admirably adapted to architectural ornament. On one of the remaining drums, Heracles seems to be struggling with an Amazon; but the other four are mutilated beyond interpretation.

Immense sculptured blocks were also discovered, seven pieces in all, large and small; but these were likewise too broken to divine their subjects or purpose. Professor Newton has expressed the opinion, that they may have formed

the basement of a large altar, perhaps somewhat after the style of the Great Pergamon Altar.[1069] Mr. Wood raises the ponderous blocks up above the columns, and makes them a part of the frieze; and Mr. Fergusson supposes them to have served as pedestals to the sculptured columns, such pedestals being met with in Roman art, but hitherto unknown in Greek architecture.[1070] The sculptured shafts of Ephesos are strange in Greek buildings, and seem to show a decidedly Asianic tendency: but that three rows of relief adorned the main shaft, as Mr. Wood supposes from slight variations in the diameters of some of the drums, seems a degree of luxuriousness quite beyond even the Asiatic Ionians; and the fragments, when supplemented, will doubtless find some more satisfactory explanation. The style of the fragments, resembling in some particulars that of the Mausoleum, has as yet found no exact parallel. The work may be that of native artists, perhaps working under Attic masters. These men, we know, were numerous in Asia Minor during the century when the great temple was built, an altar by Praxiteles having been in Ephesos itself.

From these monumental Ephesian marbles, which conclude our survey of sculpture in the Greek world from the first three-quarters of the fourth century B.C., we may turn to consider the new time inaugurated by the world-conqueror, Alexander.

THE HELLENISTIC AGE OF SCULPTURE.

FROM ABOUT THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT (323 B.C.) TO THE PREVALENCE OF ROMAN DOMINION, AND FALL OF THE PERGAMON DYNASTY (133 B.C.).

CHAPTER XXX.

INTRODUCTION. — SCULPTURE IN GREECE AND SAMOTHRAKE.

Features of the Hellenistic Age. — Wide Spread of Greek Influence. — Realism in Art. — Asiatic Influences. — Pageants. — Hephaistion's Funeral Pyre. — Sculptures associated with Landscape. — Art in Attica. — Artists. — *Kistophoros* of Fitzwilliam Museum. — Dionysos. — Tombstones. — Tower of the Winds. — Art in the Peloponnesos. — Artists. — Sikyon. — Chares. — Olympia. — Athlete's Head. — Small Monuments. — Relief of Polybios. — Art in Macedonia. — Pottery. — Samothrake. — Its Buildings, etc. — Nike of Samothrake.

With Alexander the Great, and his greater teacher Aristotle, begins a new era in the history of Greece and of the world. Watching the Macedonian conqueror, we should see him at first sweeping like a tornado over the East, overturning its vast empires, and shaking to their very centre its hoary civilizations. But following in his wake we should see also the clarifying influences of Hellenic culture, spreading now far beyond its former narrow limits, and everywhere taking on a new and peculiar coloring. This new age, termed Hellenistic, in distinction from the earlier, more purely Hellenic time, lasted from Alexander, for somewhat more than two hundred years, until Roman power gained the ascendency in the Greek world. Even before Alexander's epoch-making conquests, Aristotle was propounding his new philosophy, destined to do its share in revolutionizing and shaping the character of the dawning age. The intense striving to grasp the reality of things, which now prevailed, and the search for the essential foundations of knowledge, paved the way for genuine scientific research, and made this a time of reflection. Great changes in thought, language, art, and society, attended upon the spread of the new philosophy and of Greek dominion. The veil of idealism, which had rested upon life, was being torn away; and in its place the actual life of man, with all its tragedy and terrible earnestness, as well as playful light-heartedness, was laid bare. While influenced by what had gone before, this age was not a feeble reflex of the earlier passions and thoughts, nor was it a time of crude realism. We shall see that in every department it profited by its glorious heritage, the thoughts and ideals of which it used and applied in a manner peculiar to the changed times and circumstances. The interest of this time centres no longer in Greece itself: the stage has become a far wider one, and the players upon it are not small republics, but powerful Greek dynasties, with great resources to back them.

At the very threshold, and lasting for well-nigh one generation, were terrible commotions in the whole ancient world, resulting from the rivalries of Alexander's generals, each one fighting for the largest share in the now shattered empire.[1071] But there then came a more peaceful time, when, out of the fragments, various kingdoms arose to occupy the foreground of history, and to transmit the traditions of Greek civilization to the future. Oldest among these were the kingdoms of the Ptolemies in Egypt, of the Seleukidæ in Syria and Mesopotamia, and the Macedonian house in Thrace and Macedonia. Pergamon, and minor kingdoms in Asia Minor, likewise soon asserted themselves, and varied the boundaries of the older powers. Still another element, not to be forgotten in this turbulent age, now came to play an important part. This was the strength of the hordes of Gauls, or Galatians as the Greeks called them, who, about 280 B.C., overran Greece, and, passing the Hellespont, spread terror also among the rising cities of Asia Minor. Allying themselves to different monarchs, they came to be an important factor in history as well as in art. During an age of such extended dominion and Titanic struggle between rival dynasties, it is not strange that the small republics of old Hellas, while existing, should have been forced to seek the favor of the most powerful, and thus have lost their significance. The proud old historic rights were gone, and in vain did the Achaian League finally endeavor to recover them by calling in the aid of the Romans: for the Greeks soon felt the clutch of that relentless power; and after the conquest of Corinth, 146 B.C., Greece became a province of the Roman Empire. And but little later, 133 B.C., Pergamon also passed into the hands of Rome, which now slowly but surely absorbed the remainder of the Greek world.

Of this long period of turmoil and of intense activity, between Alexander and the Romans, when Greek princes held wide sway, the historian has, for the most part, recorded only the crimes of the ruling houses, their cruel selfishness, breaches of faith, and conquering campaigns. But from between his lines, from inscribed documents now discovered, from poetry, and still more from the now rescued sculptures, we have witnesses to the grandeur of that era. The tide of Greek civilty now flooded the vast Orient, even to the borders of India; and when it set back, towards the close of the period, to Rome in the West, it was tinged with a new coloring. Following Alexander, in his course to the shores of the Nile, and far into the heart of Asia, we should trace, in outward matters, these life-giving influences. We should see springing up, all over the vast regions he conquered, numberless Greek cities; not the monotonous and lifeless conglomerates of the Orient, but corporations having vigorous internal life, calling into play the powers of the citizen, and encouraging the development of the individual. The story, that Alexander founded sixty cities among the barbarians, is not exaggerated; and the fact, that this great colonizer only began the work, is abundantly proved by what is recorded of his successors. Numerous

decrees preserved show the life in these cities.[1072] But how brief are the accounts given of the way in which they were laid out, of their temples, palaces, and theatres, and of the wealth of statuary and of relief which adorned them! The stories of the splendor of Alexandria and of Antioch, of the palaces and triumphal arches there to be seen, of the sacred images in the groves, of the costly pictures and statues in the private apartments, are tantalizing in their meagreness. And yet by gleanings from the poets, and inferences from the imitative art of the Roman age, many features in the tremendous art activity of these Hellenistic times had been traced even before excavations unearthed actual monuments.[1073] Looking, as it were, through a thick veil, the practised eye had read, in the familiar forms of Roman art, indications of originals from this time. So it had been shown that the Pompeian wall-paintings, and much of Roman sculpture, are but an echo of that lost world of art. But the veil is now lifted. In the marbles from Pergamon and from Samothrake, and in bronzes from many different sites, we have at last eloquent witnesses, at first hand, from this wonderful period, while, no doubt, much would still reward the faithful and self-sacrificing excavator.

In looking across the broad plains of history, we see, then, in this Hellenistic age, stormy elements in wild commotion, sweeping over the landscape, and a strange, rushing life, leaving far behind the quiet simplicity and unconscious spontaneity of earlier days. Did Art, then, pass untouched through all these vicissitudes? or did her garments catch the storm-wind, and answer back to the tempest, and did her face reflect the sunshine and the gloom of this period?

If we may judge from existing remains, sculpture seems now to have well-nigh deserted its old home in Athens and the Peloponnesos. One of the striking features of this age was its mercantile activity and material prosperity, developed under the patronage of wise rulers, in spite of the political fermentation. The Greeks now had the world opened up to them, and, indeed, were forced to seek in this greater world an outlet for their highly developed and varied powers, which could no longer be confined by narrow territorial limits. Sometimes as thrifty tradesmen or bold adventurers; again, as travellers, physicians, sculptors, and artists; often as hireling soldiery, — Greeks were met with everywhere, from the Indies in the East, to Massilia (modern Marseilles) in the West. This wider field and intenser activity made life more complex, and doubtless, in many respects, more akin to our modern civilization, than that which had characterized the quieter, more purely Hellenic society of older days. The stirring tempests and ever-changing scenes through which the age passed, stimulated thought and criticism; and scientific life flourished as never before. Historical and archæological research, and the sciences of grammar and of astronomy, as well as of philosophy, were developed to a rare degree. The great libraries at Alexandria and at Pergamon are clear witnesses to this literary and scientific activity. Anatomy was raised, by men like Erasistratos, to

the rank of an independent study, wielding an influence, as monuments seem to show, on artists and art. The poets, dwelling upon the themes handed down, elaborated them according to the new taste, sometimes emphatically reflective, as in the idyl, and often verging on to the fantastic; and so in art the reflective element and the influence of a wild fantasy became prominent. The great striving of the age to grasp reality, commencing with Aristotle in science, showed itself in history, which was now no longer satisfied with great general facts. When Xenophon of an older day described an historical person, he mentioned only what was essential to his character; but now the historian's passion was to add vividness to his picture by descriptions of personal appearance, clothing, and habits. In like spirit the sculptors of this age represented men just as they lived and walked among them, giving characteristics of form and face with startling force and realism, quite different from the ideal generalizations of their predecessors, who, to use Pliny's phrase, had made "noble men nobler." Moreover, the closer intercourse of the nations, while it aroused a feeling of brotherhood, must now have also awakened a keener sense of the differences of race, and of national peculiarities. The sharp distinction between Greek and barbarian, marking the older and more exclusive time, now disappearing, the Greeks recognized many admirable traits in those they had once despised. They were now, more than ever before, open to influences from the Orient. Thus, even at the court of Demetrios Poliorketes, a semi-Hellenic, semi-Oriental etiquette was introduced. The products of Oriental art were eagerly sought after, as we learn from literary sources, and from Oriental remains in Greek graves, such as those found in the tomb of a Greek lady in Southern Russia.[1073a] Although Oriental art exercised much influence on Greek drapery and minor decoration, as appears from vase-paintings, it seems to have little affected sculpture directly, except, perhaps, in rousing it to more fantastic combinations, as well as to more splendid undertakings.

The wide-spread luxuriousness of this time, and its monumental spirit, are attested, not only by the size and magnificence of the few enduring monuments existing, but also by the accounts of the lavishness with which art was applied to beautify ephemeral public celebrations. In this, Alexander had set the fashion in piling up a mountain of art to be the funeral pyre of his beloved Hephaistion.[1074] Ten thousand talents were set apart for this purpose; and an additional two thousand were contributed by friends, high dignitaries, and the Babylonians. A part of the wall of Babylon was torn down to furnish material for the structure, which arose in five terraces to a height of two hundred feet. The whole gleamed with gold, purple cloth, decorative paintings, and statuary. Here were to be seen, about the lowest terrace, two hundred and forty golden prows, upon each of which stood a colossal statue of an armed warrior between two kneeling archers, conceived, doubtless, as in contest. Besides, the colossal structure was decorated with a battle of centaurs, scenes of actual warfare,

and of the hunt, as well as with fantastic animals. On its summit stood Sirens of costly workmanship, out of which sounded the funeral dirge. Amid sacrifices, mourning processions, and songs of lament, this gorgeous pyre was given to the flames. Offerings now followed, in honor of the hero Hephaistion, Alexander himself consecrating the first gifts. Ten thousand bullocks were slain as sacrifices to the now heroed friend, and the whole army was invited to a grand repast; still other festivities following on the ensuing days. In similar gorgeous pageants, in which statuary, likewise, played a most important part, did the rulers after Alexander vie with one another; and from the detailed descriptions of these pageants, as well as from the general tenor of the poets of the day, it may be gathered, that sculpture came now more than ever to be so applied as to form a part of a showy and imposing whole.

Moreover, at this time was developed a high enjoyment of nature in landscape and in gardening; and sculpture found a new field, as ministering to this taste, enhancing often the beauty of a charming valley or mountain side, its forms conceived in wonderful harmony with the surroundings, and not to be divorced from them. This age was, in addition, one in which, as a Zeuxis, a Parrhasios, an Apelles, and others had brought painting to highest perfection, the potent influence of their great pictures could not fail to be felt by sculpture. This influence is clearly traceable in the pictorial treatment of detail, the new and often strange groupings, as well as in the striving after illusion and vivid reality, although sculpture still held on to the grand framework of form it had received from times gone by.

But of the intenser life, the new creations, and the varied renderings of older themes, which characterized this age, we shall learn most by going to the monuments themselves. They shall teach us, that this Hellenistic age was not a weakened child of the old, but its worthy heir; and that Pliny must have been strangely misinformed when he wrote, that, with Olymp. 121 (296 B.C.), art ceased, but gained new life by Olymp. 156 (156 B.C.).[1075] By the recognition, moreover, of the strength and vigor of an age which could produce the Nike of Samothrake, the Great Altar of Pergamon, and the Venus of Melos, as well as the so-called Dying Gladiator, and numerous portraits of highest excellence, we shall better realize the course of Greek genius, which through the centuries left none of its rare powers undeveloped.

Among the art-centres of this age, Athens, the old home of ideal thought and sculpture, naturally first attracts our attention. Although politically humbled, never again to regain her former glory, she had not lost altogether her old fire, nor sunken to a state of utter servility, as a one-sided history would have us believe. The conclusive testimony of inscriptions shows that she resisted to her utmost, even to the last.[1076] The extravagant story, that on the flight of Demetrios of Phaleron, the Macedonian regent, his three hundred and

sixty statues were broken down to give place to golden ones erected to the new ruler, Demetrios Poliorketes, is, doubtless, largely a fabrication; while the spirit of subjection it implies finds a natural explanation in the straits to which Athens was then reduced, confronted no longer by Persian barbarians as of old, but by her neighbors, the highly civilized powers of the day, — foes far more subtle and formidable. Her glory was, however, no doubt, fast passing away; for, after Alexander, the city was, as it were, kept alive by the great rival rulers.[1077] We are told that there was activity in painting in Athens, down to the time of the Roman dominion; and, although sculptors' names are only preserved to us from the opening years of the period, still it is evident that the traditions of sculpture were kept up, since, after the conquest by Rome, Athens sent thither many sculptors, whose works, however, appear to have been of secondary importance.

Among the masters active in Athens at the opening of the Hellenistic age, were Scopas' younger associates; and there can be no doubt that the prime of Praxiteles' sons and scholars fell also at this time. These latter, Kephisodotos and Timarchos by name, appear to have worked much in common; their names being found together, not only in several recently discovered inscriptions, but also in several ancient authors. Of these brothers, Kephisodotos was probably the more important; it being said expressly of him alone, that he was "heir to his father's art."[1078] Their prime is placed by Pliny about 296 B.C. (Olymp. 121): but their activity must have commenced during the latter part of the fourth century, perhaps about the time of Alexander's death, and have lasted until 284 B.C.; it being said that Kephisodotos executed the portrait of a poetess Moiro, who lived as late as 284 B.C.[1079] According to an inscription discovered in Athens, they executed a statue to their uncle Theoxenides, as well as a portrait-statue of some unknown person, the fragmentary inscribed pedestal of which has been discovered near the Erechtheion.[1080] Another inscription on a pedestal recently discovered in the ruins of the Theatre of Dionysos at Athens, informs us that on it stood a portrait-statue of Menander (342–293 B.C.), whose stinging lines won for him the first rank among the poets of the new comedy. Gladly would we associate this very pedestal, and these masters, with an admirable seated Menander in Greek marble, now in the Vatican; the size of which, however, exceeding by several centimeters the Athenian pedestal, prevents such a possibility.[1081] Moreover, the evidence is that the Vatican Menander was originally executed not alone, but as a companion figure to that of Poseidippos, who still sits beside him, as he has done through the centuries during which both these ancient Greek poets, transformed into Christian saints, received worship in St. Lorenzo in Panisperna. Although we cannot, then, trace to Praxiteles' sons the Vatican Menander and its companion, yet they, no doubt, well represent that realistic portraiture which was rapidly developed after the time of Alexander, and of which many other fine specimens are pre-

served. Other joint works of the brothers were the wooden statues of Lycurgos, the great Athenian orator and financier, who died about 324 B.C., and of his three sons. Still others were a figure of Enyo, goddess of fierce war, and ravager of towns, which was seen in the Temple of Ares in Athens by Pausanias, and a Cadmos in Thebes.[1082] Of Kephisodotos' work alone, we hear of statues of contemporary poetesses, Anyte of Tegea, and Moiro of Byzantium, as well as of philosophers, which were probably in bronze.[1083] To the range of more purely ideal subjects belong his statues in marble of a Leto, an Aphrodite, an Asclepios, and an Artemis, all of which were removed to Rome, and are mentioned by Pliny as being respectively in the Palatine Temple, in the possession of Asinius Pollio, and in the Portico of Octavia.[1084] More celebrated than these, but the subject of much controversy, was a group in Pergamon by this same master, — a *symplegma* (struggle), as Pliny calls it, in which, as he says, the fingers seemed to press into flesh, and not marble. This struggle is supposed to have been of erotic character, and is, possibly, to be associated with the group, a satyr struggling with a nymph, preserved to us in several *replicas*.[1085]

One other master in Athens, Polyeuctos, is known to us from this time, his fame being due to a portrait-statue he executed of Demosthenes, doubtless the parent figure of existing portraits, in which the great patriot is represented with the scanty robe, earnest, furrowed face, and frail body ascribed to him by history. Polyeuctes' bronze portrait, put up in Athens in 280 B.C., represented Demosthenes as standing with folded hands, — a gesture, throughout classic antiquity, expressive of perplexity, and often of affliction. Beneath was the telling epigram, "Had, O Demosthenes, thy piercing and strenuous will been supported by proportionate strength, they might have rescued thy fatherland from Philip!"[1086] At a late date this bronze itself, or a copy, was seen at Constantinople. The admiration of the Romans and of others for the great men of the past, which led to the frequent repetition of their portraits for private galleries or for libraries, explains the existence of the very many heads, and even of several statues, of Demosthenes in marble. Of the heads, the one in the royal gardens at Athens (Fig. 223) has a speaking life, which at once impresses us when compared with the more generalized calm portraits of an earlier and quieter time; such, for instance, as the Pericles (p. 324) traceable to the fifth, or the Sophocles (p. 489) to the fourth, century. In this fragmentary head of the Athenian orator, Demosthenes, the sunken cheeks seem to suggest the frail body, and the closely pressed lips to witness to the struggle won over a stammering speech. The earnest gaze, furrowed, thoughtful brow, and knitted eyebrows show us, we feel, the noble patriot as he appeared daily among the Athenians, harassed like him by the impending storms. Two complete statues seem derived indirectly from the original bronze by Polyeuctos; one being in the Knole collection (England), and the other in the Vatican. Both have

the lean arms, bared, bony chest, and scant drapery, doubtless characteristic of the afflicted patriot, but carry a roll instead of having the hands folded, — a change supposed by Michaelis to be due to a time when Demosthenes had come to be admired more as the great author than as the afflicted patriot.

A very few large monuments in Attica, dating from the Hellenistic age, also deserve mention. An imposing example of the architectural sculpture, doubtless of the early part of the age, is that colossal marble figure from

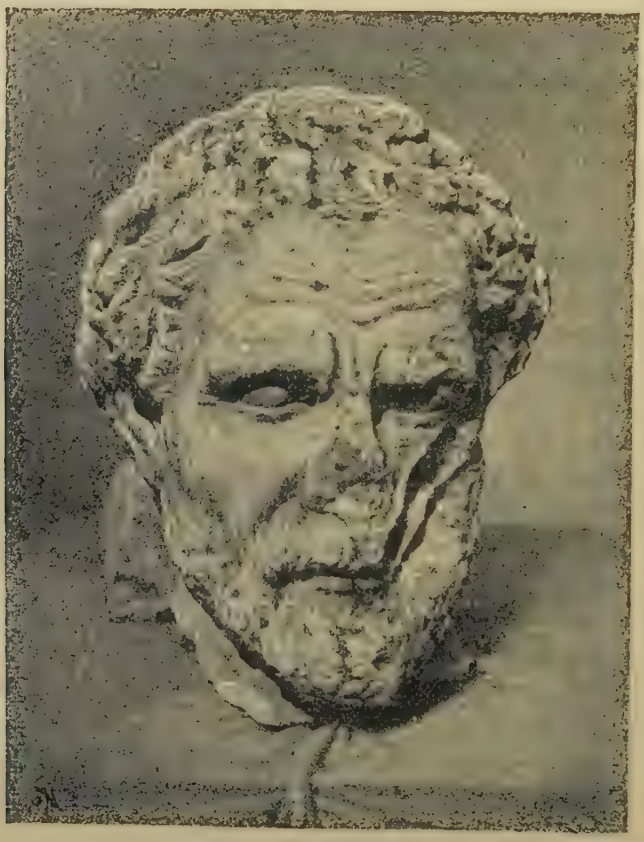

Fig. 223. Portrait of Demosthenes. Athens.

sacred Eleusis, mentioned by a French traveller in 1668, and which, though shipwrecked on the way to England, arrived safely at last in 1801, and now adorns the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge. It represents a superb female form, with erect head, bearing a *cista*, or sacred mystic vessel, such as was used in the Eleusinian mysteries and Bacchic festivals.[1087] Signs of attachment, doubtless to an architrave, show that it could not have been the great temple statue, but formed a part of some building. Both arms — parts of which were found within a few years by Professor Colvin — were evidently raised, supporting the precious burden; and bands fastened together by a button-like object in

the centre, bearing a Gorgon head, as a symbol to avert harm, cross the breast, and seem to hold the drapery in place.[1088] The imposing size of the figure, as well as the peculiar decoration of the bands on the *cista*, on which appear mystic symbols, — a tureen, ears of corn, and torches, or wands, — are marks of an age later than the sternly simple Pheidian century. These peculiarities have, moreover, much in common with the general spirit of the Hellenistic age, which was inclined to symbolism, and showy, elaborate effects; and it is not improbable that this figure was put up by Demetrios of Phaleron, who renewed the decorations of Demeter's Eleusinian sanctuary during the opening years of the Hellenistic age. Although the face of this *Kistophoros* is entirely ruined, we have, doubtless, before us, in the general pose and scheme of the grand fragment, a Greek original for feebler Roman copies, like those of the Villa Albani at Rome.[1089]

Another Attic work of this age is a statue, which Lord Elgin removed to England, from a choragic monument in Athens. The monument itself was, according to the inscription, put up in 320 B.C., by Thrasyllos, but, about fifty years later (270 B.C.), was enlarged and adorned by his grandson, Thrasycles, who placed upon it the marble statue which is now in the British Museum.[1090] The travellers Spon and Wheler saw it in 1617, still surmounting its ancient grotto in Athens, "a sedent figure clothed, but without a head." Judging from the *nebris* falling across it, it represents Dionysos. The forms are soft and almost feminine in their roundness; and a large hole in the left side seems to indicate that to it a bronze attribute — perhaps a lyre, or possibly the prize tripod — was attached. Although the arms, which, like the head, were of separate pieces of marble, are now gone, still the dignity of the fully draped figure, and the freedom and skill with which the marble is handled, give us no mean conception of the power of Athenian art about 270 B.C.

Comparing, however, the tombstones found in Athens, of this and the following century, with those of the preceding time, there seems to have been a marked sinking of ability and creative power. The beautiful large monuments, of careful workmanship, are supplanted by tombstones very small, and carelessly executed. The law made by Demetrios of Phaleron, to check growing extravagance, and limiting the height of tombstones to three cubits, may have had much to do with this great change, while the troublous times, doubtless, had their share in laming artistic ability. Votive reliefs also show a change, and seem to follow more closely and mechanically certain types. Those to Kybele, the foreign Phrygian goddess, now prevail, but are more interesting on account of their mythological secrets than of their art. Those to Pan and the nymphs are sometimes pleasing; but when compared with reliefs of the Pheidian age sacred to the nymphs (p. 379), we see what a change has taken place. One votive slab, said to have been discovered in Lampsacos, and now in Vienna (Fig. 224), may serve as an illustration of the general composition

and conception of these later Athenian reliefs, which are all, however, of a more summary and inferior workmanship. It represents, like the Athenian reliefs, not a plane surface, as in the older monuments, but, in a most pictorial manner, an actual grotto, sacred to Pan and the nymphs, those deities of rustic nature. Thus, all around its entrance are seen rocks, among which are perched doves, the central one even dressing its feathers. In some Attic reliefs, a flock of goats take this place. In one corner sits Pan, the ancient Attic god, with his goat-legs crossed, and piping on his syrinx; while, led by Hermes, the nymphs, a lovely sisterly trio, dance. Holding hands, with rhythmic step, they seem to move toward the altar, their long garments blown

Fig. 224. Votive Relief to Pan and to the Nymphs. Vienna.

back by the wind. The last one alone accompanies the movement by raising gracefully over her head the hand, in which were, doubtless, the sounding *cotala*, or castanets, like those in her left hand. Not only the height of her girdle, directly under the breasts, but also the elaborate *coiffure* of all these figures, in which the hair lies like parallel skeins over the head, are peculiarities which abound on objects of the third century B.C., but are not met with in those of an earlier day. Such variations in female costume serve as a reliable guide in determining the age of ancient monuments. In the Parthenon marbles, and Erechtheion maidens of the fifth century, the girdle was worn, as we have seen, far down near the hips. In the next, the fourth century, it slipped up somewhat higher, as seen in the Amazons of the Mausoleum. By the second century, however, the time of the Great Pergamon Altar, we find the girdle bound directly below the bosom, as will be seen in the goddesses of the frieze.

The style of the *coiffure* shows even greater variety, as it steadily passed from the simplicity and naturalness of the Pheidian age over to greater elaboration, a mirror of the growing luxury and elegance, and may best be studied on coins.[1091]

During this age, when Athens was politically so low, and probably unable to carry out great works, foreign rulers remembered her with regal gifts of statuary and architecture.[1092] The only remaining representative of the extensive buildings then erected is the so-called Tower of the Winds, an octagonal structure, built in 159 B.C., by the astronomer Andronicos, of Kyrrhos in Syria, more interesting for its meteorological plan than for its art (Fig. 225). The building was so constructed, that, against each of its eight sides, there blew a different wind, represented by a figure in relief.[1093] Thus Boreas, the North-wind, appears as a thickly clad old man, with dishevelled hair, and pouring hailstones out of a vase; Zephyros, the West-wind, is a gentle youth, scattering flowers out of his lap; and so each of the winds is individualized in agreeable allegory. But conception and rendering of these forms, all of which float horizontally, are hardly to be recognized as belonging to Attic art, so inferior are they to all we have from the days of its glory.

Fig. 225. The Tower of the Winds, or Horologion of Andronicos (restored). Athens.

Turning now to the Peloponnesos, we should find, that, at the opening of the Hellenistic age, Lysippos' numerous scholars were active; although few names appear from a later date, the scattered tombstones, votive reliefs, and honorary monuments found there testify to the fact that there was activity then also, if not of a creative, progressive kind. As had been the case with his forerunner Polycleitos, so around the great Lysippos, there clustered a numerous school. Among these scholars were Lysippos' own sons, Daïppos, Boëdas, and Euthycrates, who, according to Pliny, were praiseworthy sculptors, and flourished in Olymp. 121 (296 B.C.), when the Hellenistic age, with all its changes, had fully dawned upon the Greek world. Concerning Daïppos, we only know that he executed two statues of victors for Olympia, and an Apoxyomenos, thus repeating a subject, as we have seen, treated by his father.[1094] Of Boëdas' works, we only know of "one praying," as Pliny tersely describes it.[1095] The practice of introducing nearly every act with prayer, among the ancient Greeks, is well confirmed.[1096] The

beginning of the day, the close of a meal, the entrance upon household duties by a young wife, as well as all gatherings of people for council or war, were accompanied by prayer; and there is reason to believe that the young athlete, before entering upon the games, also besought the assistance of the god. It is most probable, then, that this statue by Boëdas represented such a praying athlete. It is, moreover, reported, that the Greek, when engaged in prayer, stood with uncovered head. When calling upon the gods of the heavens, he stretched his arms upwards; when seeking the gods of the sea, he stretched them forwards towards it; and when imploring those of the under-world, he beat upon the ground to attract their attention, always accompanying his gestures with an audible voice. His hands were always open, clasped hands having been looked upon as a hinderance to progress and good fortune, and a token of trouble. A kneeling position was avoided, as unbecoming to a free being. It would be most gratifying, could we identify with Boëdas' praying figure that beautiful bronze boy of the Berlin Museum, scarcely touched by the modern restorer (Fig. 226). Its small head, slender proportions, and peculiar treatment of hair, like that of the Apoxyomenos (p. 517), mark it with certainty as belonging to the Lysippian school. As we see this lad poise his weight lightly on the left leg, stretch out his arms and open hands heavenwards, while directing thither his fervent gaze, and opening his lips in prayer, how exalted the idea we gain of the beauty inherent in such subjects of Lysippian art! We see also mirrored here a very old custom; for, in Homeric verse, the heroes "stretch their hands to the gods," and "look up to heaven."[1097] The thinness of the bronze in this figure is strong evidence that it dates from a skilful age, and doubtless from about the time of Lysippos' sons. Although of life size, it is easily transportable by one man; unlike Roman bronzes of the same size, as, for instance, a bronze boy found in the Rhine, which is also in the Berlin Museum, and requires four men to lift it. Euthycrates, Lysippos' remaining son, enjoys greater fame than his brothers, and is said to have deviated from the principles followed by his father; but Pliny's passage, concerning these changes, is so

Fig. 226. The Praying Boy of the Berlin Museum.

obscure, that opinions differ as to its purport.[1098] Among his works, several seem to have been in honor of the great Alexander: a Heracles by him was in Delphi, and a Trophonios in Lebadeia. One scholar of Euthycrates is mentioned, Tisicrates, — whose works, however, are said to have resembled Lysippos' more than those of his teacher.[1099] Tisicrates' statues, representing a Theban sire, King Demetrios, and Peukestes, one of Alexander's generals, show that his activity fell at the opening of this new age, and was employed for its influential men. Another member of this school, Xenocrates, — by some called a scholar of Euthycrates, and by others of Tisicrates, — appears, according to Pliny, to have been more productive than either of these men, and to have worked exclusively in bronze. He also wrote books on art, sources from which Pliny frequently quoted. But the true importance of this master has only recently come to our knowledge; the excavations at Pergamon having shown us that he was employed there, doubtless carrying over the traditions of the Lysippian school into that new centre of art. On one of the Pergamon pedestals, which stood on the *piazza* in front of Athena's temple, and which bore bronze statues, his name may still be read.[1100] Of Phanis, another of Lysippos' scholars, we only know, that he represented a "woman offering."[1101] But of still another, Eutychides, of Sikyon, we learn, that his prime was in the early part of the third century; and that, like so many artists of this time, he was employed by the rising rulers of other parts of the world. Unlike most Sikyon masters, he is said to have worked in marble as well as in bronze, and was a painter as well as sculptor. A Dionysos in marble by

Fig. 227. The City Goddess Tyche and the River God Orontes. Vatican.

him was owned later by Asinius Pollio; his Eurotas in bronze was praised, because of its art, and was said, though in harsh metal, to have been more flowing even than the river itself; a boy victor, Timosthenes, from his hand, stood in Olympia.[1102] Of his Tyche with the River Orontes, executed for Antioch, echoes are preserved to us in Antioch coins, and in a small marble statuette in the Vatican (Fig. 227).[1103] Here the city goddess rests negligently on a rock, a graceful, gentle figure, quite different from the dignified goddesses of olden times; while the river, a vigorous youth, seems to swim out from under her feet.

But Lysippos' most famous scholar was Chares from Lindos, on the wealthy island of Rhodes, which was destined now to take a leading part in the development of Greek sculpture. Chares will be considered later when treating of the art of Rhodes, to which island he must have carried the perfected traditions, developed by the hoary Argive-Sikyon school which now should yield the field of creative activity to the younger, more vigorous Greek states of the East.

Fig. 228. Bronze Head of a Victor in the Olympic Games. Olympia.

Turning from Sikyon to other parts of Greece, we find that artists were still active for Olympia; but that its prominent patrons were now the powerful successors of Alexander, and their immediate descendants, of whom many statues were put up, but unhappily known only through fragmentary inscriptions.[1104] Statues to victorious athletes, according to the testimony of numerous inscriptions, still continued to be erected in the *altis*, all through the Hellenistic age, and even down to the third century A. D.; proving, that, during a period long thought to have been unproductive in this kind of art, there was constant activity.[1105] Very few fragments of these numerous statues to athletes have come down to us; but one magnificent life-size bronze head has been preserved, of such power and naturalism as to make us doubly regret the loss of the remainder (Fig. 228). This head was found in a part of the sacred grove, far removed from the great temple, near which the statue to which it belonged had doubtless stood.[1106] The neck shows signs of having been roughly cut away from the trunk; and the site, and mode of concealment, of this fragment in coveted bronze, indicate the intention to hide it, on the part of the plunderer. As the wreath in the hair

proves, this was a victorious athlete; but so brutal are his features that we are tempted to associate him with professional prize-fighters. That he had won the Olympic victor's wreath of wild olive, appears from a single leaf of sheet-bronze, still above the right temple, showing that other leaves had also been fastened on to the shaggy hair after the head was cast. The swollen ears mark him as a combatant in the boxing-game; and his portrait features may indicate that he was one of those thrice victorious, to whom the honor of a portrait-statue in the sacred grove was allowed. What a contrast this profile, to the ideal faces with which we are familiar in Greek art of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.! Gone is the line of beauty in forehead and chin; a brush-like beard making more pronounced the projection of the brutal chin, far beyond the upper part of the face. In contrast to portrait-heads of those times, we likewise see great change. Each detail of skin and hair is brought out by the most skilful use of the burin, the locks being made more natural by strong furrows graven parallel with the general flow. The same care in chiselling is seen also in the skin, and not only in parts in tension over the forehead, but also in the wrinkled folds about the eyes, especially in the uninjured right side of the face. Indeed, the characteristics of this ancient athlete have been so admirably caught, that we do not wonder that his great strength and determined will won the prize on the ancient boxing-ground. Comparing this head, then, with those of the fourth century B. C. on the one hand, and with the later Pergamon marbles on the other, and remembering that with Lysippos a strongly realistic style of portraiture was encouraged, we gain a clew to its age. Placed alongside of the so-called Mausolos of the British Museum, from the Mausoleum at Halicarnassos, this bronze athlete seems more realistic in conception; and hence we may conclude that its more developed portraiture belongs to a later date. But contrasted with any one of the giants of the Pergamon frieze, which are from the second century B.C., this head is reserved in style. Compare, for instance, the bold modelling of the dishevelled eyebrows of the Pergamon giants, with the careful regularity with which those of this athlete's head are graven. Such characteristics in treatment make it probable that this bronze head is somewhat older than the giants, and belongs to the third century B.C.; but who the artist who executed these fierce forms, and in what land he lived, are still perplexing questions.

Small monuments, for the most part tombstones and votive reliefs, are met with in different parts of the Peloponnesos, which, judging from inscriptions and style, must belong to the third and second centuries B.C.; but more important than these is a more than life-size inscribed relief, recently noticed at Cleitor in Northern Arcadia, where it long served as a guide-post.[1107] This beardless, standing warrior, with his helmet and round shield on the ground by his side, his long spear resting against his left arm, and the right raised high, as if addressing his soldiers, is no other than the great statesman and historian,

Polybios, who won the gratitude of his countrymen for the pacifying part he played in the troublous times after the destruction of Corinth, 146 B.C.[1108] Pausanias speaks of four honorary monuments put up to him by the Arcadians; and this one forms a fifth, which, on account of its certain date, site of execution, and general pose and style, is of great importance in helping to fill up the yawning gap in the monuments from Greece, for the second century B.C. Its artistic rendering, as might be expected, is feeble when compared, not only with sculptures of earlier days in Greece, but also with contemporary monuments from Pergamon; although the armor is that of the Hellenistic age. The relief, in general, seems a link between that time and the coming Roman period, which it especially resembles in the treatment of the beardless face. The gesture of the raised right arm, besides, offers proof that the Romans followed a Greek original in their representations of the emperor, as general-in-chief, addressing his army (*adlocutio*).

In Northern Greece, the Macedonian court must have patronized sculpture more or less, but in what direction we do not know. Pyrrhos of Epeiros, as Polybios tells us, owned great collections at Ambrakia; but of them he gives us only a most summary notice.[1109] In honor of the repulse of the Galatians before Delphi, numerous thank-offerings, according to Pausanias, were put up to Apollo and to Artemis.

Bronze statuettes, bearing the stamp of this age, have been found together in numbers in Paramythia in Epeiros; but of marbles from that part, we, as yet, have none. These bronzes, numbering twenty or more, and representing different gods, were found in a cave; but are now widely scattered in different museums, the British Museum owning not a few, and others being in St. Petersburg. Their small heads and slender proportions mark them as belonging to the age after Lysippos; while their excellent workmanship, and rendering of form, as well as grace of pose, indicate a date before the prevalence of Roman dominion.

Should we cast a glance at the potter's graceful wares from this age, in Greece itself, we should see that many were executed of exquisite bearing, but of growing luxury and softness. Many are found in Corinth and Bœotia; and many were exported from Attica to the Crimea, where they are always in strong contrast to the barbarous imitative Scythian work. But this field of the minor arts is altogether too vast to be entered upon here, although, doubtless, to some degree, a reflex of the sculpture of the time, and calculated to throw light upon its spirit.

Taking it all in all, Greece itself is exceedingly poor in large existing monuments from this late stage of its history; although we know that the rulers of the Hellenistic age remembered its ancient shrines at Olympia, Delphi, and Athens. There is one shrine on a neighboring island, however, which, during

this age, came to enjoy a great significance, and has, fortunately, been so admirably explored by the Austrians, that we may form a very vivid picture of its artistic *ensemble*, and of the part that sculpture now played.[1110] This is the sacred island of Samothrake, its rocky cliffs facing the shores of Thrace, and separated from them by a stormy sea, swept by the north-winds which rush up the island valley in the midst of these cliffs. Cyclopean walls, in admirable preservation, testify to the antiquity of these revered seats; and fragments of a small Doric temple in stone, with very archaic painted forms and bronze ornaments, show the existence of a humble shrine in the depths of the sacred valley in the fifth century B.C.[1111] Although, in the following age, this ancient temple seems to have been supplanted by a more luxurious marble structure of the Ionic order, for which Scopas doubtless worked, it was not until the third century B.C., when the island had sheltered royal refugees, that it enjoyed greatest prosperity by reason of its right of asylum. Crowds gathered, from different parts of the ancient world, to its sacred mysteries; numerous temples were built to its gods, by grateful princes and princesses; and sculptured monuments were put up in thanks for victory. Could we picture to ourselves the valley, as it then appeared to the stranger approaching from the sea, with its wealth of architecture and sculpture glistening among the verdure, how different the spectacle from its now bare ruins, scattered marbles, and destructive lime-kilns, clinging like parasites to every site of classic ruins! First to attract attention would have been a building dedicated, as its inscription teaches us, by Arsinoë, the unhappy wife of Ptolemy, to the Great Gods. In the bottom of the ravine we should then have seen the older temple of the fourth century, with its covered pit to receive the blood of offering; and, close behind it, a more sumptuous new one, having a similar sacred pit, and with pediments decorated with sculptures now in Vienna.[1112] These sculptures show that bold, naturalistic treatment, combined with negligent ease of pose, which we have come to recognize as among the striking features of Hellenistic works. So fragmentary, however, are these marbles, that their subjects can scarcely be divined. The drapery of one of these figures, in rapid motion, consisting of a finely ribbed undergarment, brought out in magnificent contrast to the heavier outer robes, is worthy to exist in sculpture for its own intrinsic merit. The form it covers is probably Demeter, seeking her lost daughter Persephone; this goddess appearing thus on the coins of Kyzicos, where the same cult existed as at Samothrake.[1113] Another graceful figure, but seated, holds a large bunch of grapes, showing her relationship to the worship of Dionysos, which in Samothrake was blended, after the manner of Asia-Minor rites, with that of Kybele. To the left of these central temples, in the sacred valley, we should have seen an imposing temple, built by Ptolemy; and to the right, but high above the rest, the stately colonnade of a long Ionic stoa, which, doubtless, once was thronged with promenading wor-

shippers by day, and with sleeping guests by night. In front of the slender columns, and towering above the temples in the ravine, would have been seen five pedestals, of different sizes, still having signs of the attachment of statuary.

Overlooking the whole peaceful valley, and towering above its complex of temples, would have been seen, standing out gloriously against the regular columns of the neighboring stoa, one imposing monument, with stormy lines and tempestuous action (Selections, Plate XIV., on the right). Although much mutilated, this monument, in Parian marble, shows us the colossal figure of a fully draped female, alighted on the prow of a ship, and represents a winged Nike, who sweeps down with lightning speed; the powerful form, with its rushing drapery, seeming to force a way for the imposing goddess of victory. The commanding position of this statue, standing of old at the end of the valley, reveals to us with what consummate taste charms of natural landscape were enhanced by the imposing art of this Hellenistic age. The statue itself, in an exceedingly fragmentary condition, was discovered on the ancient site in 1867, by the French consul Champoisseau, who sent it, with other minor marbles, to the Louvre.[1114] It was not until 1875, however, that the massive pedestal, in the shape of a ship's prow, was discovered, during the thorough excavations of the Austrian expedition on the same site. Although consisting of twenty-three fragments, many of which weigh more than two thousand kilogrammes, the whole was safely removed to the Louvre, and is there being built up again, the statue standing, as of yore, upon its stony prow, below which the sea-waves are indicated by sculpture. The colossal form of the winged goddess towers up, more than double life-size, above this massive and lofty hulk. Not only the costly material from abroad, — no marble being found in Samothrake itself, — but also the colossal size and marine character of the monument, show that it was a thank-offering from some royal donor, to the shrines at Samothrake, for a great naval victory. As shown by Benndorf, comparison with coins of Demetrios Poliorketes (Fig. 229), struck, probably, between 294 and 288 B.C., makes it probable that he it was who erected this superb gift in honor of his signal successes off Salamis in Cyprus, in 306 B.C., after which he took the title of king, and long controlled the Archipelago. The approximate date, the first half of the third century B.C., is fixed for the statue, not only by this coincidence with the coins, but also by its magnificent style, very like to that of the pedimental sculptures of the new temple at Samothrake, already mentioned, and proved by the architectural form of the building to date from this age. But this statue is grander than they, and combines intensified realism in detail with powerful ideal form and action, as will be seen most forcibly by placing its representation alongside of those of the

Fig. 229. Coin of Demetrios Poliorketes.

preceding centuries. Comparing form and details of these wings with those of the sculptured columns of Ephesos, how much more feathery and downy the marble here has become! In like manner, comparison with the dawning realism of the Mausoleum folds, or even with the carefully studied, quiet lines of the Hermes' mantle, to say nothing of the plain folds of Paionios' Nike, the companion figure in Selections, Plate XIV., shows how much nearer nature are the texture and surface of these rushing, swelling folds. How complicated also the pose of this goddess! the upper part of the grand body swings to the left, while the motion of the whole sweeps forward in a direct line. Especially do these more advanced features appear when compared with the simpler pose of the older Nike by Paionios. Excavations have shown, that the numerous new temples and other structures of Samothrake were built in the first part of the third century B.C., about the older, less sumptuous sanctuary of the preceding age; and the commanding position of this great statue, towering above all the other monuments of the valley, is clearly chosen with reference to them. This seems another evidence that its date may be fixed in the first part of the third century. Besides, the technique of this colossal figure is no longer that of old, but resembles that of the later marbles from Pergamon. Instead of the solid blocks which in the olden time were used for single figures, here pieces of marble are joined together with almost incredible skill and pains. By this marvellous handling of the marble, the ponderous material was naturally robbed of its impression of weight; and far greater boldness was permitted the sculptor, tempting him, we must believe, to rival even painting or bronze in his obdurate stone, as seems evident in the fragments of the swelling mantle, still preserved. Viewing the tremendous action in this imposing ruin, and catching the grand lines of the noble form, how strong becomes our desire to see the goddess complete once again, as she stormed down on her swift errand in the palmy days of Samothrake! From the fragments it appears, that both arms were raised, perhaps with the sounding trumpet; while the head, following the motion of the body, was turned momentarily to the left, facing, doubtless, those approaching from the stoa.[1115] This side of the statue, moreover, from which it would usually be seen, is its only highly finished part, and shows that freedom and bold skill, so much to be admired in most original works of later Greek art. But the back, which could not appear, having been in front of a cyclopean wall across the end of the valley, is left entirely in the rough; and the farther side is but hastily sketched out. The composition, moreover, is such that the lines seen from the side which looked down upon the stoa appear to greatest advantage. This shows that the statue was conceived directly in connection with its surroundings, and that its lines were intended to be set off by the neighboring architecture, and perhaps by a background of color, — bits of painted stucco having been discovered among the ruins. The creators of this powerful work are unknown. The name of Eutychides, scholar of

Lysippos, and painter as well as sculptor, has been mentioned in connection with it, on account of a kinship of spirit between this work and the miniature copy of his Tyche for Antioch (p. 553).[1116] In both statues a regard for landscape decoration and pictorial elements is thought to prevail, and there is evident a peculiar bravour in the treatment of the drapery. The latter feature is scarcely to be detected in the details of the feeble Roman copy of the Tyche, but may be traced in its general composition. Further excavations, and light from other quarters, may, we hope, in time, give us the names of masters of the Hellenistic age, of whom we know so little, but whose influence we feel in works pulsating with such tremendous life as the Nike of Samothrake.

CHAPTER XXXI.

SCULPTURES IN ASIA MINOR. — PERGAMON.

Common Resemblance of the Sculpture of this Time. — History of Pergamon. — Its Ruling House. — The Galatians. — Artists mentioned. — Battle Monuments. — Temple of Athena Polias. — Statues representing Galatians. — Ludovisi Group. — Dying Galatian. — Discussion of the Origin of this Work. — Attalos' Gifts to Athens. — Small Pergamon Statues of Galatians. — Pergamon Sculptures in Berlin. — Great Activity under Eumenes. — Temples on Acropolis of Pergamon. — The Great Altar. — Present State of Ruins. — The Great Altar referred to in Scripture. — Humann's Excavations. — Description of Altar. — Subjects of its Sculptures. — Statues of Gods and of Giants. — The Zeus Group. — Goddess hurling Snake-bound Vase at the Enemy. — Characteristics and Variety of these Sculptures. — Style. — Different from Dying Galatian, etc. — Wonderful Mastery of Technique. — Pictorial Character. — Resemblances to Other Works. — Sources used by Pergamon Artists. — Who they were. — Small Frieze. — Its Myth. — Subjects treated. — Position of these Works. — Other Buildings and Statuary at Pergamon. — Copies of Pergamon Art. — Priene. — Influence of Pergamon. — Tralles. — Farnese Bull. — The Myth. — Resemblance to Pergamon Art. — Its Artists. — Venus of Melos. — Its Discovery and Present State. — Compared with Other Works. — Pergamon Head. — Tralles Aphrodite.

But while during this age the sculptor's art seems to have languished in its old seats in Greece Proper, the rising kingdoms of Asia Minor and the opulent island-republic Rhodes enjoyed a new and vigorous artistic life. Unlike that of Samothrake, this life does not seem to have been an exotic, but enriched by germs from those older lands, and favored by the altered circumstances, to have yielded its own peculiar fruitage. The numerous Greek cities of Asia Minor now attract attention, on account of their sculptors of renown, and still more the admirable works there discovered. Our knowledge of the art in these different centres is still too inadequate to enable us to distinguish sharply their characteristics; but, as we come to know more, the more do the works of Pergamon and of Rhodes seem to approach each other in spirit; while about this great double star revolve closely the remaining artistic constellations, Tralles, Antiocheia, Kyzicos, Priene, etc.[1117]

Pergamon, although claiming a mythic past, does not appear in history until the time of Alexander's generals, and then only as a single city. The modern traveller, journeying due north from Smyrna, and following up the course of the river, the ancient Caïcos, for twenty miles inland, comes upon the site of the city, where is now a flourishing Turkish town called Bergama. Even from the distant sea may be descried, at the base of mountain ranges in the back-

ground, the craggy summit of the ancient acropolis, shining like silver, and which, commanding the surrounding country, once guarded the brilliant capital of a great kingdom. To this impregnable fortress, Alexander's proud general Lysimachos, when hard pressed by rivals, committed a vast treasure, amounting, it is said, to fourteen million dollars, to the keeping of a faithful servant, Philetairos. But Lysimachos, influenced by his young and ambitious wife, having killed his own son and heir, incurred the just indignation of many of his followers. Among these, Philetairos was so outspoken in the condemnation of his master, that the new queen, and with her Lysimachos, turned upon him in bitter enmity. Driven in self-defence to take possession of fortress and treasure, in 283 B.C. he declared himself independent, and thus founded a dynasty which was to become one of the most attractive of the age. Its first member was Eumenes I., nephew and successor to Philetairos, but of whom almost nothing is known. He was succeeded by his greater cousin Attalos I., to whose wise policy and sound statesmanship was virtually due the establishment of the kingdom of Pergamon. He lived at the time when the rival brothers Seleucos Callinicos, and Antiochos, fought over the vast empire left by their father, a large part of which comprised Asia Minor. The wealthy but single-handed Attalos, as recent researches have shown, now allied himself with Seleucos, his powerful neighbor, the rightful king, against Antiochos, in whose service were enlisted those wild barbarians from the far North, the lawless Galatians.[1118] While Seleucos was in a distant part of his realm, Attalos I., about 241 B.C., won signal victories over the joint forces of Antiochos and the Galatians, and became ruler over much of Asia Minor, to which his rights were later disputed by Seleucos Soter, successor to Seleucos Callinicos. History had recorded only the fact of Attalos' struggle against the Galatians; but the additional light obtained from inscriptions found at Pergamon now informs us of this far more significant conflict with allied Greeks and barbarians. Attalos (241 B.C.) took the title of king, and, after ruling until 197 B.C., left his flourishing kingdom to his son Eumenes II., completing what may be called the first period of Pergamon's history.

Eumenes II., who reigned from 197 to 159 B.C., seems to have brought the Pergamon kingdom up to its highest pinnacle of glory. But under his brother and successor, Attalos II., its power began to decline before the growing strength of Rome, which had slowly but surely worked itself into the political affairs of Pergamon. The unfortunate Attalos III., the last ruler of this glorious line, left his kingdom in 131 B.C., by will, to the Romans, who put to death its last scion, Aristonicos, in a Roman prison. From the time of its foundation by the obscure Philetairos, the character of this Pergamon house compared most favorably with that of the other reigning houses of the day. Public and private virtue were marked features of its rulers. Elsewhere we find brother turned against brother, and father, even, against son: here the members of the

ruling family lived in amity. The devotion of the royal sons of Attalos I. to their mother, a woman of humble birth but noble character, expressed itself in a temple dedicated to her at Kyzicos, which, it is recorded, had its columns sculptured — doubtless after the manner of the Ephesos columns — with mythic and other scenes, all illustrating the devotion of sons to mothers; the whole being intended, as Polybios tells us, to express the love which bound her to her sons, and them to each other.[1119] An inscription, just discovered at Pergamon, on a pedestal which occupied the beautiful *piazza* about Athena's temple on the acropolis, makes still more vivid this family affection; the stone letters telling us that Attalos II. put up this statue "to his mother, Queen Apollonis, because of her love to him."[1120] In addition, history tells us that no enticements of the Romans could influence Attalos II., even when in their power, to turn against his ruling brother. Moreover, Attalos I. did not rule as a despot, but allowed popular elements in his government of the city; and we may be sure that his successors likewise sought and gained the good opinion of their subjects and allies, to whom, even though Romans, they were always true.[1121] The Pergamon rulers manifested a great regard for Greece itself; and the intercourse was lively between their rising kingdom and the old seats of culture in Hellas. Attalos I. purchased Ægina, and frequently passed his winters there. He sent royal gifts to Athens, and, when he visited that city, was received with the greatest honors. In Sikyon he raised a heavy mortgage on an Apollo temple, and restored it to free use. Later he made a present of ten talents of silver, and of ten thousand measures of wheat, to the same city. For the former favor, the citizens had erected to him a colossal statue in the marketplace, near Apollo's statue; but now they honored him with a golden statue, and, in the spirit of the new time, with a yearly festival, such as in earlier centuries had been held only in honor of the gods. After the disastrous earthquake at Rhodes, in the latter half of the third century, when many rulers sent thither gifts, Attalos did not fall behind in his munificence to the afflicted city. In addition, these princes encouraged the sciences and arts most liberally, being some of them themselves men of science. By one of them, the great library at Pergamon was founded; the academy at Athens received their assistance; and the recent discoveries in the ruins of their capital show how extensive their patronage of the sculptor's art; while tradition tells us of the fondness of their court for painting, and of the immense sums offered for celebrated pictures.[1122] These princes were, moreover, Greek rulers of a Greek people; thus forming a happy union which did not exist in the other new empires of the day, and which was, doubtless, most favorable to developing powers which still lay germinant in Greek art.

But the first great stimulus to this artistic patronage seem to have been the signal victories of Attalos I. over Antiochos and his formidable allies, the Galatians. The Galatians of Christian times are well known to us through

the Apostle Paul's epistle; but we are less familiar with the deeds of these their fierce forefathers, who, in the third century B.C., were tempted away from their Northern homes by stories of marvellous treasures piled up in Greek temples. One part of these hordes, pouring down into Macedonia and Hellas, plundering, burning, and massacring wherever they went, even attacked Apollo's sacred shrine at Delphi; another, passing over into Asia Minor, likewise spreading panic before them, levied everywhere heavy tribute which none ventured to refuse except the sturdy Attalos. Pausanias, in describing the deeds of these marauders in Greece, cannot find words strong enough to depict their atrocities.[1123] He tells us how they raged even against the weak of their own number, killing those who could not follow in the flight. Suffice it, that we have some idea of the anguish and distress they caused. To appreciate fully the formidableness of this foe that Attalos had to meet, we must hear what Pausanias relates of their fierce bravery and fearless scorn of death. The only protection they had in battle, he tells us, were their shields; and they had little knowledge of the science of war. Like wild beasts, they attacked the enemy with a vehemence and courage almost unparalleled. Nor did their fury cease so long as breath was in their bodies, even when felled by the battle-axe or sword, or when pierced by arrow or spear. Some even drew the spear out of their wounds, and hurled it at the enemy, or used it in close hand-to-hand fight. The giant stature and power of these barbarians are described also by Diodoros, who makes the picture more vivid, by telling of their tough skin and bristling hair, made still stiffer by the use of a peculiar salve, and by being brushed off from the forehead, down toward the neck, as is seen in the heads of Pan and the satyrs, by which treatment it also became thick, and much resembled horses' manes.[1124] A few had the beard entirely shaven; others, and especially those of rank, left only the mustache, but so long and full as to cover the mouth. They carried into battle a bent horn and a large shield. Their favorite adornment, he adds, was the twisted necklace of metal, called the torque, still found in Celtic graves.

With this uncouth but powerful enemy, the armies of Attalos I. and of his son Eumenes II. were frequently forced to contend; and Pliny, in a tantalizingly short sentence in his book on bronze-casters, tells us, that several men represented the battles of Attalos and of Eumenes with the Galatians, mentioning Isigonos, Pyromachos, Stratonicos, and Antigonos.[1125] Pyromachos is elsewhere mentioned both as sculptor and painter.[1126] He executed a fine statue of Asclepios, which was carried off from its temple in a sacred grove near Pergamon, by Prusias I. of Bithynia, when he invaded the territory of Attalos I. A kneeling Priapos by Pyromachos is also mentioned, but nothing further is recorded of either of these works. Stratonicos was a native of Kyzicos; and it is recorded of him in general, that he executed bronze statues of philosophers, and was considered one of the six most famous chisellers of fine metal.[1127]

Our knowledge being thus fragmentary of the individual creations of these men, our interest centres the more in their united works in honor of victories over the Galatians, hinted at by Pliny. Happily, upon these, the excavations on Pergamon's summit have at last thrown much light. There the foundations of several pedestals have been unearthed, besides extensive slabs of dark-gray marble, some inscribed, and others bearing the marks of statues. By most accurate measurements, and observation of every architectural detail, R. Bohn has shown that these belong together, and that they made up several monuments of varying shapes.[1128] The extent of some of these is such, that there can be no doubt that they bore a stately number of life-size figures.

Fig. 230. Restored View of the Temple of Athena Polias; Attalos' Stoa surrounding it, Temple of Augustus in the Distance, and Battle-Monuments in the Foreground.

On the top slabs, traces of the feet of statues are to be seen, of such a character that we may be sure that they were of bronze. Bits of bronze drapery, and fingers, have also been found; but, as might be expected, the valuable metal statues themselves have long since disappeared. Fragmentary names of sculptors are also found; two, doubtless, being of Isigonos and Antigonos mentioned by Pliny; others, Xenocrates, Epigonos, and a "raxiteles," — perhaps a part of Praxiteles, — not named by Pliny, appear in the inscription.[1129] In one case, the enemy mentioned are Galatians alone; again, they are Galatians and Antiochos; and still again, Antiochos alone. The gods to whom these thank-offerings were erected are stated to have been Zeus and Athena. Although the name of Attalos I. does not appear on all these battle-monuments, still the shapes of the letters, unlike those in the inscription of his son

Eumenes, make it probable that these works date from Attalos' reign, and commemorate his important victories.[1130]

How appropriate was this spot for monuments of victory! A little below the summit of the acropolis stood the oldest shrine, a very plain and severely archaic temple to Athena Polias, represented in the restored view of the site (Fig. 230).[1131] Looking off from the commanding terrace where it stood, now cleared of rubbish and grass, one beholds the glorious view enjoyed by the worshippers of old. The great altar, directly at the foot of Athena's temple, with its smoke of sacrifice and mighty sculptures, would, indeed, no longer be seen; but the beautiful Caïcos valley still stretches out into the plain, and the blue Mediterranean still gleams beyond. Immediately about one, along the front and sides of the terrace, would be seen the now dismantled fragments of Attalos' proud battle-monuments.

Fig. 231. Galatian Warrior and his Dying Wife. Villa Ludovisi, Rome.

Although the bronzes surmounting these shapeless pedestals have perished, there exist marbles executed at Pergamon, which represent Galatians, and are, without doubt, direct products of its historical art. Foremost among these are the so-called Dying Gladiator of the Capitol at Rome, and a less celebrated but equally powerful work, a group in the Villa Ludovisi. These two works, originally together in the possession of Cardinal Ludovisi, according to his inventory in 1633, may have been discovered in laying out the cardinal's new villa in 1622, on the site of the ancient Gardens of Sallust; but of this magnificent trove no record has been kept.[1132] That these two works belong together, appears not only from their identity of style: it is also evident from their material, a fine-grained marble from Furni, a small island between Samos and Icaria, on the Asia-Minor coast.[1133]

In the Ludovisi group, we see a giant warrior, standing on a long, oval shield, on which has dropped the empty dagger-sheath (Fig. 231). The enemy seems close at hand; and, with wild stride, the despairing warrior for the

moment escapes his power. But, to save himself and wife from future slavery, he has given her a fatal thrust, and now plunges the dagger into his own neck, looking with wild defiance back, up at the victor whom thus he robs of his prize. Were the warrior's right arm properly restored, it would be held higher and more outward, with the thumb up; and thus the despair of this uncouth face, with its bushy eyebrows, shaggy, bristling hair, and opened lips, showing the upper teeth, would come more to view. The whole type of this face is the same as that of the so-called Dying Gladiator of the Capitol, and corresponds to the descriptions of the Galatians of old. In the body, also, there is no mis-

Fig. 232. The Dying Galatian, falsely called the Dying Gladiator. Capitol Museum, Rome.

taking the characteristics of that wild people. Here is seen the giant frame, tough, leathery skin, and nudity in battle. Above all, the blind, unbridled passion here evident, enhanced by the figure of the falling wife, the victim of his despair, makes it doubly certain that this is one of the fierce barbarians described by Pausanias, who took the lives of those who could not flee, rather than leave them to captivity. The woman's bushy hair, peculiar features, powerful frame, and fur-edged garments are not like those given in art to Greek women, but such as might be expected among the rude and gigantic people from the North. Her near kinship to the warrior is most evident in the back, where modern restoration has not smoothed over the surface. Were the modern supports of the statue removed, and the left arm more relaxed in death, and were the warrior's face, full of anguish, less concealed by his restored arm, how tremendous would become the tragic power

of the heart-rending group, the pathos of the wife's sinking alone alleviating its painfulness!

Could we place by the side of this group the more famous figure of the Dying Galatian of the Capitol (Figs. 232 and 233), who wears a twisted torque, and is sunken on a long, oval shield, how close would appear in style, subject, and material, the relationship between these works! It was conjectured by Nibby, over sixty years ago, — his view being confirmed by subsequent comparison with passages in Pausanias and Diodoros, — that this dying barbarian could not be a gladiator in the Roman arena. And now we are sure that he must be one of those Galatians who fell before the conquering army of the Pergamon prince.[1134] Modern restoration has tampered far less with this statue, than with its brother and sister of the Villa Ludovisi. The restoration

Fig. 233. The Dying Galatian (back view).

of the right arm, which modern pride has attributed to Michel Angelo, is, no doubt, correct, and in keeping with the character of the whole; while, in the restoration of the base, a mouthpiece has been arbitrarily given to both ends of the broken battle-horn, and the sword has been added. In the forms of noblest art, the Pergamon sculptor has, with powerful naturalism, rendered the pronounced physique as well as inner being of the barbarian foe. Not only the general features, giant size, powerful build, and ruggedness of that people, who terrified warlike Romans as well as more peaceable Greeks, are given here, as in its companion figure of the Ludovisi; but we see also the details of firmly knit muscles, leathery skin, broad skull, pointed chin, low-bridged nose, high cheek-bones, overhanging eyebrows, and bristling, thick hair, — peculiarities still met with in some of the peoples of Northern Europe. The treatment

of the skin, with its leathery folds, especially at the waist and navel, appears in strong contrast to the Hermes of Praxiteles, with its soft-flowing skin of the more ideal Hellenic race and time. A difference is expressed even between the texture of skin on the bottom of the foot, hardened by contact with the earth, and that on the rest of the body (Fig. 233). The realism in these works is illustrated by the hair under the right arm of the Ludovisi warrior, and a wart-like protuberance on his cheek. But how powerfully is the innermost being of the barbarian also portrayed in these statues! The fury of wild beasts, we are told, seemed to seize them, as they rushed naked into battle. If they lost the day, they gave way to a frenzy of despair, taking their own lives, as well as those of the wounded and feeble among them. On a relief in Rome, we see a barbarian plunging a dagger into his own breast, under the very hoofs of his victor's horse (Fig. 289). Brennus, the Galatian chieftain, who had dared to storm Apollo's shrine, we are told, took his life when vanquished. So also the Ludovisi Galatian, having slain his wife, now destroys himself. The dying warrior of the Capitol no longer shows defiance. Death has stricken him, doubtless in consequence of a fatal stab received at the enemy's hand. It has often been supposed, that, like the Ludovisi Galatian, he had taken his own life; but his manner of falling, the wound on the side away from the heart, and the fact that some one has withdrawn the weapon from the gash, seem to prove that the fatal deed is the work of a victorious enemy.[1135] The sword in this statue is a later addition.

There is something beautiful and truly feminine in the death of the strong Galatian woman, set off in great contrast to the masculine frenzy in the faces and forms of the men. The death-struggle with her is moderated, showing itself in the set eyes, the opened lips, the relaxed arms, and wonderfully expressive pose of the bare feet, from which all life seems gone, but which in their callousness still tell the story of the long and faithful marches, by her husband's side, to the lands of the South.

How different those intensely tragic but realistic monuments from the Greek sculptures preserved to us from earlier days! The Pergamon artist could not, we must believe, have represented otherwise the barbarian who had just overrun his land, and caused him so much distress, and still keep true to his age. Prince and people had seen and fought the dreaded enemy too recently, knew his uncouth face and powerful form too well, and had suffered too much at his hand, to be satisfied with only ideal or symbolical representations of him. The sculptor did not, then, hold on to the older, colorless type of the barbarian, characterizing him by mere conventional accessories of costume or armor while giving him ideal beauty of form and soul, but represented him just as he saw him in nature. The square and rugged forms do not, therefore, impress by symmetry and exquisite grace of proportion, but by fulness and overflow of power; their very divergence from the Greek type bringing out more

strongly such wild force, and showing that a new field of art was now fully opened up, in which national characteristics and historical reminiscences at last occupied the sculptor's noble powers.

In these statues, the peculiar polish of the surface (where untouched), the sharpness in the treatment of the lines of the drapery, and still more of the hair, indicate that they are copies from bronze; and there can be little doubt that the bronzes themselves once decorated Pergamon's summit, and were there copied. That in fact reproductions of its celebrated works were made in Pergamon, is proved by copies of parts of the frieze of the great altar, selections, as it were, from that great work, and found during the excavations. In one case, now to be seen in Berlin, the Zeus of the frieze, taken out of his surroundings, and with slight changes, has been formed into an independent figure. It is most probable that the Ludovisi warrior and Dying Gladiator were thus also singled out from more extensive original compositions. In the Ludovisi group, at least, an approaching conqueror seems implied by the gaze of the warrior directed upwards; and we may well believe, that in the original group, from which the Dying Galatian of the Capitol may have been taken, the foe who has just given the fatal wound was represented. But, even though thus singled out from a larger original in bronze, that these marble works — the Dying Galatian of the Capitol, and the Ludovisi group — were executed as they stand, without other figures, finds confirmation in the shape of their bases.[1136] The marvellous freshness in the conception of these works, as well as their bold but finished technique, precludes all possibility of their being copies made by later sculptors in Rome; but whether they were sent, a royal gift, by some Pergamon king, to Rome, or whether they formed a part of the treasure left by will to the Romans, and afterwards carried off by them, are questions which must remain unsolved. On the supposition that they are copies of the very bronzes dedicated to Athena and to Zeus by Attalos I., Bohn, in his restored view of the open square about the temple of Athena Polias (Fig. 230), has put them on the long, narrow pedestal in front, which was discovered in excavating, and the top slabs of which showed signs of the bronze groups once upon them, and described above.

But while Attalos I., in monumental bronze groups, thus expressed thanks to the gods of his own city, he also remembered those of Athens, the ancient seat of Hellenic glory. On the southern wall of the Acropolis he set up votive offerings, figures measuring, according to Pausanias, about three feet in length.[1137] Here, the historian says, were represented the historic victory of Marathon over the Persians, and its mythic prototype, — the battle of the Athenians with the Amazons; two other groups, the counterparts of these, as it were, completing the offering. In one, Attalos' victory over the Galatians was represented; and in the other, a speaking mythic parallel, the combat of the gods with the giants. One of the statues of these gods, Dionysos, Plutarch in-

forms us, was precipitated, in a great storm, from the lofty Athenian Acropolis into the theatre below; but the fate of the remainder is recorded by no ancient writer. This fact, that wind could take one of these figures from its place, goes, as has been admirably suggested by Milchhöfer, to prove that Attalos' gift consisted of statues in bronze, and not in marble, which material would with difficulty be torn by the wind from its stony pedestal:[1138] on the other hand, it would be comparatively easy for a small, lightly cast bronze figure to become detached, by some terrible gust, from its basis, and precipitated from the height. The rough mass of the long, narrow pedestal was discovered a few years since by Bötticher, on the Acropolis; but no statues were ever found in any part of Athens, — a fact readily accounted for, if they were in bronze, which has always excited the cupidity of man.[1139]

Several small statues, however, of Asia-Minor marble, detected by the keen eye of Brunn in different museums, so nearly correspond in size and subject to these gifts of Attalos, described by Pausanias, that they may with certainty be considered as their copies.[1140] Of these small statues, ten are now known to us; namely, three in Venice, four in Naples, and one in each of the collections, the Louvre, the Vatican, and the museum of Aix. Nine of these admirable statues may be traced to their discovery, early in the sixteenth century, in the neighborhood of the baths of Alexander Severus in Rome; proving that they are not, as was conjectured by some, on account of their realistic character, the work of the contemporaries of Michel Angelo. Among them are representatives of each of the four groups mentioned by Pausanias; there being in the number a giant, an Amazon, two Persians, and three Galatians, these latter strikingly akin to the Dying Galatian of the Capitol and to the Ludovisi warrior. These Galatians all have the irregular features, the bristling stiff hair, and peculiar frame, corresponding to the description of Attalos' enemies from the North, while some wear the torque. One, in much the same position as the Dying Galatian of the Capitol, seems, like him, lying in the agony of death; and another, falling backward, is trying to defend himself. Of the giants, those foes of the gods, and mythic prototypes of the Galatians, one is preserved, tremendous even in his fall, but more ideal in shape than Attalos' barbarian foes, although fully human in form and having very shaggy hair. Judging from the peculiar soft head-dress and trousers, two of these figures are the Persians referred to by Pausanius; and one of them shows most admirably (Fig. 234) the sculptor's power in composition. But more touching than all the rest, although equally strong, is an Amazon who lies stretched in death, her arm falling above her head. That these little statues, in Asia-Minor marble, were, moreover, copied from bronze, appears also from the smooth surface and sharp chiselling of folds and hair, as well as from the smallness of their size for figures in marble. All the warriors represented are from the conquered side, and only have their full force by imagining the forms of the victorious enemy with whom they must be conceived face to face.

As each of these little figures is on its own isolated pedestal, and hence cannot have been grouped, Milchhöfer has considered them, like the Dying Galatian of the Capitol, and the Ludovisi group, to be excerpts from some greater work where the victors also appeared.[1141] Both material and style make it clear that they were executed in Pergamon itself, and represent the more controlled, severer

Fig. 234. Fighting Persian, traceable to Attalos' Votive Gift to Athens. Vatican.

art of the earlier period, the latter part of the third century B.C., when Attalos was loaded with honors by Athens, doubtless in thanks for his gifts to her shrine. As yet no companions in style to these works have been found in Pergamon; to explain which fact, it has been conjectured, that such copies from bronze were only executed for exportation to foreign parts. Further excavation may throw light on this question.

But let us not imagine that the ancient sculptor in Pergamon remained con-

tent with these expressions of thanks for victory to the gods. His fancy should take still other flights in ideal creations of great power, absolute beauty, and imposing size, revealed to us in the sculptures of the "Great Altar," recently discovered at Pergamon, and now in the Berlin Museum. Here the tragedy of the ruthless Galatians seems mirrored in the tremendous conflicts of gods with giants.

THE GREAT ALTAR AT PERGAMON.

The recently discovered sculptures from Pergamon, now in the Berlin Museum, come to us like a sudden revelation from the Hellenistic age, and have an importance for this period equal to that of the Parthenon marbles for the Pheidian age. Owing to the absolute certainty as to the originality and date of these works, combined with their great extent and diversity, as well as pristine freshness, unmarred by the restorer's hand, untold light is thrown on this later period, and a certain gauge is offered for its more obscure works.

It was during the rule of Eumenes II., Attalos' great son, lasting well-nigh forty years, from 197 to 159 B.C., that the Pergamon kingdom reached its zenith. Eumenes, having been allied with the Romans after the successful battle of Magnesia, 190 B.C., greatly extended his boundaries to the south-east, and at home encouraged science by the founding of a library rivalling even the collections of the Ptolemies in Alexandria. In addition, this monarch, as Strabo informs us in a tantalizingly short sentence, adorned his capital with magnificent structures; and the recent discovery at Delphi of a decree made by the Aitolians, at the request of Eumenes, has happily thrown further light on the great activity of this prince.[1142] From this decree it appears, that, after his military successes and the consolidation of his dominion, Eumenes rendered more glorious old rites, and perhaps established new ones, by the celebration of competitive games, and by extensive offerings to Athena Nikephoros, and secured to the sacred precincts (*Temenos*) of Athena at Pergamon the inviolability of asylum. Sending over three ambassadors to sacred Delphi, the monarch craved a recognition of all these pious services; and the decree was accordingly set up, which has now been brought to light. By means of it we obtain a glimpse of the monarch, in the fulness of his power, making signal thank-offerings for his successes.

On the Pergamon Acropolis, which was there popularly believed to be the birthplace of Zeus and of Athena, stood the most sacred buildings. Mention has already been made of the severely archaic temple, situated just below the summit, sacred to Athena Polias (p. 565), and doubtless the oldest shrine. But, with the elevation of the city to the rank of the capital of a great kingdom, such primitive buildings must have become insufficient; and an open-air altar, imposing in size and glorious in significant decorations, was raised at the foot of the ancient shrine, before which the sacrificial smoke should ever rise.

Thus the site of this altar confirms the belief, which has been gathered from inscriptions, that it was built in honor of Zeus, and his victory-bringing daughter, Athena. That it was built during the reign of Eumenes II., and not that of his father, appears from the letters of its inscriptions, which are identical in shape with those found in the inscriptions commemorative of Eumenes' wars, but different from those of earlier and later Pergamon monarchs.[1143] How long this great structure withstood the ravages of time, we know not. Pausanias refers cursorily to an altar of great size in Pergamon; and an obscure author, L. Ampelius, of the second century A.D., mentions among the wonders of the world a great altar of marble in Pergamon, forty feet high, with very large figures representing the combats of the giants.[1144] But, with the centuries, poverty and desolation usurped the place of former grandeur. The Athena temple was in ruins, when upon a part of its substructure was raised the last monument of peace, a Christian church.[1145] Christians settled in the Acropolis itself, and, to obtain building-material for their huts, tore out whole slabs from the great altar. The fortifications must, in time, have become too extensive for their scanty forces to defend; they broke down the altar, and raised from the material a wall five to six meters thick, running across the summit, thus greatly contracting the line of defence. Although the Mohammedans, when occupying the citadel as a fortress, may have occasionally repaired it, the Christians seem to have been mainly instrumental in the destruction there carried on. No sign of a mosque, or even of a Turkish grave, has been found; but the testimony of Byzantine buildings is confirmed by oral tradition, that Christian families dwelt there, sustaining a precarious existence, till within a few generations. The fact, moreover, that most of the heads of the gods from the frieze are gone, seems to find a natural explanation in the zeal of the early Christians for establishing the new religion on the ruins of the old. Since they regarded the whole Greek Pantheon, represented on the altar, as remnants of a hated idolatry, it is not improbable that they mutilated the statues. A passage in the Revelation of St. John, addressed to the angel of the church at Pergamon, hints at this strong feeling: "I know where thou dwellest, even where Satan's throne is." That this colossal open altar to the heathen gods should be called the throne of Satan himself, styled the dragon or old serpent, is most probable, in view of the size and form of the altar, the presence of so many heathen gods in its sculptures, and, finally, the numerous serpents' coils carved upon its base. Fortunately, many of the sculptures, torn from their places by the Byzantine Christians, were built with soft mortar into the new structures, the principal of which was the long fortification wall, eighteen feet thick. Thus were preserved many of the lines and surfaces in excellent condition. Sadder far has been the fate of much else which could not be used directly as building-material, but was thrown into the kilns, and long since reduced to shapeless lime. Happily, in 1861, Carl Humann, a German

engineer, visited the wasted height of Pergamon, and succeeded in time in staying the work of destruction there going on. The recital of his experiences in carrying out the plan, long made, of excavating these ruins, reads more like fiction than fact.[1146] In 1871 Humann took from the long Byzantine ramparts two grand fragments of relief, and presented them to the Berlin Museum, where they excited the admiration of every careful observer. In 1878, under Humann and Conze, systematic excavations were commenced, and, since that date, have been carried out with little interruption; the marbles finding safe-keeping in the Berlin Museum.

By the aid of the fragments, and a careful study of the site, Richard Bohn has succeeded in making a most skilful restoration of the whole structure of the great altar (Fig. 235).[1147] For it, at the foot of the old temple of Athena

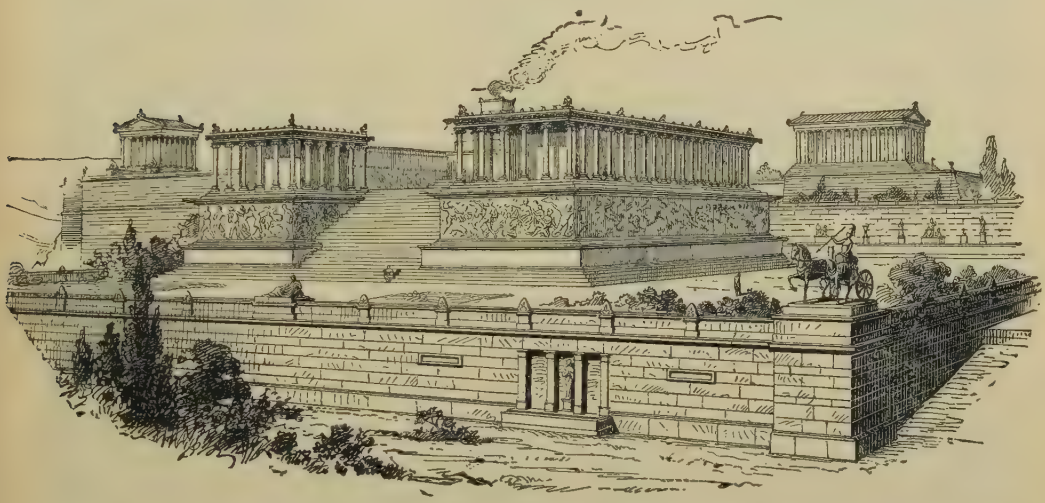

Fig. 235. Restoration of the Great Altar at Pergamon by R. Bohn. Temples of Athena Polias and of Augustus in the Background.

Polias, a vast platform was built (in part upon older structures, the foundations of private houses). Nearly in the centre, was reared the massive substructure, measuring 37.70 by 34.60 meters, and with the short sides facing the east and west. As the Greek temple was always slightly raised, so here, three steps raised this building above the profane level. Encircling its walls, broken only on the south side by a grand stairway, and lining the sides of the stairway itself, ran the great frieze, on which was to be seen the battle of the gods with the giants. Above and below this frieze, which was 144 meters long and 2.30 meters high, ran powerful cornices, combining fineness in detail like that of the Pheidian age, with boldness and grandeur leading over to the massiveness of Roman architecture. The stairway, of which the width cannot, as yet, be determined with certainty, led up to the place of sacrifice, — the altar proper; which, as at the great altar of Olympia, must have grown ever higher

and higher with the continually accumulating sacrificial ashes. Surrounding the space on which stood this burning altar, and surmounting the bold frieze of the giants, seems to have been a colonnade of slender Ionic columns, with a frieze in low relief lining the inner walls. Several small horses have been found, which as parts of *quadrigæ* served as a finish to the roof of the colonnade, where were to be seen, also, between ornamental tiles, Tritons blowing shells, and completing the splendid *ensemble.*[1148] About the columns and the platform were, doubtless, to be seen also the single statues found, votive gifts, in some instances dating from the erection of the altar, as their style indicates, or else put up as time went on.

Such was the general build of the Great Altar, which, from its commanding site on the lofty Acropolis, must have formed a dominating feature in the landscape, even though occupying lower ground than the older shrine of Athena Polias. But while calculated to impress by its grandeur from afar, the careful finish of its sculptures indicates that it was also intended to awaken the admiration of the ancient worshipper on his near approach. Let us, then, with him, draw near, and imagine ourselves as studying the sculptures on the lofty platform about the altar. The subject of this great frieze, the conflict of gods and giants, is one which had occupied Greek song and art from very early times.[1149] To the Homeric poets, the giants were a race of the far-off, unknown West, who, in remotest ages, had, by their wantonness, called down the destroying vengeance of the gods. Hesiod described them as lawless spirits born of the Earth (Ge), and who fought the Olympic gods, in armor like that of Greek heroes. It was Pindar, however, who sang more fully the deeds of this wild Earth-born race; and he was followed by many others, who, in time, gave the giants semi-human, semi-dragon shapes. So vehement was the insolent violence of this brood, that the dwelling of the gods itself trembled, and all the powers of Olympos were called upon for its defence. Zeus' lightnings, Apollo's arrows, Hephaistos' fire, and Athena's bravery were required, as well as the strength of the human hero Heracles, to overcome the heaven-daring host. In spite of the power and cunning of their mother Ge, who strove to make harmless the terrible weapons of the gods, the latter were at last triumphant, destroying the evil which had threatened to overturn their beneficent rule. Doubtless, to others besides Pindar, this meant that fruitless was the opposition of any power to the divine rule which wrought order out of chaos. In later poetic myths, very many giants appear, and other like beings are drawn into the battle. Titans, Hecatoncheires, and Typhon fight with them, as well as the presumptuous pair, the Aloidæ, who piled Ossa on woody Pelion to scale the dwelling of the Eternals. Indeed, so imminent was the danger, that even gentle Aphrodite and love-inspiring Eros joined in the tumult. It was such a universal conception of the mythic contest which must have filled the sculptor's mind, as he executed the tremendous frieze around the altar

of Pergamon. Although but sixty of the one hundred and forty-four meters of the relief are preserved, and very many of the forms of gods and goddesses are gone, still, from those that remain, and from the names preserved, inscribed in the cornice above each figure, we obtain an idea how comprehensive was their number. While some are marked by characteristics which can be recognized in mythology, many others are unknown to scholars. Judging from the familiar forms, and the inscribed names, here were to be seen Zeus and Athena, Apollo and Artemis, their mother Leto, Helios, Eos, and Selene, besides the sea-gods Poseidon and Amphitrite, with Okeanos and Triton.

Fig. 236. Zeus fighting Giants. From Great Frieze of Altar at Pergamon. Berlin.

Other figures were Ares the god of war, Enyo, Hephaistos the artist smith-god, Dionysos, with his satyrs, Aphrodite, Dione, Nike, Kybele, Hecate, and Asteria, besides one of the Cabeiroi, the hero Heracles, and a wind-god, perhaps Boreas.

The groups with Zeus (Fig. 236) and Athena (Selections, Plate XV.), the two principal combatants in this furious struggle, seem on the Great Altar to have found a place on the east side, usually, in Greek temples, the front. At the southern extremity of this east side, was a glorious array, probably of the gods of light. Corresponding to them, and encircling the south-west corner, was the more sombre group of the Phrygian Kybele, the great mother of the gods, and her train. Facing the west side of the steps, and winding about the corner, were sea-deities. But to determine exactly in what part of the

extensive surface of the great frieze the remaining groups stood, we must await new combinations of the fragments.[1150]

In the Zeus group (Fig. 236), three giants appear in conflict with the mighty god, while beyond others lie prostrate. There can be no mistaking the god's regal form, about which the robes flow in powerful lines, suitable to the noble chest. With intense motion, the infuriate King of gods hurls with his right hand a thunderbolt, and, with his left, shakes the snaky coils and feathery surface of his terrible *ægis* in the face of one of his foes. The majesty in his powerful frame appears most clearly; and the lordly shape, as contrasted with that of his more ponderous foe, seems to symbolize the superiority of spiritual over brute force. The bearded, shaggy giant, with bestial pointed ears, and tremendous muscular back, rises up on snaky coils, defiant of the Highest himself: with left arm wrapped in a rough skin, he now strives to shield himself from Zeus' thunderbolts, and from the fatal sight of the *ægis;* while the right hand, now gone, was, doubtless, prepared to hurl some missile. Another, a youthful and fully human giant, has already sunk below Zeus' terrible weapon. With the left arm he seeks his wounded shoulder: his head falls back, and soon the young body will be stretched in death. In this form, physicians see the symptoms not of wounds but of convulsions, caused, probably, by the paralyzing sight of the *ægis*. Thus the muscles of the right arm conglobate, the groins contract, and the whole frame seems to writhe in its agony. Here is a terrible realism, which would be revolting were it not tempered by great beauty in the forms. Before the mighty god still another youthful, human-shaped giant has sunk. One of the thunderbolts has already pierced his quivering thigh, and its flames are now gliding upwards over the vainly outstretched arm. This power of evil is also surely doomed, and, in spite of its attractive form, must be crushed. Above, to make the victory more complete, and filling out the space, Zeus' sacred bird, the eagle, fights with the snaky part of the oldest giant, seen coiling up along the background. Eagles frequently recur in the frieze, as the symbols of Zeus, the great leader of this battle. In the fragments preserved, they appear as many as five times, sometimes bringing the thunderbolt, again plunging pitiless talons into the opened jaws of the serpent-foe.[1151] As of yore, these wild birds still sweep in majestic flight over Pergamon's summit. On the eve of the discovery of this very Zeus group, seven in number, eagles wheeled round and round in the blue ether, auguring good fortune to Humann's party, as they ascended the mountain to their task.

In the group in which Zeus' great daughter Athena appears, the final victory seems to be indicated. But, between these two scenes, how wild the surging battle! how fierce the fury of the giants, expressed in all the modulations of fear and hope, of triumph and defeat! Fighting on the west or perhaps on the north side, must have been a nude figure with youthfully slender but

glorious form, and with drapery dragging from the left arm (Selections, Plate XVI.). By the quiver-strap across the chest, he is clearly marked as Apollo. With his left arm he raises his bow, now gone, and with the right draws an arrow from his quiver; his whole pose and swift motion calling to mind the well-known form of the Apollo Belvedere. Scarcely less beautiful than the god himself is the falling giant at his feet, — one of the most attractive and exquisitely executed male figures of the frieze.

Near the south-east corner must have been that group in which a winged giant springs back from the flaming torch of a beautiful female antagonist; while under his feet lies a comrade, having a face calling to mind that of the Dying Galatian of the Capitol. Not far removed from this impressive group must have been still another (Fig. 237.) The names of many of the goddesses remain enigmatical; but here, in a noble figure in vehement action, we recognize Apollo's swift-footed sister Artemis. Her flowing drapery is girt about the waist, so as least to impede her course. With one trimly booted foot planted on a fallen foe, she bends forward, eagerly drawing her bow at her opposing enemy, perhaps the glorious Orion, the beauty of whose form is unhappily but faintly reflected in the engraving.[1151a] And yet no anger is written in her face, but a serenity becoming a goddess of supernal light. In this form we have almost the only illustration of the Pergamon artist's mode of treating the nude in the female form. All the other goddesses are closely draped; and the sculptor's skill is expended upon accessories of flowing folds, various stuffs, exquisitely finished sandals, luxuriant hair, and fluttering veils. Below the short attire of this huntress-goddess, however, appear her knee and leg, of such wonderful execution as to form one of the brilliant points of these marbles. The youthful carnation and velvety surface is rendered with an astonishing truthfulness, which scarcely finds its parallel in other parts of the frieze. But, besides, let us notice the eagerness of her tremendous dog, and the grandeur of the head of the fallen giant he attacks.

A six-armed, triple-headed figure, with terrible anger in the one visible face, can only be Hecate, in combat, perhaps, with Clytios. Before her every one pauses, astonished at the skill evinced in the combination which, at first glance, presents but one powerful female form, but gradually reveals its weird grouping of arms and heads. The charioteer, in long fluttering robes, cautiously but firmly guiding four excited steeds with one hand, while swinging a flaming torch at the enemy with the other, is, doubtless, Helios, god of day, rising, as it were, out of a rocky cave in the distance. Under his chariot lies a fallen giant, but in its course stands a most threatening form. Startled by the scene, a horse gallops away bearing a goddess, who sits facing the beholder. Possibly it is Eos (Aurora), the herald of coming day; but, as antiquity usually represented this goddess as winged and on foot, or in a chariot, such an interpretation of this riding figure must still be pronounced uncertain. Although

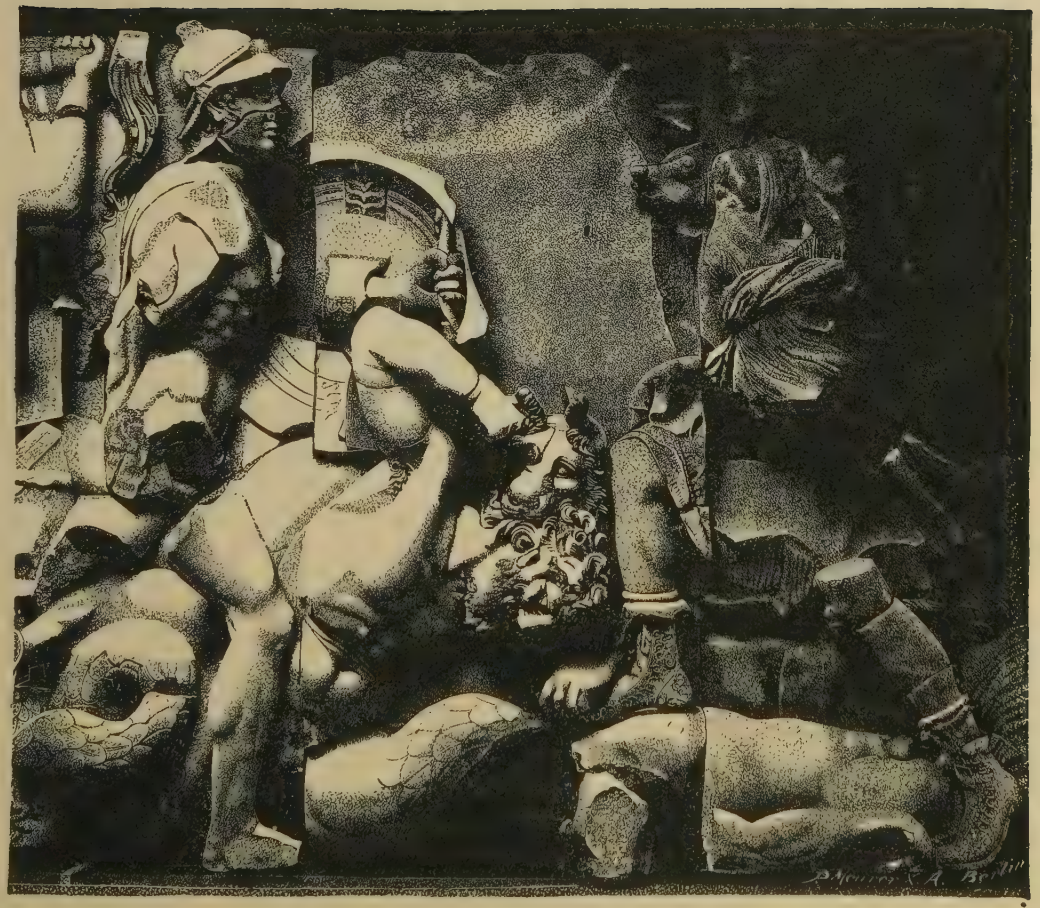

Fig. 237. Artemis Group. From Pergamon. Berlin.

the pose is graceful, the execution of this figure is poor and negligent, as seen in the marks of the borer everywhere left evident; these inferiorities showing that hands of unequal skill worked on this mighty frieze. Directly in advance of Eos rode another figure, probably a goddess, whose back is turned toward the beholder (Plate V.). This has been conjectured to represent Selene. All there is about this quietly riding figure, reminding of the battle that is raging, is the indicated motion of her right arm, and the signs of colossal wings in the background. How exquisite here the rendering of every part! The neck and fragmentary head are luscious in their roundness, calling to mind Giorgione's Venetian beauties. The cut of her garment, gathered into a band at the neck, girded high at the waist, and finished at the arms with a roll, is so accurately rendered, that it seems as though it must reflect a fashion prevailing in the elegant courts of that day. Coming out in strong contrast to the quiet lines of this garment, is the fluttering end of the outer mantle, and the fuzzy surface of the fur serving as a saddle.

Corresponding to these gods of light, was to be seen, on the opposite or southwest corner, Rhea-Kybele, with her companions, among whom we recognize as one of the Cabeiroi a figure with hairy breast, and swinging a hammer; besides are several goddesses with lions. Kybele herself rides a lion, her sacred animal; but, strangely enough, uses a bow and arrows, which are not her attributes elsewhere in ancient art. The three lions in this group seem to correspond to the three dogs accompanying Artemis and her sister goddesses, of the opposite corner of the altar. In this Kybele group we see, however, great inferiority to many other parts.

The deities facing the steps on the west, and about the south corner, are marine in character. Here, doubtless, belongs the name Amphitrite, found on a piece of cornice. One god wears a fish-skin cap, and a goddess sandals apparently of seaweed. A strange sea-centaur fights in their aid, and powerful hippocamps seem to draw their chariots. On the neck of a span of these half-horse, half-fish monsters, a yoke is still to be seen, indicating that they were harnessed, perhaps to Poseidon's chariot. Their scaly bodies and strong fins still plash in the water indicated under them; and their heads thrown violently back, and the piece of fur in front, tell us of the dangerous vicinity of a much-to-be-dreaded giant.

Strangely enough, the full, flowing form of pleasure-loving Dionysos (Selections, Plate XVI.) is also to be seen in this turmoil of battle. With the ivy wreath in his long, curly hair, the *nebris* bound above his thin *chiton*, and fastened to the right arm, and with high shoes on his graceful feet, the god rushes forward in the conflict, his panther at his side. In general build, pose, and drapery, how like the celebrated Diana of Versailles is this full, flowing form of the god of the merry satyrs! His action is, however, much more forcible than that of the Diana, where the vigorous intensity of the subject is lost in being

applied to a figure thus singled out from all of its surroundings. A piece of Dionysos' face, showing long, oval, liquid eyes, and the band across his low forehead, has been identified among the fragments. How different these eyes from those of another fragment of a helmeted head, doubtless belonging to Ares, god of war, in which the deeply set, almost round, eyes seem burning with the war spirit! In these two faces, how well we see the power of the Pergamon sculptors in rendering the opposite characteristics of the gods! Hidden behind Dionysos, we spy two satyrs: the one in front, an amusing parody, in reduced size, of the action of the god; the other carrying a staff, perhaps the *thyrsos*, the upper part of which is lost. Both wear an apron of coarse skin, brought out in contrast to the god's finely woven, rich *chiton*, as it blows back against them. Enough is left of the face of the farther satyr to show his rustic hair, and the two goat-like appendages to his chin. Although intended for boys, these satyrs, like Laocoön's sons, are only diminutive men. The forms of these characteristic attendants of the god here fill up meaningly the space beyond him, and one of the corners of the altar where this group stood.

One goddess, in richest drapery, and drawing the shield away from the face of her fallen foe, hurls at him a snake-bound vase with such tremendous action, that it forms a strong contrast to her beautiful, passionless face, about which flies a veil of fine texture (Fig. 238). Her luxurious form and bracelet-clasped arms might point her out as Aphrodite, but her mysterious vase is unknown among the symbols of that goddess.[1152] She may perhaps be an Erinys, transformed by this later age into a form of beauty. About her fight giants in full armor, their manly cuirassed forms setting off wonderfully her draped and feminine grace. What part of the frieze this group occupied, it is impossible to say; and the same uncertainty rests about another group, probably representing Heracles wrestling with a giant (Selections, Plate XVI.). On the hero's tremendous chest are knotted the paws of a lion's skin, its jaws once doubtless covering his head. About his waist a garment is tightly wound, showing that he has prepared for an arduous fight. His formidable enemy, a monster carrying on snaky coils a human body, has a colossal lion's head, which is now held in Heracles' crushing embrace. In vain do the arms, ending in lion's claws, clutch the hero's skin. This wild combination may symbolize Leon, one of the many foes with whom Heracles had to contend. This very group may be seen copied on sarcophagi of later times, and has also striking resemblance to a coin of the ruler Lykeios.[1153] The names of the giants were carved in smaller letters on the cornice below the frieze. Of these only five are preserved complete, — Chthonophylos, Erysichthon, Ochthaios, Obrimos, and Oudaios. None of them are properly giants, although the latter is known to have been akin to them from his earth-born nature. Of other names, eleven fragments have been found.

The fancy seems unlimited, which has given these monsters form. Some-

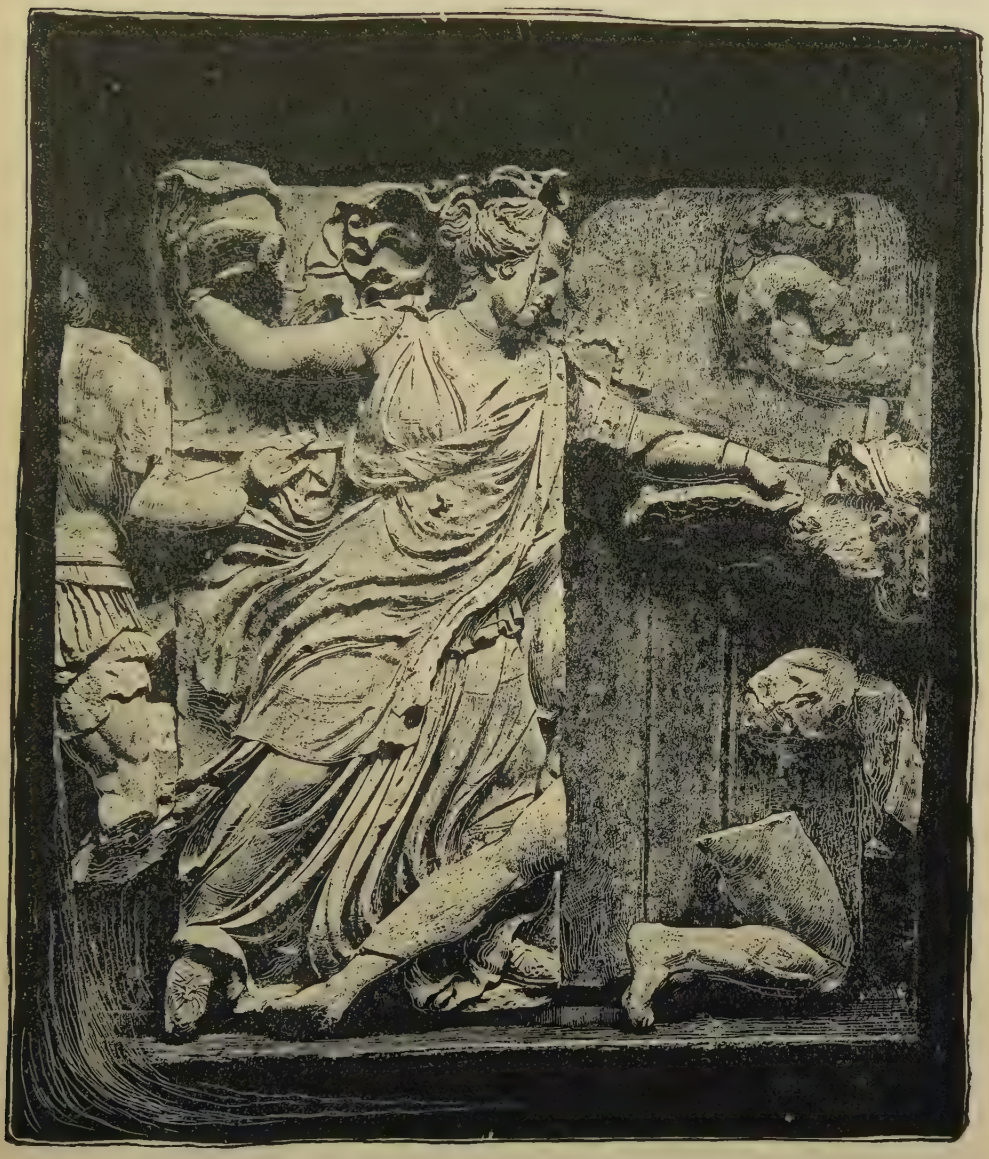

Fig. 238, Veiled Goddess hurling Snake-bound Vase at the Enemy. From Pergamon. Berlin.

times they are so noble and beautiful, that we can hardly believe them to be enemies of the gods; and, again, they are so bestial, that such forms, we feel, merit only annihilation. In the older poetry, sculpture, and vase-paintings of the Greeks, we find the giants always represented simply as mortals, fully armed. Thus, they appear in the Megara treasury pediment at Olympia (p. 211), dating from the sixth century; and thus, also, even down to the metopes of the Parthenon. In vase-paintings of the fourth century, however, these giants have thrown off the armor, and become wild in appearance, and have shaggy disordered hair, and use for weapons rocks and tree-trunks. By the third century, on certain terra-cottas, these enemies of Athena are represented with a human body on snaky coils; but, as far as is known, they are thus represented in sculpture for the first time in these reliefs from Pergamon. There is, therefore, great interest attaching to the question, as to the extent of the originality of the Pergamon sculptor, in conceiving the forms of these giants. Many are the variations upon the serpent type. In one case a human form rests on serpent's coils, ending in venomous heads, while the face is in keeping with the beastly neck of an ox, and supplied with the ears of that animal. Wings, powerful, and suitable for spirits of darkness, make swifter the motions of many others. One tremendous human form, springing back from the flaming torch of a beautiful female antagonist, startling us by his wildness, suggests the Beelzebub of Miltonic fancy. His huge wings are of mingled finny and feathery texture; about his bearded face, a like finny growth, pointed ears, and horns show themselves. The unbroken force of this figure is in strong contrast to the pathos of that youthful giant behind him, who has fallen. In this latter figure, the wildly beautiful and tangled hair alone would speak of hopeless yielding; and his face haunts us with its expression of suffering. Feebly, but in vain, the left hand seeks the arrow which has pierced the manly chest. Death is already written on his brow, furrowed now like that of age. One stage farther in this struggle shows us another giant lying prone, his shaggy robe of skin loosely covering his back, and his head resting on the powerful arm which once defied the gods. A tragedy seems written in this hair and arm, the wild struggle, the discomfiture, the despair, and, at last, the stillness of death. A strong contrast to these fallen forms is furnished by those of the giants still contending, having perfect human shapes and in full armor. So vigorous is their warfare, that we might well tremble for their opponents, did not many of their number already fallen predict the triumph of the gods.

So hopeless is the feeling of wild disorder received from these groups, especially in their present shattered state, that we ask, Is there here any of that symmetry so fundamental to earlier Greek composition, or any of that adaptation to the architecture which we have had reason so greatly to admire? Going back to the Æginetans, we remember there the utter subjection to the

architecture, and the monotonous correspondence of part to part. In the Parthenon, likewise, this balance, although most gracefully veiled, was evident, and harmony with the architecture was supreme. But out of this entanglement of snakes' coils, human bodies, triumphant gods, and their attendant lions, dogs, winged horses, and eagles, can we bring order? Are not all the barriers and rules of tradition hopelessly lost in this confusion? When the projected reconstruction of the whole altar has been carried out, and the sculptures have been raised again to a position corresponding to that they originally held, we shall be better able to pass judgment on their excellences as well as defects of composition. But, even now, close observation of the chaotic fragments discovers a harmony directing the whole, and a delightful contrast of detail. Thus the Zeus and Athena groups, which, as the discovery of very much-injured fragments shows, stood side by side, correspond one to the other in the number of figures; and the tremendous sweep of Zeus to the left seems set off against the swaying of Athena to the right. The fragments left from both sides of the grand stairway show how skilfully the sculptors used this irregular space, bringing its carvings into harmony with the rest of the frieze. Parts of all the figures on the left side of the stairway, from the corner of the frieze at the bottom to the very top, are preserved. To the worshipper, ascending the stairs, would have been visible here the struggling giants, hard pressed from below by a group of gods and goddesses, and from above by one of Zeus' powerful eagles; assuring him of the ultimate triumph of the heavenly powers. Professor Brunn's constructive mind has discovered the fact, that the composition was so planned, that under each slender column of the colonnade there stood a figure occupying the whole height of the frieze, while between swayed the broken lines of bending, kneeling, or fallen combatants. Thus a certain impression of giving support and of having stability must have been made by the sculptures, beautifully carrying out their architectural idea, that of a mighty pedestal bearing up the altar and its colonnade. With the powerful cornices above and below, bounding in these waves of sculpture, how harmonious must have been the effect of the whole!

There is little in these sculptures of the Great Altar that calls directly to mind motives familiar to us from earlier art. While, doubtless, the ideals of the great gods, and perhaps many of those of the minor ones, had been developed before, here they seem to have received a more impetuous and vehement character. Thus, for instance, the Athena and the Artemis are clearly variations on an earlier type, familiar to us from coins and reliefs, but re-created, as it were, in the spirit of this time. In considering the artistic treatment here, where in the range of ancient art has the sculptor been so prodigal or successful in the representation of the back of the human form? where has he attempted such variety of attitudes, and displayed such weird fancy in combining and in grouping? He seems to have both the human

Fig. 239. Plunging Horses. From Pergamon. Berlin.

and animal forms, with all their possibilities of plastic representation, as perfectly at his command as the man of letters has the alphabet.

The horse, so worthily represented in the Parthenon marbles, is here no less powerful in his framework, and equally far removed from any thing ordinary or prosaic. Look but at those two powerful steeds plunging high over a fallen giant (Fig. 239). Across their proud necks lies a part of the harness, and above it a piece of a shield borne by the charioteer, who must have stretched eagerly forward, and been clad in long, fluttering garments. Place alongside of these the horses of the Parthenon frieze, and, making all allowance for the difference in the height of the relief, mark the glorious similarity in conception. But on noticing in the Pergamon fragment the subtle lines of the skin, and the excited motion of the hair, although it may sound heretical, we ask, does not this Pergamon span appeal to us moderns at least as much as do the severer and more schematic Parthenon steeds?

We have, moreover, in this frieze of the Great Altar, a very different type of Pergamon art from that represented in the Dying Galatian and kindred statues of the third century; against the pronounced individuality of which, these sculptures show a re-action. The forms and features of these gods, goddesses, and giants have no such portrait-

like realism, but, with all their variety and shades of feeling, follow several general types. Among the giants are grand bearded faces, so similar to the traditional type of Zeus, that we might readily believe them akin, were it not for their look of passionate suffering and rage, so foreign to the benignant face of the King of Olympos. The goddesses, with the exception of Hecate, seem one great sisterhood. That, moreover, the fundamental type of their faces is different from that of the previous centuries, but equally beautiful, appears in that nameless goddess hurling a vase at her fallen enemy (Fig. 238). We are first taken captive by the grace and proud elegance of her whole appearance. Concentrating our attention upon the particulars of her face, having much of the bewitching elegance of the Veronesque type in Venetian painting, we find that it has a short oval, pointed toward the chin, and quite unlike the full round ovals of the Parthenon frieze, or the long, narrow ones of the gentle mourners on the tombstones of the age of Praxiteles. It is equally unlike the beautiful Demeter of Cnidos, but shows similarity in form to the face of the Venus of Melos. Thus the forehead is much lower than in the Demeter, and more pointed than in the heads of the Parthenon maidens; the lips are fuller, the small, proud mouth more open, and the *coiffure* much more elaborate. The hair rolls off more boldly from the forehead, the roots showing in fine contrast to the smooth skin. In front of the ear nestle two beauty-curls, likewise unknown in the figures of adults of earlier times, as shown by dated monuments, although appearing on children's heads.

But while such grand ideal types are the framework on which these later sculptors build, yet how riotously does their fancy play with naturalistic detail! Above the deep undertone of ideal form, they sound a myriad of lighter, more fleeting notes, all caught from nature, and blended into one harmonious whole. In these idealized forms, which are on a scale unknown to us before in plastic art, the hair, eyebrows, ever-changing folds of skin, and texture of garments or fur, are astonishingly real and lifelike. The silken garments of one torch-bearing goddess, the thin *chiton* of another, the leathery *nebris* worn by Dionysos, the wonderful surface of Athena's robes, whether flying or lying in horizontal folds, show the master's ease in imitating stuffs. In the mantles of many of the gods, how speakingly are rendered, not only the border and its narrow hem, but also the seams uniting the long breadths at their selvage edge! These long seams, running across the robes, might easily be mistaken for folds produced by the press, were it not for their exact resemblance to the edge of the garment, which would not have been thus folded. Compared with the drapery of the Parthenon, we realize that here the garments are no longer simply a reflex of the form, intended to enhance its beauty, but have such importance attached to them, as to receive a value, indeed secondary to, but yet independent of, the figure itself. The careful workmanship of many of the very minor features in these marbles is equally striking. We need but

glance at the shoes and sandals of the goddesses, to see this marvellous care well illustrated (Fig. 237). The fluffy hair, the deeply wrought folds, the scaly serpents' coils, or the downy plumage of the eagles, all call out our astonishment ; but this super-elegance and luxury, prevailing throughout the details, is foreign to the spirit of earlier times. No secret of technique seems to have been unknown to the masters of the frieze, who have so boldly carved out the relief that the whole fore-arm may readily be plunged into the cavernous depths of the thoroughly preserved folds. The choice of the marble even shows their wisdom, its easy manipulation being highly praised by the Italian sculptors engaged in re-adjusting the sundered fragments. The slabs of the great frieze seem to have been affixed to the building before they were carved ; and there, away from the comfortable studio, the intricate piecing of the marble was done, and the chisel and borer applied to the rude blocks. Moreover, if this great frieze was executed like the smaller Telephos frieze from the same altar, then the masters, unlike those of later Roman times and moderns, used no convenient points (*puntelli*) for measurement, but carved directly into the obdurate marble, with the freedom that a painter has in the use of the supple brush.[1154] May not this freedom of hand, combined with the subtle influence of painting, developed at this time to highest perfection, have conspired to produce in composition and detail the pictorial effect of these marbles? This pictorial character appears not only in oft-repeated and tremendous foreshortening, as in the right leg of Athena's fallen enemy, and in the left arm of Zeus' bolt-stricken foe, but also in the exact counterfeiting of nature in fur, skin, hair, etc., which we have been noticing. Going back to the Parthenon pedimental marbles, we see in their easier composition, exquisite drapery, and gently varied surface of skin, the beginnings of this pictorial treatment thrown over the statuesque forms like a transfiguring veil. Here, however, at the end of Greek history, we see the utmost that pictorial rendering could attain, without surrendering altogether the statuesque, and making sculpture a painting in stone. This frieze is, however, far from being a picture, in the sense that the Telephos frieze is of the same altar, as well as all modern relief; the latter well illustrated by Ghiberti's doors of the Baptistery in Florence. In keeping with the character of true sculptural relief, we see in this Pergamon frieze, that one surface plane is always kept emphatic, and never broken up and made unquiet by attempts at vistas of far-reaching perspective, and accessories of landscape, and the like.

In strong contrast to the work of older days, the Pergamon reliefs leave nothing for the imagination to supply. We read the whole story as we stand before them, astonished at the skill which shows the sculptor's power strained to the utmost. He plays, as it were, his last card, and suggests nothing more which might still be expressed. As one critic has well said, "*Non si lasciano a pensare.*" The ideas to which the old masters had given depth

are here all spread out before us. And not the simple poses and gestures of olden times, but most complicated and tortuous ones, appear. The sculptor has thrown the spirit of his excited and unreserved age into his marble. With all the force of an uncontrolled and tumultuous age, he shows us the immortals in fiercest conflict with their enemies. And in that group where Athena herself, the revered goddess of Pergamon's summit, appears, this tragic power finds its culmination (Selections, Plate XV.). The arms of fallen giants appear at each end of the composition. Athena's powerful but beautiful enemy, with four mighty wings, now sinks like a wounded bird at her feet. Her sacred serpent binds its coils about the strong arm and leg, and buries its fangs in the chest. In vain the giant raises his right hand to free himself: it lies helpless on the goddess's arm; his head falls back, his eyes roll, his mouth opens, all his features showing the sure approach of death. And now up from the depths arises the agonized mother of the giants, with dishevelled hair, her name inscribed beside her (Ge). With one arm thrown up, and eyes raised imploringly to Athena, she pleads for her unhappy children, thus adding strains of soul-anguish to the physical pain expressed by her fallen son. But in vain, for the power of the goddess with lightning speed has done its work. And yet how ethereal this victorious daughter of Zeus! Although clad in armor, and carrying a heavy shield, Athena, in whom is embodied the triumph of all the gods, floats by with the lightness of a bird. And now, as she approaches, Nike, the slender goddess of victory, flies to greet her with the crowning wreath.

The Laocoön of the Vatican has some features of strong resemblance to this dying giant of the Athena group.[1155] But, in the Laocoön, we see alone the writhings and contortions of physical suffering, and become so distressed and repelled by the sight, that the eye involuntarily wanders away seeking relief. In this Pergamon group, on the contrary, although physical pain is expressed, yet, like discords in music, it seems introduced only to make more powerful the harmonies in this great symphony. We are fascinated by the beauty of the giant, moved by the anguish of his mother, and taken altogether captive by Athena's noble form, and Nike's swift grace, as well as by the glorious thoughts in the whole, expressing the idea of the triumph of light over darkness, of right over wrong. Could we see the varied forms of this frieze raised once more on the wall, no doubt the writhing, struggling motions of the giants, set off against the upright action of the gods, and intermingled with bold, plunging horses and sea-monsters, would produce an even more powerful impression than that now received from the sundered groups and broken fragments in the dark halls of the museum. Moreover, the powerful cornices above and below, which originally bounded the frieze with their unswerving lines and regular shadows, would give solidity and repose to this surging sea of sculpture.

These sculptures of Pergamon, with their rich variety in composition, and perfect mastery of technique, seem the result of combined traditions of the past, and not the inspiration of any single man or school. Especially does this appear when we remember, that, through all antiquity, art drew upon its hoarded treasures, and that, during this Hellenistic age, artists from various parts moved hither and thither as fields opened for their activity. From what sources the Pergamon sculptors received their suggestions, — whether from monumental sculptures of the past, from terra-cottas, or from paintings, — are questions naturally arising. Much there is which seems to suggest the effects which painting seeks to catch from nature. The gliding serpents with their scales, the rich plumage, the finish of fins, and seaweed, are some of the details in which, with reason, has been traced the influence of great paintings of the immediately preceding centuries, which with regard to naturalistic detail, and effects of light and shade, must have been far different from the sterner works of the older time represented by Polygnotos. How great was the esteem for the paintings of men like Zeuxis, Parrhasios, and Apelles, is hinted to us in general terms; while comparison and fresh discovery are making it continually clearer, that they furnished many types which were carried over most skilfully by the sculptors into plastic art.[1156] Other types came, doubtless, from still other sources, among them being many of the figures of deities. Thus the Artemis, Dionysos, and Athena, it is most probable, were single conceptions developed in sculpture at an earlier age, but here taken, and skilfully worked into the pulsating, dramatic composition. The type of this Ge appears on vases of the fourth century; and the Athena and Nike call to mind the group supposed to be traceable to Pheidias' representation of the birth of Athena, in the east pediment of the Parthenon (p. 350). But, even if following certain traditional types, how free the sculptor's use of them here, and how masterly his grouping!

We long to know who the masters were who modestly added their names in very small letters below those of the giants in the lower cornice. Unfortunately, only fragments of these have been preserved; but one "necrato" may, perhaps, throw partial light on this subject. It is probably a part of a genitive of Menecrates, the name of a Rhodian master mentioned by Pliny as having adopted Apollonios and Tauriscos from Tralles, and doubtless also their teacher.[1157] These men executed the well-known group, the Farnese Bull, now in the Naples Museum; and it is probable, that, on the Pergamon frieze, they inscribed themselves as sons of Menecrates. On the supposition, therefore, that among the masters of this great frieze were Apollonios and Tauriscos (of whom we know, besides, that the latter was a painter), then Tralles, Rhodes, and Pergamon are brought into very close relationship, showing us an art which, while heir to rich traditions, was working out its peculiar character and coloring.

The SMALL FRIEZE of the Pergamon altar, 1.57 meters high, adorned the inner wall of the colonnade, and was widely different in character from the great frieze of the giants.[1158] Three different slabs are given in Selections, Plate XVII. Its reliefs are low, and represent, not tremendous conflicts, but idyllic scenes, among which the story of Telephos, the mythic ancestor of Pergamon, seems very prominent. According to legend, Auge, priestess of Athena, at Tegea in Arcadia, bore Telephos by Heracles; and, fearing her father's anger, she hid her babe in the shrine of the virgin-goddess, who, in consequence, sent pestilence into the land. The child was then removed to the woods of Argos, where, according to the usual myth, he was nourished by a deer, until found by his father Heracles, who now became his protector. According to one story, Auge was punished for her sin by being thrown into the sea, but was cast upon the coast of Mysia, where she became the wife of its ruler Teuthras. In time Telephos also came to Mysia, where he did deeds as great as those of his father, and became Teuthras' successor. When the Greeks, in going against Troy, by mistake landed in his realm, Telephos repulsed them, but was wounded by Achilles. The oracle declared that by Achilles' lance alone could he be healed. Now going among the Greeks in disguise, he seized the young Orestes, and fled to the altar. There he threatened to slay the child, unless he were given rust from Achilles' lance to heal his wound. One of the reliefs of this small frieze (Selections, Plate XVII.) shows us, in the midst of a rocky landscape, Heracles, in form and attitude the very protoype of the colossal Farnese Heracles at Naples. He stands under the broad, spreading branches of a leafy tree, and watches his child, the babe Telephos, here playing with the udder of a feline nurse. On other slabs, ships appear; .in one instance being unloaded, and still again being hammered together. The dejected figure of a draped female, sitting by, indicates that the ship is to bear Auge to her destruction. On another (Selections, Plate XVII.) we see a part of a wedding scene; referring, doubtless, to Auge's nuptials with Teuthras. Here a beautiful female, with more voluptuous form than any in the great frieze, bears the hymeneal torches. In one instance Telephos appears, holding the babe Orestes on the altar; in others, festive meals in honor of the dead seem to be held; while again, as in the middle group (Selections, Plate XVII.), beautiful throngs join in dense processions, showing us where the Romans found their patterns for similar scenes. In other slabs, we see figures sitting in quiet converse. How different these chatty sculptures, with their landscape back and fore grounds, their busy workmen and suckling babes, from the reliefs of older times, and from the giant frieze! They seem to be pictures translated bodily into marble. The sculptor here renders his scenes with a disregard for the limits of his material, not met with hitherto in Greek art, but which in the coming Græco-Roman age should become prevalent. Although the composition is thus strange, and

the sculptures are untrue to the laws inherent in marble, still it is an interesting story that is told, and the beautiful figures bear close inspection; unfortunately, nearly all the heads have been at some time knocked away.

Many statues found at Pergamon, probably, once occupied the colonnade and platform directly about the place of sacrifice. Among these are four finely executed seated statues of stately women, and nine standing ones, each a treasure in itself, and in style and treatment companions to the great frieze of the altar. The graceful variety in their drapery offers fine material for the study of ancient costumes. The head of one alone has been preserved; and, even though fragmentary, the statue, with its gentle movement and genuine feminine grace, captivates the eye.[1159] Some of these figures, doubtless, represent priestesses of Athena, as inscriptions found on the spot indicate; others are unmistakably statues of gods and goddesses, such being the figure of Zeus Ammon with his ram's-horns. Placed in the Berlin Museum alongside of a figure of Antinous, this statue admirably illustrates the wide difference between the fresh treatment of drapery and skin in even these late Greek works, and the cold academic mannerism which prevailed in the still later age of Roman dominion.

Fragments of other buildings, besides those already alluded to, have been preserved to us at Pergamon. These were in part erected by Attalos II., Eumenes II.'s brother and successor, as thank-offerings to the gods for victory. Attalos' *stoa* surrounded three sides of the *piazza* of the Athena Polias temple (Fig. 230), and its balustrade was decorated with all the paraphernalia of battle. We see how, in this age verging towards decline, the ability of the Greek sculptor came to be expended on making attractive minor features, even when representing such trophies of war. In the strongly pronounced perspectives and naturalistic treatment of details, even to the links of chain armor and the like, we see here also indicated the influence of painting. Indeed, such details begin to absorb the sculptor's thought, often, to a wearisome extent; but their historical importance for art is enhanced by the fact that this display of trophies in marble was the foundation for the prevalent taste, in Roman times, for the representation of similar subjects.

Several small statues of very excellent and finished workmanship, discovered in the ruins of this curious *stoa*, and proved by Milchhöfer to represent the freeing of Prometheus, evince most clearly the predominating influence of painting over sculpture during the second period of Pergamon's power (Fig. 240).[1160] Here is a full picture in stone, possibly inspired by Parrhasios' celebrated painting of Prometheus. On it Prometheus, with arms outstretched and fastened to the rock behind him, writhes in agony from the wounds given by the eagle, which rested on his right thigh, but is now gone. Heracles approaches, with bow in hand, to free the hero; while the god of the mountain, Caucasos, reclines below, by which is located the scene of Prometheus' suffering and deliverance. This picture in stone has its parallel in

paintings preserved to us, and was probably but one of a series which may have adorned some part of the *stoa*, fragments of other small statues having also been found among its ruins.

In Pergamon itself, copies of the great masterpieces in sculpture were made, as appears from the discovery of such reproductions, which are, however, in no case slavish imitations. Thus, the Zeus of the great frieze was turned, by the ancient copyist, into a full statue; but has sacrificed much of the grandeur of the original, by being sundered from its surroundings. In one small relief, the Athena and Zeus groups of the great frieze seem to be crowded into a single composition. Reproductions of the masterpieces of the Pheidian age seem likewise to have been made at Pergamon, an imposing rendering of the Athena Parthenos having been discovered. The most of the copies seem, however, to belong to a later day, when the fresh, vigorous art of Eumenes II.'s time was being supplanted by mannerism.

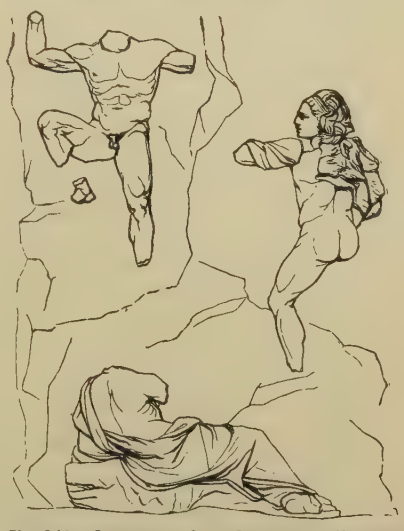

Fig. 240. Statuettes from Pergamon. Heracles freeing Prometheus. Berlin.

But not only in Pergamon itself have echoes of its great works been found. Parts of a temple-frieze from Priene, in Asia Minor, which are now in the British Museum, seem also inspired by the Great Pergamon Altar. Their bold and theatrical style, the high girding of the female forms, and the surface-folds, indicate, as has been shown by Furtwängler, that these marbles belong to the age of the Pergamon altar, and not to the fourth century B.C., when such peculiarities did not prevail.[1161] The temple at Priene, built in Alexander's time, received, we know, in the second century B.C., a new sacred colossal statue, doubtless an acrolith, of which parts of hands and feet are now in the British Museum. It is evident, that, for the erection of this new statue, changes had to be made in the building; and it is probable that this frieze was then added, an echo of the battle of the giants of the Great Pergamon Altar.

The influence of Pergamon was felt also in lands still more remote, as shown by other reproductions, coming originally from Italy. In the Wilton House collection, England, exists a group, No. 5, which is clearly a copy of one of the giants of the great frieze, clasping a god or hero about the waist. That head, generally known as the Dying Alexander, is but a variation on the beardless dying giants of this frieze. In a relief in the Vatican, Zeus' giant foe is copied almost exactly, with the exception of the advanced arm, which is made insipidly to hurl a stone, instead of being wrapped defensively in its fur.

But the extensive influence of Pergamon art on later times will become most evident in considering the period of Graeco-Roman sculpture.

The great artistic activity at Pergamon seems to have been confined to the time of Pergamon's kings. Scarcely thirty years after Eumenes, aided by the Romans, had extended his dominion far into the heart of Asia Minor, Pergamon passed into the hands of Rome, and sculpture bears witness to the rapid decline under the new rule. An occasional statue was erected to a Roman official. To Augustus was built a temple on the summit of the Acropolis, and a colossal statue was erected to that emperor on the square in front of Athena's temple; but no traces of sculptural decoration have been found. After Hadrian, even the erection of honorary statues to members of the royal family seems to have ceased, and artistic life was extinct, — the great mission of Pergamon's art for the ancient world having been fulfilled.

Continuing our consideration of sculpture in Asia Minor, Tralles, near Ephesos, first attracts attention. From this city came the two brothers who, probably, were engaged on the great frieze of Pergamon, and executed the well-known group called the Farnese Bull, now at Naples (Fig. 241). Pliny reports, that, "among the works owned by Asinius Pollio, were Zethos, Amphion, Dirke, and the bull and the rope, all carved out of one block by Apollonios and Tauriscos of Tralles, and which was brought from Rhodes to Rome." [1162] During the pontificate of Paul III., this group, in a sadly ruined condition, was discovered near the Baths of Caracalla, and was afterwards built up, and the missing parts restored.[1163] When set up in 1789, in the Villa Reale, at Naples, it was scraped and filed to blend the old parts with the new; and much of its former freshness was thus destroyed.

Antiope, daughter of Nicteus, king of Thebes, being with child by Zeus, fled from her father's indignation, and, on Mount Kithairon, gave birth to Zethos and Amphion, whom she left in charge of a shepherd, while she took refuge with Epopeus, king of Sikyon. In course of time, however, Antiope was carried off as a slave to Dirke, wife of Lycos, but was treated so cruelly by her, that she fled again, and came to Kithairon. Here her sons had now grown to be stalwart young shepherds. As fate decreed, the Queen Dirke also now came to Kithairon, to celebrate a great Bacchic festival. In the midst of the festivities she recognized her former slave, and ordered her subjects, Zethos and Amphion, to bind their unknown mother to the horns of a bull, and let the beast loose. As, however, they were about to execute her terrible commission, it was made known to them, probably by the shepherd, that Antiope was their own mother. The cruel Dirke was now seized by the enraged youths, and given up to the beast, who dragged her through the wild woods and over the rocks of Kithairon, until in time, as the myth runs, she was turned to a mountain-spring, which always bore her name.

The moment chosen in the marble group is that in which the sons bind Dirke to the bull. Amphion, with his lyre by his side, holds the wildly springing brute, while Zethos puts the rope about his head.[1164] At their feet lies Dirke, one hand placed pleadingly upon Amphion's leg. All the upper part of her form is restored; and it is not probable that she was thus loosely added to the scene, from which we see she might readily escape. According to the

Fig. 241. The Threatened Punishment of Dirke, popularly called the Farnese Bull. By Apollonios and Tauriscos of Tralles. Naples.

analogy of a cameo in Naples, with a similar scene, Zethos should, with one hand in Dirke's hair, draw her upward towards the rope, which may have been about her waist. The scene would thus be a terrible one, alleviated only by the sight of the noble struggle of the two athletic youths with the fierce beast. All the accessories point to the fact, that this tragic scene broke in upon the festivities of Dionysos, upon Kithairon's height, as Euripides describes the scene. The sacred *cista*, the snake coiling over the summit, the ivy-wreath, the broken *thyrsos*, and the skin worn by Dirke, one claw of which is antique, evidently refer to such a feast. The pedestal, besides, presents to actual vision

the rocky summit of Kithairon. About the side, diminutive wild beasts come out of their dens; and in front the mountain-god sits, a sympathizing looker-on, doubtless, originally pointing to the scene with the right hand as now restored. The peculiar character of the pedestal, as well as the bold but picturesque piling-up of its masses, in which Antiope appears to be an external addition, seem to show that the sculptor had seen a similar work in painting. That the group, as Dilthey has shown, was originally intended to decorate an elevated spot in some Rhodian park, seems probable both from its colossal size and pyramidal shape, its rocky base supplementing, as it were, the natural rock; as well as from the fact, that its composition is such that it can be walked about and viewed from every side. Such parks were laid out with great luxury in the Hellenistic age; and that nature was adorned with statuary, we have already seen in discussing the Samothrake Nike.

In spirit, how like the Pergamon frieze this group of Antiope and her avengers! How akin its tremendous action, wild passion, and tragic moment of suspense, to the stormy pathos of the combats between gods and giants! Besides, in the accessories, least touched by modern restoration, the technique appears the same, especially in the basket-like *cista* by Dirke's side.

From Antiocheia, in the neighborhood of Tralles, came the master who, as recent research about the inscription has shown, executed one of the most celebrated statues of antiquity, namely, the Venus (Aphrodite) of Melos, now in the Louvre.[1165] The statue was found by a peasant, in two parts, in a grotto on the island of Melos, in 1820. With it were a left arm and hand; but the indefiniteness of the account leaves it uncertain whether a right arm, and also the three *hermæ*, Heracles, Dionysos, and Hermes, now in the Louvre, were found with it.[1166] The statue was presented to Louis XVIII., by the Marquis de Rivière, French ambassador at the Turkish court; but had suffered hard usage, previous to shipment, the sensitive marble having been dragged over a stony road to the shore. A mutilated inscription, "[Alex]andros [or Agesandros], son of Menides, of Antiocheia on the Meander, made the work," appears on a drawing of the statue made by the painter Debay, one year after its discovery. There is the strongest reason to believe that this inscription was purposely destroyed, as too inconvenient a witness to the late origin of the statue, which high officials desired to have pass for a work of the very acme of Hellenic art, calling it even a masterpiece of Praxiteles himself.[1167] Had the art-world, at that time, been familiar with the Pergamon sculptures of the much later second century B.C., the date of the great statue would have been evident from its similarity to them in style; while the shape of the inscribed letters would, doubtless, also have betrayed its kinship to the works of that age.

The upper part of the statue (Fig. 242), down to the drapery, is of finest Parian marble, and superb workmanship; while the lower half is of inferior marble, as well as execution, the mantle seeming confined and scanty for the full limbs of the figure.[1168] The right arm seems to have been of one piece with the torso; but the left arm, as points of attachment show, appears to have been made of a separate piece. There has been much discussion, whether the part of a left arm and hand, holding an apple, and found with the statue, can have originally belonged with it, so inferior is the workmanship. The ear-lobes, two-fifths of the nose, a fragment of the left breast, the left foot, and toe of the right foot, are all restored in plaster; a part of the chin, lips, and right shoulder, as well as flaws in the drapery, are mended with the same material, but so as only slightly to disturb the luxurious, velvety surface of the marble. The head has only one-eighth of the total length of the statue (Selections, Plate XVIII.), giving the slender proportions introduced by Lysippos; a strong contrast to the sturdier forms of the Parthenon age, as, for instance, the Canephoros of the Erechtheion (Selections, Plate VII.) So also the superb fulness and luxurious surface of the skin vary greatly from the more contained rendering in the Parthenon statues, and even from that of marbles of the fourth century. Compared, however, with marbles from Pergamon, how near the relationship!

Fig. 242. Venus (Aphrodite) from Melos. Louvre.

This appears most strikingly when a cast or photograph of this statue from Melos is placed alongside of a youthful god discovered in the ruins of the Great Altar, and now in the "Heroen Saal" in Berlin. This youth, with feminine features, and full, round form, is, like the great figure of the Louvre, semi-nude, and has, besides, nearly her pose. Although the rendering of the Melos statue is indeed superior to that of this god, whose muscles seem less compact, yet in both there is the same easy fulness and rendering of the surface. Moreover, in the drapery of this Pergamon figure, we see repeated, on one side, the very mannerism of the scant folds of the mantle of the Melos statue. Many resemblances may also be traced between this glorious goddess and the goddesses of the great frieze of the giants. There is, likewise, a likeness to one Pergamon statue, — a beautiful standing, draped figure, described on p. 592. This is seen in the manner in which the hair, still clinging to the exquisite temples, rolls off of the forehead, in the general style of the rendering of the surface, as well as in the fulness of the cheeks.

In the statue from Melos, there can be little doubt that we have before us Aphrodite, the goddess of love and female beauty; as is indicated not only by her nudity, but also by the liquid softness of her eye, and luxurious fulness of her form and face. As the general pose is found repeated in several ancient statues, some of which are fully draped, but still more as two sister heads have been found in Asia Minor, it is probable that this is a variation on a favorite and received traditional type of that goddess. One of these heads, a pearl of beauty, but much mutilated, was discovered in Pergamon, and is now in the Berlin Museum.[1169] The build of the face shows unmistakable resemblance to that of the celebrated Aphrodite of Melos. More striking still is the likeness, first pointed out by Benndorf, between the Melos head, and one found in Tralles, now in the Vienna Collection (Selections, Plate XIX.).[1170] This latter head, which is about one-third smaller than the one from Melos, seems to have been set into a statue, probably draped, and is, happily, very slightly injured. Not only is the proportionate height of the shoulders the same as that of the Aphrodite of the Louvre, but also the bend of the neck, the poising of the head, with the oblique direction of the part lying deep in the hair, and the arrangement of the band in its graceful masses; to crown all, the fundamental lines of the features are the same. But there is also a striking difference between these heads. The face of the Melos Aphrodite is marked by greater width. The chin is rounder, and the mouth wider. The hair grows farther down over the temples, and the lines of the lower jaw make a broader, more luxurious sweep. In contrast to this greater fulness of outline and surface, and to this luxuriousness and gushing overflow of life, like the full bloom of ripe womanhood. the beauty of the Tralles head, as evident in its finer-cut lines, and more reserved surface-rendering, seems delicate. Following Benndorf, we might illustrate this difference

from painting; a similar contrast being evident between faces by Holbein, and those of the later great colorists. As in a Holbein, so in the Aphrodite of Tralles, every detail is drawn with finest, most delicate precision; but as in the works of greater colorists, so in the statue from Melos, every thing is treated with broad, pictorial fulness of form, there being no marked or decided passages, but a rich blending of all. The poise of the head from Tralles seems also more delicate, and sculptors see in the execution of many parts a finer feeling guiding the hand than that which produced the more magnificent beauty of the great statue from Melos. In the Tralles head, we seem to see the sterner beauty of older plastic forms. With the proud dignity of the Aphrodite of Melos, there is combined an impression of fleshy life, streaming out with tremendous power, intensified in its effect by certain irregularities in the mouth and cheeks, giving the face an almost individual expression. To all who have watched the constant development in Greek art, from sterner types to those of greater luxuriousness, the Aphrodite from Tralles seems, on the other hand, to follow more closely an older and simpler ideal, and hence to be a truer reproduction and continuation of some type of the fourth century, possibly of Praxiteles' Cnidian Aphrodite. In the cut of the profile, the form of the beautifully preserved nose, the small nostrils and mouth, as well as in the short upper lip, and dimple in the chin, this exquisite head brings us nearer to the Hermes of Praxiteles, and to the small Olympia Aphrodite of the fourth century (its companion in Selections, Plate XIX.), than does the more imposing head of the Louvre.

Numerous have been the conjectured restorations of the Aphrodite of Melos. Some would have her grouped with Ares; others would have her holding up triumphantly the apple awarded to her by Paris. Still others imagine her dressing her hair; and, again, she is supposed to be writing on Ares' shield, or regarding herself in its polished surface.[1171] Overbeck places the shield on a small, upright support by her left side; a hole in the base, as it was according to Debay's drawing, indicating that some object stood there. He also imagines that she held the shield with her left hand; that the right caught her drapery near her left thigh, to keep it from slipping off; while, as he supposes, it was also kept in place by the raising of the left knee.[1172] Whether this action, which seems more suitable for a playful terra-cotta than for a queenly statue, is the original one, we shall probably not know until new light has been thrown upon the subject from some now hidden quarter. But without restoration, the statue, as it stands, is a noble revelation of what Asia-Minor art could produce in the age of the Pergamon princes; and the individualism and rare beauty of the face, the luxurious strength and commanding grace of the form, appeal to many even more than do the simpler, severer ideals of an earlier time.

CHAPTER XXXII.

SCULPTURE IN RHODES, SICILY, AND THE ORIENT.

Political State of Rhodes. — Its Colossus. — Patronage of Art. — Artists. — Laocoön. — The Myth. — Its Rendering in Art. — The Original Pose. — Emphasis of Physical Pain. — Resemblance to Pergamon Giant. — Its Date. — Art in Sicily. — In Egypt. — Mesopotamia and Syria. — Tomb of Antiochos on Nemrûd Dagh. — Greek Sculpture in India.

The island-republic of Rhodes, by reason of its position in the line of the great commercial routes of antiquity, and its wise neutral policy during the stormy time after Alexander, had attained to great prosperity by the close of the fourth century B.C. But, provoked by the seizure of their traders with Egypt, the Rhodians finally allied themselves with the latter country against Demetrios Poliorketes, and resisted his siege of their city so bravely, that, after the lapse of a year, he withdrew his forces, 303 or 304 B.C., leaving behind his ponderous engines of war. This deliverance from a threatening foreign yoke, the Rhodians commemorated by the erection of statues to all who had aided them; but, most of all, by a bronze colossus to their god Helios, one hundred and fifty feet high, and, on account of its great size, considered one of the seven wonders of the world. This colossus, the work of a native sculptor, Chares of Lindos, a scholar of the great Lysippos, is said to have required twelve years for its completion; the expenses amounting to four hundred and seventy thousand dollars, or, according to another story, to two million five hundred thousand dollars, being defrayed by the sale of Demetrios' engines of war.[1173] It probably stood complete before 280 B.C., and for sixty-six years towered, a prominent feature, above the harbor, until prostrated by an earthquake. The fingers alone, we are told by Pliny, were larger than most statues; and few could, with their arms, encompass the thumb. As the colossus lay prostrate, great caverns yawned from among the broken members, within which gigantic rocks were to be seen, put there as ballast. In the seventh century of our era, the bronze was bought by a speculator, who is said to have required nine hundred and eighty camel-loads to remove it.[1174] Enormous blocks, one lying above the other, at the end of the mole of Rhodes, where now stands the solitary Tower of St. Nicholas, are thought by Professor Newton to be a part of its pedestal.[1175] Incredible stories, which arose as late as 1480 A.D., make this colossus bestride the harbor, and ships pass in

and out between its gigantic legs.[1176] Two very rare books, however, are thought at last to give a truer picture of its appearance.[1177] In one, a plate represents Rhodes and its harbor, on one side of which, with both feet together, stands the bearded and draped colossus. The open left hand is lowered; but the right one is raised on high, holding a basin full of flames. The artistic merit of this colossus by Chares is unknown; but it witnesses to the fondness of the Rhodians for immensity, and, perchance, boisterousness, in sculpture, especially as Pliny informs us that it was but one of a hundred colossi at Rhodes, each of which, as he tells us, with his trite formula of artistic criticism, would have sufficed to make the city celebrated.

These unsatisfactory traditions of art-activity on Rhodes are supplemented by equally tantalizing inscriptions discovered on the island, mentioning many sculptors.[1178] From them but little can be gathered, except that, so great were the inducements offered by the wealthy republic, that sculptors, especially from Asia Minor, were attracted thither. One Rhodian master, Aristonidas, is said by Pliny to have executed a statue of Athamas, a hero who, in madness destroying his own son, was crushed, on the return of reason, by a sense of his frenzied act. In such a state of deepest remorse and self-accusation, Aristonidas is said to have represented Athamas; adding, according to Pliny, iron to the bronze, to give the blush of shame.[1179]

But the most celebrated effort of Rhodian masters is, without doubt, the group of Laocoön and his sons (Fig. 243), made the burden of a profound essay on the limits of the different arts by Lessing, discussed also by Winckelmann, Goethe, Heine, and others, and still the subject of endless discussion among archæologists.[1180] In treating of the works of art in Rome, Pliny speaks of the Laocoön as in the palace of Titus, calling it, with fulsome praise, a work preferable to all other works of painting or sculpture; and adds, "From one block did the most gifted sculptors Agesandros, Athanodoros, and Polydoros, the Rhodians, make him the children, and wonderful knots of the snakes, *de consilii sententia.*" [1181] The names of the first two of these masters occur elsewhere in inscriptions. One to an Athanodoros, son of Agesandros, has been found in Rhodes itself, showing that for religious and civil services he received an honorary statue from the people of Lindos.[1182] This inscription doubtless refers to the masters by that name, who executed the Laocoön group, and hence makes it probable that Agesandros was the father of the two remaining masters of Pliny's trio. The testimony of other inscriptions found on the soil of Italy, to the activity of these men, has, for the most part, been rejected because of the site of discovery and late epigraphy. Kekulé has, however, recently asserted the right of these inscriptions to a hearing, and, from the shape of the characters of the largest, adjudges it to belong to about 100 B.C., and thus to bear witness to the age when these men must have worked.[1183]

The Laocoön group, now in the Vatican, was discovered in Rome in 1506, near the Sette Sale, the site of Titus' palace on the Esquiline. Popular tradition indeed continues, through the modern guides, to point out, as the spot of its discovery, the Baths of Titus, where the niche is shown from which it

Fig. 243. Laocoön and his Sons. Marble Group in the Vatican.

is said to have been taken, — proved, however, by measurements, to be much too small for the large pedestal of the Laocoön group. The site of discovery corresponds, then, with Pliny's statement; but in one feature the Vatican Laocoön fails to coincide with what the Roman writer says, viz., as to its being of one block. Michel Angelo, who attempted but relinquished the restora-

tion of the right arm, found the group to be composed of three different pieces; and subsequently three other blocks were distinguished. Repetitions of certain parts of the group exist, but are either late Roman copies, or, in some cases, directly traceable to the sixteenth century, when the Vatican group was greatly admired, and parts of it copied.[1184] There can, therefore, be little doubt, that the Vatican Laocoön is the identical work mentioned by Pliny, as being in Titus' palace; and that his statement, that it was in a single block, is due to his love of the superlative, is confirmed by the fact that he makes the same assertion with regard to the Farnese Bull.

The main outlines of the story of Laocoön are obtained by sifting and comparing the fragmentary statements of different poets.[1185] Laocoön was the priest of Apollo; but, disregarding the commands of the god, requiring chastity of his servant, became the father of two sons. Not at once did his punishment overtake him; but long after, when his children were full grown, he was visited by two dire serpents, the instruments of divine vengeance. According to the earliest version of the story by Arctinos, the father and younger son at once fell victims to the venomous monsters, but the eldest son escaped. Sophocles, however, in his later tragedy, made Laocoön escape; but Virgil, widely differing in his Roman version, causes all three to perish, and connects the story with the fall of Troy. According to this Roman poet, Laocoön earnestly protested against the introduction of the Trojan horse within the city-walls; and, hurling his spear at the wooden side, the daring act was answered by the clang of arms from within. But, by the lies of a Greek spy, the Trojans were led to believe that the horse was a shrine of Athena, and, hence, that Laocoön was guilty of a sacrilegious act in attacking it. And now deadly serpents, coming over the main, crushed in their coils the unfortunate patriot; his terrible fate, and that of his sons, being looked upon by his countrymen as a miracle worked by the offended goddess. According to this account of Virgil, — which, however, was probably first suggested by the sight of the marble group, — Laocoön was preparing to offer sacrifice, when the huge serpents, coming from Tenedos, attacked and strangled his children, and then destroyed the father coming to their rescue. In the celebrated marble group, Laocoön falls upon the altar, but is not clad in priestly robes or wreathed with laurel, as in a picture discovered in Pompeii (Fig. 244), where the bull for sacrifice leaps away, the affrighted Trojans flee, and one son is dead and the other dying. As better suits the sculptor's art, in the marble, Laocoön is nude, his drapery being laid over the altar. To his left, is his elder son, still resisting, and concerned for his father; to the right, is the younger son, sinking in death. But no interchange of look or feeling, except in the upward glance of the elder son, unites the thought of the three, although they are externally knotted together in the slimy coils of the reptiles. One of these binds the arm of the elder son, passes across the father's back, and, doubtless, held his right arm, which

should have been restored, not as struggling with the coils, but as with the hand falling over the head, as does the arm of the giant at Athena's feet in the Pergamon frieze (Selections, Plate XV.). The second serpent, having tied his tail about the elder son's left ankle, is wound in tremendous coils about the legs of the father and younger son, and is biting the side of the latter. This terrible group gives no idea as to the beginning of the painful calamity; but its

Fig. 244. Laocoön and his Sons. Painting in Pompeii.

progress is most evident, passing from the less entangled form of the elder son on to the spasmodic action of Laocoön, and finally ending in the helpless, dying form of the younger son, whose arm, correctly restored, would fall behind his head in the relaxation of death. One hand seeks feebly to push away the venomous head; but, were it not for the encircling coils, we feel that the victim would fall from his father's side. The colossal form of the father, towering above his sons, is disproportionately larger than theirs; and his anguish seems

correspondingly great. No consciousness of their distress is evident either in his face or form, in which pain, terrible and blinding, seems to have smothered every other feeling. This we see in the aimless movements of his legs, the agony of the cramped toes, the terrible contraction and writhing of the loins, the blind grasping at the serpent's neck with the left hand, and the tortured expression of the face. Fully to feel all the physical pain here brought out, we must study the group by torchlight, when, as may be done with a cast, the fine grades of muscular action in form and face come to fuller expression. In vain do we look here for an heroic struggling with destiny, such as Lessing imagined in the scene. Especially when compared with the glorious groups of the Pergamon altar frieze, do we see how completely and exclusively bare physical pain is here emphasized, and that becomes so pitiable, that the truly tragic, always having something ennobling about it, is excluded. With the sculptor Dannecker, our eye gladly seeks relief in some other object. The only ameliorating chord in this dirge of agony is the sympathetic look of the elder son up to his father, and the hope we may have for his possible escape. For, in harmony with the older Greek version of the myth, and following the judgment of Goethe, Stark, and Brunn on this sufferer, we would gladly believe that he will be delivered.[1186] His glance of sorrowful sympathy, up to his tortured father, seems to indicate that he does not fear the utmost for himself; and his very slight entanglement in the coils gives us additional hope that he will escape.

The obtrusive presence of the snakes in this composition, so very different from their subordinate treatment in the Pergamon frieze, where human forms of supreme beauty are dominant, further illustrates the difference in the two works. It is only when we study the skilful anatomy, the pyramidal grouping, and masterly technique of the Laocoön trio, that we are in some degree reconciled to the revolting scene. But even here there is something decidedly artificial in the arrangement of the figures spread out before us, which seem more like very high relief, akin to that of the Pergamon frieze, than like statuary. This artificiality appears also in the superficial knotting-together of the figures by bulky coils, in the mannerism of the fall of the drapery, and in the careful freeing of all the chests from the distressing coils, as though to afford opportunity for a display of anatomical skill. We almost feel the difficulty the artists must have had in arriving at a satisfactory grouping. In fact, many archæologists have explained Pliny's expression, *de consilii sententia*, as referring to the consultations of the artists in producing the group. Others explain the expression as an order given by Titus for the execution of the work, and therefore assign it to Roman times. A most natural explanation is suggested by Mr. Murray, who, judging from the analogy of Rhodian inscriptions, believes the order to have been made by Rhodian magistrates.[1187] The opponents of the view that this is a work of the Roman time claim, with great reason, that the general superiority of the group to all known Roman works, its well-known

execution by Rhodians, and its distinctly Hellenistic style, clearly indicate that it belongs to an age of prosperity in Rhodes, and not to a time two hundred years later, when the island had become a humble Roman province, and when, as we may infer from the lack of all inscriptions, it had lost all artistic life.

The kinship of the Laocoön group to the Pergamon marbles has struck many a casual observer; but has been brought out with great force by Kekulé, who has shown that the pose of the body of the Laocoön is clearly derived from the fallen giant at Athena's feet, and that his face is an echo of one of the bearded giants of the frieze.[1188] The juxtaposition, however, of these works, as in Kekulé's plates, has brought out most clearly the fact that the Laocoön is mannered and dry in conception and treatment, when compared with the bold, free rendering of the fiery compositions of the great frieze. The Laocoön has, besides, a near resemblance to the Pergamon statuette of Prometheus (Fig. 240). How like are the loins of Prometheus, contracted by pain, and the emphasized rendering of each small muscle with a gem-cutter's care, to the muscular treatment of the Laocoön, even though modern filing, retouching, and polishing have, doubtless, done much in the latter to obliterate peculiarities of style! In the Prometheus, with all exquisite finish, no such deadening polish is present. With works, then, like the Prometheus, and the fallen giant of the frieze of the Pergamon altar, the Laocoön is no longer without its affinities in ancient art. The much-disputed question of its age seems thereby well-nigh settled. At all events, until still unknown facts are revealed to us, we must believe it to be one of the variations on the mighty frieze from Pergamon, and consequently a work of later times. Its superiority to the known works of Roman date would place it in the transition period, between the still powerful creations of the Hellenistic age, and the cold academic productions which followed them; i.e., about 100 B.C.

Leaving Asia Minor and Rhodes, the great and vigorous art-centres of the Hellenistic age, we may turn to consider sculpture in other parts of the Greek world during this period. In Sicily, the powerful tyrants Agathocles (289 B.C.) and Hieron II. (269–215 B.C.) patronized art; but, of the masters there active, the name of Micon alone is preserved. He executed two statues of this Hieron, one of which was an equestrian figure placed in Olympia 216 B.C.[1189] Of a magnificent ship built by Hieron II., a gift to Ptolemy Philadelphos, and of a golden Nike, a present from him to the Roman Senate, there exist dazzling accounts; but we are left to conjecture as to what may have been their artistic character.[1190]

In the Egyptian kingdom of the Ptolemies, although Greek painting doubtless developed a strong life, the same does not appear to have been the case with sculpture. The only notices we have are of brilliant pageants, such as the festival held at Alexandria, in honor of Adonis, by Arsinoë, wife of Ptol-

emy II. (284–248 B.C.).[1191] In a magnificent arbor were to be seen statues of Aphrodite and Adonis, reclining on couches; many small Loves hovered about them, while two eagles bore Ganymede aloft. All was of costliest materials, gold, ivory, and ebony; rare hangings, flowers, foliage, and fruits, adding to the luxurious pictorial effect. More lavish still was the festival held by Ptolemy himself, in honor of all the gods, but especially of Dionysos.[1192] In the procession were splendid cars, with costly vessels, and numerous single statues and groups. The Dionysos himself was so large that one hundred and eighty men were required to draw his car; and the god's nurse, Nysa, required sixty men to move her chariot through the streets. The pavilion, put up on this occasion, was gorgeous in the extreme. Before the entrance stood one hundred marble statues; and in sixteen grottos were represented banquets, at which automatic figures

Fig. 245. The River Nile, Vatican.

clad in richest garments, and moving like living people, took part. Doubtless, Greek sculpture in Egypt was employed also for nobler purposes, and especially in enriching buildings raised in Alexandria by the Ptolemies. Many fragments, coming from Egypt, show excellent workmanship, such as the Alexander head (Fig. 217) now in the British Museum, and a laughing satyr and a small Zeus head in the Louvre. There is little doubt that in Alexandria was developed the original of the famous statue of the Nile (Fig. 245), with his sixteen little *putti* climbing and playing about him, and symbolizing the number of cubits of the annual overflow of the river. Of this work there exist six *replicas* of different sizes, the principal of which is the one in the Vatican. We have, however, no reason to think, that, as at Pergamon and Rhodes, a new and vigorous art was developed in Egypt. The existence of an old and strongly national art in the Nile valley possibly warped the Greek activities in their natural growth, especially as the meagreness of the Greek population of Egypt must have compelled it to assume a secondary place over against the native element.

In the vast territory of Mesopotamia and Syria, governed by the Seleukidæ, many statues were executed for the new temples; but the names of sculptors here active, except the Athenian Bryaxis and the Sikyonian Eutychides, are omitted in the accounts of the ancients. Some of these statues were copies of older and celebrated works; for Antioch, the Olympic Zeus, by Pheidias, having been reproduced. There are also accounts of magnificent pageants celebrated by this court. In one, held by Antiochos Epiphanes, figured all the gods, dæmons, and heroes, concerning whom there existed any legend, as well as Day and Night, Heaven, Earth, Midday, and early Morning; all represented in statuary gilded, or clad in costly draperies embroidered with gold.[1193] What few monuments have been discovered from this time, such as the Lebanon Aphrodite now in the Louvre, and the Zeus found in Southern Palestine, show either an imitative tendency, or a strange mingling of beautifully free forms in the head, with conventionalism in the rest of the figure.

At Nemrûd Dagh, in the heart of Asia Minor, colossal sculptures were discovered in 1882, which may be reckoned as belonging to the closing of the Hellenistic age.[1194] On a mountain-summit sixty-five hundred feet above the sea, the proud ruler Antiochos of Commagene (69–34 B.C.) made his last resting-place; this, with its colossal statues and reliefs, and almost endless inscriptions, has at last been revealed to us, telling not only of the glory of the king and of his piety to the gods, but also of the strange character of the art prevalent in his kingdom. On the natural summit of this mountain, an astounding tumulus of fine stones, about forty-five meters high, was found piled up. On the east and west, at the base of this tumulus, are two terraces; on each of which towered seven colossi, seated in peaceful repose in two solemn rows, and every one of them at least seven meters high. The colossal figures on one side seem exact duplicates, in subject, of those on the other, and are all carved from a limestone found in the neighborhood. The gigantic blocks composing them are hollowed out, and built up without the usual clamps to make statues secure. Searchers for treasure have pushed apart so many of these blocks, that but one figure was found preserved in its entirety. This is a female, towering up seven meters into the mountain air. She is represented as seated on a plain seat without back, and as having one foot advanced, while her head is slightly raised, looking afar off into the distance. She wears a *chiton*, and over the back of her head lies a veil. In the left hand she carries a horn of plenty; and her right, full of flowers and fruits, rests on her lap. Her head bears a wreath, but the once crowning *polos* now lies at her feet. The remaining figures are all of males; the central one being the largest, and seated in quiet pose like the one just described. His hands, one of which holds a staff, rest on the knees; and a mantle protects the back, and a part of the legs. A strange tiara, most un-Greek in style, crowns this head, whose powerful, well-modelled, but rather empty forms, suggest the Greek ideal of Zeus. The three remain-

ing statues are repetitions, in form, of this one, but vary in the heads. From the verbose and somewhat pompous inscription, we learn that Antiochos had received glory, might, and all the goods of life, because of his pious deeds. He tells us that he had not only submitted his rule to the gods, and trusted them, but that he had also consecrated to them images, and provided for their worship. Moreover, he had chosen this lofty summit to be the last abiding-place of his body deserted by the soul, that it might be near the dwelling of the Eternals, and had consecrated this tomb to the worship of the gods and of his ancestors. Not only had he erected this sacred place, but he had ordained priests, who should, on the anniversary of his birth and coronation days, hold solemn services to the gods. Fully to secure these services, he then gives his orders to all coming rulers to carry out his wishes.[1195] So these colossi are the deities he mentions; the largest being Zeus-Oromazdes, a strange combination of the Greek Zeus and the Persian Ormuzd. The female figure is Commagene, a personification of the country. The young king himself appears among these divinities; and two of the other colossi represent peculiar syncretic gods, — Artagnes-Heracles-Ares, and Apollo-Mithras-Helios-Hermes. The reliefs found, doubtless, represent the ancestors of the proud Antiochos; the first of whom, as the inscription showed, was Darius, Hystaspes' son. The pose and costume of these figures are, moreover, more Oriental than Greek; so that altogether, in these remarkable sculptures completing Antiochos' lofty grave, we have witnesses, in his inland kingdom, to a strange mingling of Greek and Oriental elements in the late day when he ruled (69–34 B.C.).

Even to far-off India, in consequence of the revolutionizing conquests of Alexander, the influence of Greek sculpture spread during the opening centuries of the Hellenistic age. It was by way of Bactria, a part of the Persian Empire, where Greek colonists and kings established themselves, that Greek rule and influence were thus extended. The coins of these Bactrian princes are a most interesting evidence of the activity of Greek artists in this remote inland country, and point out the course by which Greek art found its way even to India.[1195a] At Peshawur in the Punjab have been found probably the earliest Indian sculptures in stone, which are thought to date from about the reign of the great king Açoka, 250 B.C.[1195b] In these monuments, now removed to the British Museum, the Greek modes of expression are most evident, not only in those which are clearly portraits, but also in more ideal subjects. The garments worn are a copy of Greek drapery, and there is much vigor in the portraiture. That this Greek influence, however, was not strong enough materially to affect the later life of Indian sculpture, is not strange. In the monuments of subsequent days, as, for instance, in those from the great tope at Amravati, it has quite faded out, giving place to a voluptuous, unpleasant style, and repulsive symbolism.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

OTHER SCULPTURES TRACEABLE TO THE HELLENISTIC AGE.

Influences of the Hellenistic Age upon Art. — Illustrated by Works of Sculpture. — Representation of Common Scenes. — Childhood. — Boy with Goose. — Boy extracting Thorn from Foot. — Changed Character of Mythological Subjects. — Satyrs. — Statues of Aphrodite. — Sleeping Forms. — Menelaos and Patroclos. — Marsyas. — Mourning Woman in Florence. — Head of Dying Woman. — Bronze Head of British Museum. — Apollo Belvedere and its Cognate Statues. — Its Date. — Diana of Versailles. — Seated Lady of Torlonia Collection. — Portraiture. — Bronze Head from Kyrene. — Portrait-Statues of Aristotle, etc.

Throughout the museums of Europe, many are the sculptures, which, though sundered from their original surroundings, in vigorous treatment and conception, as well as in the subjects they represent, give evidence of a Hellenistic origin. The different character of these works from that of monuments of the earlier, simpler days, may better be understood by noticing changes which had come over society and the individual.

In the first place, the general prevalence of monarchical institutions, and the more intense life in every direction, must have affected most deeply the Greeks of this period. Hitherto, the individual had been greatly influenced by his participation in public affairs. Now, as the guidance of state became concentrated in the hands of the monarch, this essential groundwork of the old Hellenic civilization was gone. From motives of self-interest or preference, men inevitably developed in a single direction. They became, in a word, specialists; and the professions were sharply sundered, as they had not been in older Greece.[1196] Protogenes, who was living at Rhodes during the siege of that city, painted quietly in his garden, which stood in the midst of the enemy's camp; and when asked by the hostile leader Demetrios, how he ventured to remain outside the walls, replied, that he knew Demetrios warred against Rhodes, and not against art. Here Protogenes frequently received the besieger, who proved his appreciation of the painter's art, by sparing a quarter of the city for fear of destroying his picture of "Ialysos and the Dog." Men of each calling — poets, learned men, and actors — naturally clubbed together; and the professional classes were sharply defined. This tendency of society to sink into artificial grooves and professional ruts, reminding us of our own times, was, no doubt, fostered by the multiplication of large cities throughout the civil-

ized world, with their dense populations, more excited life, and by the over-refinement which pervaded some classes, nurturing exclusiveness and isolation. Society, thus sharply sundered, and spiced with contrast and variety, brought out into strong relief personal idiosyncrasies, and peculiarities of class and rank. Moreover, this varied panorama of human life had its fascination for the men of that time, as the same phenomenon has for us to-day, and could not fail to find its expression in art. On the other hand, the artificiality and lack of simplicity around them, the results of a highly complex civilization, awakened in men a longing for what they had lost; and their fancy found relief in pictures of the children of nature, living in unclouded union with fountain, forest, field, and flock.

Fig. 246. Fisherman. Vatican.

Many walks of life which, as far as we know, had hitherto been unheeded in art, were now represented in keeping with the prevalent realism, in all their attractive and many of their forbidding aspects. So comedy caught the unique features of city-life, developing to great perfection the type of the adventurous soldier, the wealthy citizen, the artist, the artisan, the parasite, etc.; idyllic verse busied itself with the rural classes, shepherds, hunters, and fisher-folk; and sculpture and painting did not fall behind the sister art of poetry. So, for instance, the actor seems to have been for the first time represented in statuary, as wearing the mask and other curious paraphernalia of his calling, such as the false stomach, etc., seen in several statues in the Villa Albani, doubtless traceable to originals of this age. One has taken off his mask, as if in answer to the applause of the public. The sculptor's fancy delighted itself with fishermen, shepherds, or merry childhood.[1197] The fisherman, as sung in verse, tough-skinned and weather-beaten, appeared, doubtless for the decoration of fountains, in statues like the one in the Vatican, where the plebeian costermonger is crying the fish he carefully holds in a basket (Fig. 246), his plain face and horny skin being marvellously portrait-like in treatment. Street-urchins, quarrelling over knuckle-bones, seem to have been represented with an equally speaking realism, as a fragment of a group in the British Museum teaches us. A lad with homeliest features, biting into the arm of his offending comrade, the *genre*-like naturalness in the whole, and the excellence of the surface-rendering, show us that we have here a work of the Hellenistic age, which may, however, have taken for its groundwork a type

received from older times (p. 389). Plump babyhood seems now to have been represented with all its unplastic roundness and presumptuous strength, sometimes wrestling with an animal, sometimes carrying its pets or a vase. Such is the very celebrated boy with a goose, in numerous repetitions (Fig. 247) at Rome, Munich, Paris, and elsewhere. An impudent little fellow, full of life and spirits, seizes a goose as large as himself by the neck, and struggles with it like a hero. The contrast between this chubby baby form, and its heroic action, makes the charm of the work. For him, the conflict is a very serious one, quite as much so as was the strangling of the Nemean lion to Heracles. The goose was a well-nigh indispensable part of domestic life in antiquity. It was prized as the symbol of the perfect housewife, and women and children delighted to play with this animal. We can readily believe, then, that the motive of this group was one which the sculptor had frequently seen in daily life, perhaps in his own household. Happily, the original of this work is traceable directly to a sculptor who lived in the early part of the third century B.C. This master, Boëthos by name, probably from Chalkedon, in the northern part of Asia Minor, was a celebrated chiseller in fine metals; and Pliny mentions with praise his bronze, a boy struggling with a goose.[1198] Pausanias saw in Olympia the figure of a seated child in gilded bronze, by Boëthos; and it is possible, as Furtwängler suggests, that a figure much like the boy with the goose may be traced back to this Olympia original.[1199] This little figure, repeated at least eight times in different museums, sits on the ground in childlike fashion, holding his goose tightly under one arm, and, while raising the other, calls lustily for help. Here also the charm lies in the amusing contrast between the intensity of the childish trouble, and the insignificance of its cause, —between his earnestness and his impotence.

Fig. 247. Babe struggling with a Goose. After Boëthos. Louvre.

At this time, the simpler motives of an earlier age were translated into more realistic and sometimes rustic ones. The theme represented in the bronze boy of the Capitol, whether a genuine or only an imitated archaic work, is one of the more celebrated of those which underwent this transformation. Thus two *replicas*, one in marble in the British Museum (Fig. 248), and another, in bronze, in the possession of Baron Rothschild, in Paris, are in the full spirit of this Hellenistic time.[1200] The closed lips, placid expression, and archaic hair of the severer work of the Capitol, are widely different from the realistic frame and features of the marble boy of the British Museum. The back of the latter

bends over the raised foot much more deeply than does that of the boy of the Capitol. Each muscle is swollen by exertion; and the rustic lad, with open mouth and intent gaze, seems so much absorbed in extracting the offending brier, that our sympathy for him is at once enlisted, and we hope that he may succeed. How truthful the vigorous form, the tumbled hair, the homely peasant face, and how charming the manipulation of the marble! To the majority

Fig. 248. Marble Statue of Boy extracting Thorn from Foot. British Museum.

this figure must appeal more strongly than the older, sternly generalized figure of the Capitol; and were we asked to choose, not a votive gift to be put in a temple, but some pleasing ornament for garden or shady fountain, we could not do better than select this rustic, with his wounded foot, who once, indeed, must have decorated a fountain, as may be inferred from the holes in his rocky seat.

Akin in spirit to these *genre*-like works is the group of wrestling athletes at Florence, which, by reason of its intricate composition, its display of anatomi-

cal knowledge, bravour in foreshortening, and technique, is adjudged to belong to this age. The heads, in different marble from the statues, are restorations; and their expression is out of keeping with the original subject.[1201] The fist of the upper athlete, preparing to strike a brutal blow at his antagonist, is also a false restoration, since blows were forbidden in wrestling. The arm originally sought that of the opponent, thus producing the effect of a more equal contest, and giving a nobler thought to the group.

But the fondness for homely scenes and momentary actions, at this time, passed out beyond every-day life, and invaded the realms of mythology as well. In Hellenistic poetry, even the Olympic gods engage in trivialities like every-day people. Hermes is made to blacken his face with ashes, in order to scare the naughty children of the gods. Artemis, the stern huntress of old, now appears as a babe three years old, who, when she visits Hephaistos' workshop, climbs upon Briareos' knee, and plucks out of his shaggy breast a handful of hair. Aphrodite offers a reward to any one who will bring back her runaway child Eros; or, she takes the infant god to learn music of a shepherd, to whom the little mischief-maker teaches love. So in plastic art, like any human child, Eros plays with the weapons of the mighty heroes. It is this merry, roguish child of later myth, who has become in modern times the pet figure among the Greek gods. The difference between this chubby busybody and the youth of earlier art, — the soulful, love-whispering god, personifying a world of ethical influence, —has been well pointed out by Furtwängler.[1202] No less interesting is the transformation among the followers of Dionysos, changing the dreamy, elegantly graceful satyrs of the fourth century B.C., into homely forms, overflowing with roguish fun and mischief, and suggested by the peasantry. This is admirably illustrated by a bronze satyr six inches high (Fig. 249), recently discovered in Pergamon, and now one of the choice treasures of the Berlin Museum.[1203] Here the sylvan sprite has become a thorough rustic in character and form. Drawing back, he raises his right hand, which once doubtless held his short shepherd's-crook, as though parrying a blow. So brimming full of mischievous glee is his homely, almost bestial, face, that we seem to hear his boisterous laugh, and are tempted to join in his contagious merriment. In the left hand he carries the *syrinx*, an attribute

Fig. 249. Bronze Satyr from Pergamon. Berlin.

borrowed from the god Pan. The merry, pleasure-loving satyr of an older art took life too easily to be at enmity with any being; but our Pergamon satyr fights with the earnestness of any young mortal, although the old roguish satyr-look lights up his face, and his large mouth, low-bridged nose, and pointed ears reveal but too clearly his animal nature. This admirable little bronze seems

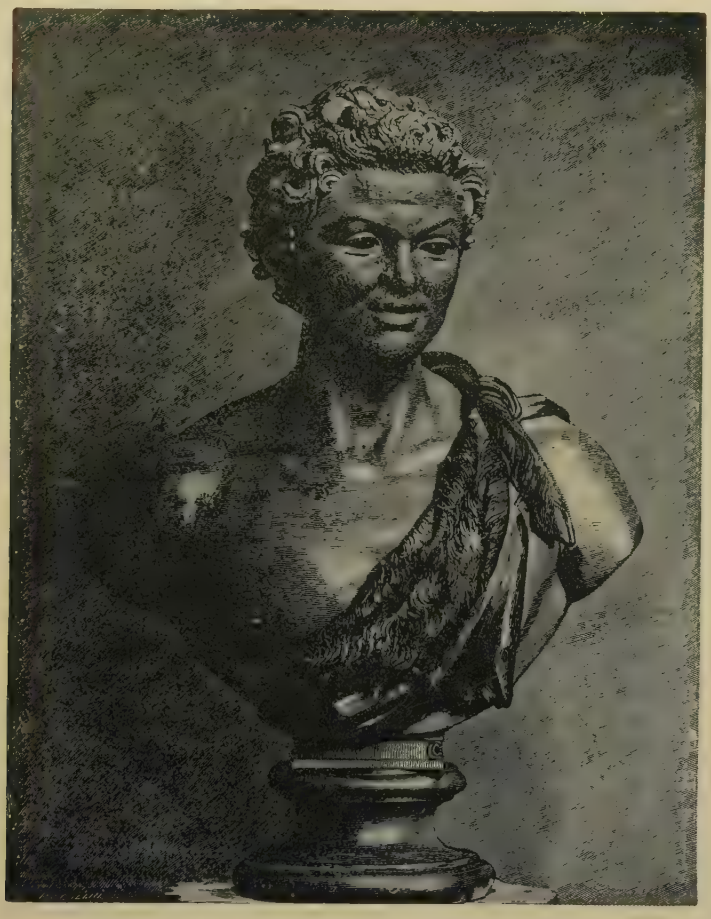

Fig. 250. Bronze Head of Satyr. Glyptothek. Munich.

in pose to re-echo Myron's Marsyas of a previous century (p. 292), upon which the later artist has here made variations in the spirit of the new time.

An admirable head in the Munich Glyptothek (Fig. 250), about life-size, and originally from the Villa Albani, is so like, in spirit and treatment, to the works of this age after Alexander, that it must not be passed unnoticed. It shows another of these merry followers of Dionysos, his face alive with smiles, and his features so much like those of a simple peasant-lad, that, were it not for his large, pointed ears, we might be tempted to consider him a genuine shepherd. Unfortunately, the modern neck and bust, on which the antique

head rests, do not harmonize well with it. We naturally expect a face, so merrily laughing, to be roguishly tipped; but it has been restored as most primly erect. By covering the modern parts, while looking at the head, the expression of fun in the face, now seeming to verge upon a grimace, now upon the merriest sport, will be astonishingly enhanced. Although much nobler in feature than the Pergamon bronze, just described, we see here also the same rustic character and naïve boorishness given to one of Dionysos' train, and rendered with a startling naturalness in the minutest detail.

Satyrs seem now to have been also represented in statuary, not only as dancing, as though in their natural element; but the same type, carried a little further, represents the satyr twisting round and round, like a kitten, after its tail. The former motive we see in the famous Dancing Satyr of the Villa Borghesi, a serio-comic representation of the sacred Bacchic dance, and a bold achievement in marble. The strong form does not seem to step or stand, but slowly to whirl around with legs crossed and feet on tiptoe. Illustrative of the thoroughly playful satyr of the second class are several statues. Thus, in Munich is a figure of a young satyr in black marble, found at Antium, which is evidently a copy of some celebrated original, probably in bronze, since, in all the *replicas* of this subject, the support added to hold the marble form varies according to the taste of the copyist.[1204] In these figures, a youthful satyr, having just caught a glimpse of his tail, catches at it with his left hand, and whirls around after it on his toes, his face expressing great astonishment at the remarkable discovery. We trace in these monuments a change of spirit and composition from the older satyr of Myron (p. 292). There Marsyas, all in earnest, draws back affrighted before the goddess, resting his weight on one leg. The Borghese satyr, of a much later time, and showing us another stage, rotates slowly in his swing. And in the young satyr in Munich, the sprite whirling rapidly, in the chase after his tail, has become the very utmost of comic mythic *genre*.

Akin in spirit to these works, but emphasizing still more the animal side of these beings, is the celebrated Barberini Faun of the Munich Glyptothek, no doubt an original of this age. This figure, in Parian marble, of a heavily sleeping satyr, was discovered during the pontificate of Urban VIII., a Barberini (1623–1644), near the Mausoleum of Hadrian at Rome. It is believed that the statue adorned the tomb of that emperor, but that, in the siege of Rome under Totila the Ostrogoth, in 544 A.D., it was precipitated into the Tiber. The left fore-arm, the most of the right leg, and the lower part of the left leg are altogether new. The general sprawling pose is, however, doubtless correct, and well renders the low nature of this semi-brute, whose whole form is thoroughly overcome by the intoxicating drink. Were not the execution of the colossal statue so superior, it is doubtful whether the repulsive theme could ever have aroused such general admiration. Its exceedingly unplastic compo-

sition makes it possible to seek for the inspiration of this work in painting, in which the elements of color and landscape, and perhaps, in addition, a sly tormentor standing by, may have made the scene more agreeable.[1205]

Passing to the representations of the gods, we find that the goddess Aphrodite seems now to have been conceived in varied and momentary action, rather than in keeping with her essential being, as the goddess of love, as was done in the fourth century. In sculpture, she actually appears in the bath, as in the very many *replicas* of a crouching Aphrodite, possibly traceable to one Daidalos of Bithynia (not to be confounded with the artist of the same name of the end of the fifth century B.C.).[1206] This statue, with its elaborate headdress, developed anatomy, and far-fetched and intricate pose, seems thoroughly foreign to the spirit of that older time; but its place is with such forms as the female torch-bearer in the small Pergamon frieze, the Venus Callipygos, and the Hermaphrodite, in which the voluptuous charms and skilful execution fail to veil the unpleasantness of the thought.

During this age there was a prevalent taste for sleeping forms.[1207] Among such, we see shepherd and fisher lads lost in dreams, beside Nymphs, Mænads, Satyrs, Loves, and Hermaphrodites. Among the noblest of these sleeping forms is a colossal figure of the Vatican, with its sister statue in Madrid having nearly the same pose, except that the head lies deeper, and hence the sweep of the lines is less graceful. That these figures represent the forsaken Ariadne, disturbed by troubled dreams, as she sleeps on the rocks of Naxos, appears from the occurrence of this figure on picture-like reliefs on sarcophagi, in which Theseus, forsaking his sleeping beauty, goes to his ship on one side; while, on the other, Dionysos, with his merry swarm, comes seeking her to make her his bride. The intricate composition, and amount of foreshortening, leave little doubt that this graceful statue goes back to a picture for its original, here nobly translated into marble.

A celebrated heroic group, usually called Menelaos and Patroclos, representing a warrior bearing his precious load, a dead comrade, and looking up with pathos to the gods, or, perhaps, to an approaching enemy, appears in several *replicas;* and is, doubtless, also to be dated from this age, judging from its spirit and rendering, so near akin to the Pergamon marbles. The famous Pasquino torso in Rome is undoubtedly the finest fragment among these *replicas.* A head belonging to this same group, found well preserved in Hadrian's villa, is now in the Vatican; where also are the legs of the dead hero, expressing the relaxation of death in the realistic manner of this age, not only in the pose, but in the treatment of muscles and skin. In this group, the hopelessness of death is so contrasted with the heroic energy, the devotion, and terrible earnestness of life, that the impression left is one of tragic power, even in the falsely restored *replica* in Florence, where Menelaos' head is cast down.

To this age belongs another subject, striking by its strangeness, met with

in *replicas* in the Villa Albani, the Louvre, and Berlin. It is the figure of a man hanging by his arms to a tree, and representing Marsyas about to be flayed, for presumption, by order of Apollo. According to the analogy of reliefs, this tortured figure should be associated with the celebrated statue in the Uffizi, at Florence, of a slave sharpening his knife for the cruel deed. The excellent anatomy of Marsyas' racked body, and the great realism in the rendering of the form of the brutal slave, make it quite certain that these figures date from the Hellenistic age, and may, perhaps, be traced to Pergamon itself, with the art of which they seem to have affinities. As in the case of the Prometheus group from Pergamon, this subject, with little doubt, goes back to a painting in which Apollo may also have appeared, accompanied by the Muses, as he appears in reliefs on sarcophagi.[1208]

That impressive figure in the attitude of mourning, known commonly as Thusnelda, and also as *Germania devicta*, a restored *replica* of which stands in the Loggia dei Lanzi at Florence, is proved, by the recent discoveries at Pergamon, also to have a close relationship with the art of that city. Not only are the sandals of the figure like those worn by several goddesses of the frieze: the very motive of the lower part of the statue is found in one fragment from Pergamon. Were the upper part of the Pergamon fragment also preserved, we might be better able to judge whom this grand, dejected mourner represents; whether a character from tragedy, such as, perhaps, the brooding Medea, or perhaps, as is more probable, a personification of a conquered people, — the product of that tendency which produced such statues as the Dying Galatian and his companions of the Villa Ludovisi; and which should, doubtless, furnish the Roman age with many fine motives for representing the conquered peoples, with which triumphal arches and altars were adorned.

The Dying Medusa, as it is called, a tragic head in very bold relief (twenty-three centimeters deep), in the Villa Ludovisi at Rome (Plate VI.), takes a high place among originals of this time. Attached to the wall, far above the light, it has attracted but little attention. Although the oval background, much of the nose, a part of the lower lip, and the most of the neck and chest are restored, still it is evident that the last moments of a powerful woman are here most tragically expressed. Her hair falls in dishevelled curls about cheeks and neck. Her eyes, seen best from the front, are already well-nigh closed; and her mouth contracts, but so beautifully, that, at first sight, one is tempted to think she sleeps. Considered as a dying Medusa, her clinging locks have been explained as a peculiar rendering of the snakes which are Medusa's attributes. But comparison with the tragic youthful heads of the Pergamon frieze shows so strong a likeness in conception and treatment, that it becomes impossible to seek an analogy for this head in any of the Gorgon types. The great probability, that it is but a part of a powerful human figure, also militates against its being taken for a Medusa, which served mainly, in the form of a

Fig. 251. Life-size Marble Head. Glyptothek. Munich.

mask, as a symbol to ward off evil. Isolated from its original surroundings, and restored as a decorative medallion, the subject of this powerful head is so much a mystery, that we can only admire its wonderful art, and see that it belongs to that fiery stream of creative energy which found vent around Pergamon's altar.

Fig. 252. Small Marble Head discovered in Corfu. (Patras.)

A beautiful marble now in Munich (Fig. 251), which was bought in Naples, presents a great contrast in every respect to this tragic relief. This Munich head has the nose, a part of the chin, the back of the hair, as well as neck and chest, restored; but the similarity of the headdress, and of the general type of the face, to nymphs on votive reliefs, suggests the possibility that she is one of their cheerful choir. The elaborateness in the arrangement of her hair makes it probable that this charming face smiles down upon us from the Hellenistic age, although the quietness and reserve in the forms seem to show a revulsion against the luxuriousness and tremendous intensity which then became so prevalent, and a going-back to simpler forms. A small head, discovered in Corfu (Fig. 252), now owned by a Greek gentleman of Patras, is very like this Munich head in general type, but fuller and more luxurious. The same is true of two other heads of inferior art, one of which is restored as Ceres.[1209]

A rare bronze head, purchased a few years since by the British Museum for ten thousand pounds sterling, may doubtless also take its place among the great works of this age (Fig. 253). The story of Professor Newton's fruitless search for the site of its discovery illustrates the mystification thrown in the way of science by ignorant and crafty Orientals, and reveals to us how

great and mysterious are the vicissitudes to which some of the rarest works of antiquity have been subjected.[1209a] This head, evidently, belonged to a statue, there being still preserved a part of the left shoulder, towards which the slightly bended head is somewhat turned. The neck shows the manner of mending defective casting which is often seen in antique bronzes, and consists in patching with small pieces of bronze simply nailed on. A hand which came with the head is, likewise, believed to be a part of the figure ; it has soft, full forms, holds drapery falling easily over it, and its *patina* is of the same color. This glorious bronze head, more than life-size, and sadly injured at the back, when standing isolated in its glass case in the British Museum, seems like one of those riddles in Greek art which can never be solved. But are there no points of contact which unite the art of these proud features with other monuments? Going back to the goddesses of the Great Altar at Pergamon, and looking at the Artemis, or at the veiled goddess hurling a snake-bound vase, we find such strong resemblances to this bronze, that we may imagine that we have here a sister goddess. The same short, pointed oval of the face, with its small chin, the same breadth of the temples, the same ringlets on the forehead and before the ears, and the same rolling of the hair off from the face, leaving bare the roots, are to be seen here as in the Pergamon heads, but are peculiarities not met with in the Pheidian or Praxitelian ages.

There is, perhaps, no statue concerning which more has been written, and around which discussion has waxed hotter, than the celebrated Apollo Belvedere of the Vatican (Fig. 254).[1210] This statue was discovered in a tolerably good state of preservation, towards the end of the fifteenth century, during excavations made at Antium (Porto d'Anzio), a favorite seashore-resort of the Roman emperors, and especially of Nero. The only part that was entirely lacking was the left hand, with its attribute ; while the declamatory right hand was almost intact, the fingers alone requiring restoration. This was done by Montorsoli, who also repaired a few breaks in the statue, and added the missing left hand, putting into it the stump of a bow. Great has been the diversity of opinion about this attribute, and the action of the proud, swiftly moving Apollo, wearing across his chest a quiver-strap, but without its quiver. A history of this discussion alone would fill a large volume, to say nothing of the different opinions with regard to the originality of the statue. Winckelmann's most eloquent passages were written concerning it, his hymn to the god being genuine poetry, although clothed in the garb of prose. Feuerbach, in a volume full of poetic fire and finely wrought theory, endeavored to prove that the statue must be an original of the very highest period of Greek art, and that Apollo here appeared with his bow. Some claimed, that the god had just let fly his arrow ; others, that he was on the point of shooting, and that his enemy must be Python, the dragon foe, laid low by his fierce arrows ; others, that it was the earth-

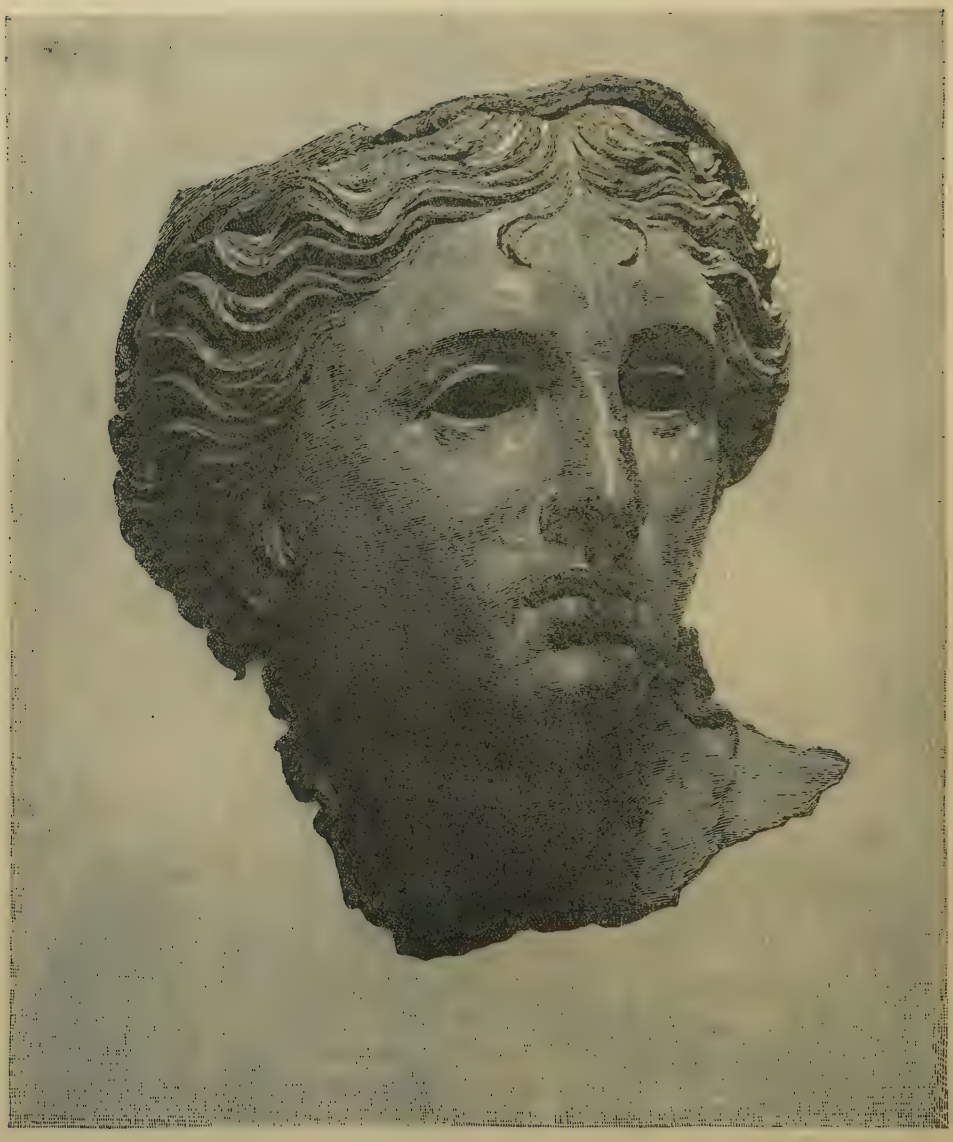

Fig. 253. Ideal Bronze Head. British Museum.

born giant Tityos, who, daring to touch Apollo's mother, was smitten by the god; still others believed the enemy to be Niobe's family. The subject, however, assumed a new phase, when in 1860 notice was drawn, by Stephani, to a statuette owned by Count Stroganoff in St. Petersburg, and discovered well-nigh seventy years before in Epeiros. This Stroganoff bronze (Fig. 255), which is sixty centimeters high, has the same pose as the Belvedere statue; but both its

Fig. 254. The Apollo Belvedere. Marble Statue in the Portico Belvedere of the Vatican. (Here conjecturally restored as carrying an ægis.)

hands are happily preserved, and are exceedingly graceful. The extended left arm is, by some unknown cause, bent too far towards the body, and should follow more nearly the turn of the proud head. Close study of the bronze has shown that a large part of the mantle is lost. The finding in Rome in 1866, by Steinhäuser, of a marble head, which is now in Basle, furnished new fuel for the flame of discussion.[1211] It also clearly represented the same subject as the famous Apollo of the Belvedere, but, in some respects, seemed superior to

that highly polished and over-elaborate work. These discoveries, as well as a careful comparison with genuine datable sculptures from Greek soil, at last have shown most clearly that the Apollo Belvedere is but a reproduction of

Fig. 255. Bronze Statuette of Apollo, owned by Count Stroganoff. St. Petersburg.

some fine original of earlier days, and is the product of that Roman fondness for grandiloquent display, which caused the multiplication of innumerable theatrical statues for purposes of decoration. The original, serving as a pattern for

all these Apollos, must have been of the Hellenistic age, as is evident from the great resemblance of the Apollo Belvedere to the Pergamon marbles, even in details of hair and elaborate sandals. The later execution of the Belvedere figure becomes strikingly apparent when its cold academic form is compared with that of the glorious Apollo of the Pergamon frieze (Selections, Plate XVI.). This god, having the right arm raised to draw an arrow out of a quiver hanging from his strap, has otherwise the same attitude as the Belvedere statue. But his drapery is suited to the wild *melée* of battle in which he is engaged, and is most strongly contrasted to the prim mantle of the Apollo Belvedere, which is buttoned carefully on the shoulder, laid faultlessly over the extended arm, and unmoved by the rushing speed of the wearer. Still more, the strap, crossing the noble chest of the Pergamon Apollo, performs a real office by holding a quiver well laden with its dire burden ; while in the Belvedere statue, although the strap is retained its quiver is omitted, and, over the place where it should hang, a mantle is thrown with careful folds. Another proof is here, then, that in this statue we have an illustration of the meaningless copying of older forms without their intrinsic significance. The execution of the Belvedere statue is, moreover, so sharp, and its composition such, that it seems an echo of bronze ; and that such movement is, in fact, far better expressed by bronze, appears from a glance at the far more graceful Stroganoff statuette (Fig. 255), where the ungainly marble support is not needed, and consequently wanting.

In the discussion of the much-mooted question as to the action of the Apollo Belvedere, this Stroganoff bronze has played a most important part. The left hand of the small bronze has in its grasp folds which gave rise to the theory that the figure held an *ægis*, on the lower part of which must have glared the petrifying Gorgon head. The youthful god of light, it was claimed, here appeared as shaking this *ægis* in the face of the enemy ; and his representation as such was traced to the part taken by Apollo in the repulse of the Galatians, when they attacked his sacred seat, Delphi, in 279 B.C. According to popular belief, when the wild hordes then pressed towards his shrine, the god himself was seen descending through the temple-roof, from the high heavens, in light supernal, and radiant in the beauty of youth. To his direct interposition was ascribed a storm of thunder, lightning, snow, and hail, which caused the enemy to be seized with a panic bringing about their overthrow. It was reasoned, that the *ægis*, the symbol of the thunder-storm, would have been a most appropriate weapon to be put into Apollo's hand on this occasion, although usually wielded only by Zeus and Athena. A passage in the Iliad, where Zeus on one occasion gives the *ægis* over to Apollo, was quoted as the literary support for this theory.[1212] Moreover, the original, whence such a representation might be derived, was imagined to have been among the statues indefinitely described by Pausanias, as erected in thanks for this victory over the Gala-

tians. At Delphi, he tells us, were dedicated by the Aitolians, besides figures of many of their generals, an Artemis, *two Apollos*, an Athena, a trophy, and an armed Aitolia; here the Phokians put a statue of one of their generals; and at Patras was consecrated, on the *agora*, an Apollo which Pausanias tells us was worth seeing.[1213] Such is the shadowy background upon which fancy has painted the origin of the Apollo Belvedere, imagining that the original held with extended hand the *ægis*, and that its nostrils curled in scorn at the impious barbarian threatening the sacred shrine. Serious objection was made to this theory by Bötticher, on the ground that an *ægis* of massive stone would have been too heavy for the extended marble arm; but this difficulty was quietly set aside by the supposition that the *ægis* might have been of thin bronze.[1214] Furtwängler, in examining, in 1882, the Stroganoff statuette, came to the conclusion that the folds held in its right hand could not be parts of a snaky, hairy *ægis*, but more probably were from the god's mantle, which has evidently been broken off, and should, perhaps, extend over his arm to the hand.[1215] Furtwängler seemed thus to have at last done away with the very theatrical and unpleasant *ægis* motive. The very loose way, moreover, in which the Stroganoff statuette holds the supposed weapon, goes to confirm the impression that the god cannot be fiercely shaking a dread weapon in the enemy's face. Were Apollo thus occupied, he could not daintily hold, as he does, the horror-striking weapon, but he would, doubtless, have been represented as closing his fingers over it in firm grasp. Kieseritzky, however, a believer in Stephani's *ægis* theory, has once more opened up the discussion; claiming that his study of the statuette does not carry out Furtwängler's supposition, and attempting to turn opinion into its old channels with regard to the existence of an *ægis* in Apollo's hand.[1216] The Apollo Belvedere, the Stroganoff statuette, and beautiful Basle head are thus again cumbered with this unpleasant theory; and we can only hope that more light will be yet thrown upon the perplexing question, by a more general familiarity with the Stroganoff statuette, which as yet exists, for the larger part of archæologists, only in photographic reproductions.

Fig. 256. Rhodian Coin with Head of Helios. 400-350 B.C.

But, while there are such differences of opinion as to the attitude borne by Apollo, all agree that the original must have been a creation of the Hellenistic age, which doubtless built on an ideal developed still earlier. Thus, the proud head has much affinity with the glorious head of Helios, the god of light, on Rhodian coins of the fourth century B.C.; one of the finest of which, dating, probably, from the first half of that century, is represented in Fig. 256. It is sterner and more contained than the marble head of the Belvedere Apollo, but has the same proud poise, and a dawning of its scornful expression in eyes and lips. Between these two extremes, we may, no doubt, place the Basle head, which is simpler than the Belvedere Apollo, and seems the work of a

Greek chisel of about the third century B.C. The modern restoration of this head, with the nose and hair-dress of the Apollo Belvedere, however, dispels much of the effect that the marble originally had, and which is best to be seen in those casts where the offending adjuncts have been removed.

In many respects similar to the Apollo Belvedere, and nearly enough like it in artistic conception to be its sister, is that celebrated Artemis, known as the Diana of Versailles. Her drapery and sandals, like those of the Pergamon frieze, show her connection with the works of this age and time ; and her similarity in pose to the Dionysos of the Great Altar has already been pointed out.

As already noticed, portraiture, during the Hellenistic age, was brought to a

Fig. 257. Marble Statue of a Seated Lady, probably a Portrait. Museo Torlonia. Rome.

high degree of perfection, doubtless furnishing many motives which were used with modifications in Roman times. The pearl of the Torlonia Collection at Rome is the majestic statue of a seated lady (Fig. 257), which, judging from its style, belongs to the very opening years of this age, or about the latter part of the fourth century B.C. It seems to belong to that type, after the pattern of which ladies of Roman times frequently had themselves represented. This beautifully simple, but grand statue in Pentelic marble, was discovered, headless, in the Circus Maxentius at Rome, in 1824, where it evidently had been used by late builders to decorate the *spina* of their race-course.[1217] Its site was so near to the channels by which the water was carried off, that doubtless, after the circus fell to ruin, the statue was exposed to that destructive element, thus losing much of the surface-finish which its fine composition would lead us

to expect. The great beauty of the neglected fragment, without head and arms, was noticed by the sculptor von Launitz, who restored it. The main restoration was the head, which is a trifle too large, and placed too much in profile to be in harmony with the pose of the remainder of the figure. But, in spite of this discord in the statue, how grandly simple are the lines, set off by the rugged support under the chair, a vigilant, fierce dog, the worthy guardian of so rare a flower! The easy and delicate grace of this frail form is brought out in beautiful contrast to the canine attendant. The impression of originality made by the statue is so strong, that it seems a Greek work of about the age of Alexander, a portrait, perhaps, of one of the ladies of that time. None of the numerous seated portrait-statues of Roman ladies equal it in simple grandeur of composition or excellence of execution; for, although following it in general pose, they vary unpleasantly from it in the direction of greater elegance and affectation, as seen, for instance, in the portrait-statue of Livia, also in the Museo Torlonia. It has been conjectured, that this statue is of Olympias, the mother of Alexander, guarded by a dog belonging to that breed, most highly prized in antiquity, coming from the land of the Molossians, of which Olympias was the heiress. This pleasing theory, which would unite the statue with the one of this queen, by Leochares, for the Philippeion at Olympia, has not been supported by the excavations, which have shown that the statues there by this master were all standing figures; and we are, therefore, obliged to await for more light on this beautiful figure, and its direct affinities.

Turning to the portrait-heads of the Hellenistic age, one of its fine original bronzes is doubtless that rare work, now in the British Museum, which was discovered at a depth of eleven feet under the mosaic pavement of the *cella* in the Temple of Apollo at Kyrene in Northern Africa (Fig. 258).[1217a] The eye-sockets, once, doubtless, filled to imitate life, are now empty; but the marvellous details of hair and beard, and even the intimation of eyelashes, are perfect. So vigorous and realistic is the conception of this head, and its workmanship so like that of the athlete's head discovered at Olympia (p. 554), that we may with safety assign it to the same age., i.e., the third century B.C. Possibly it represents a king of Numidia, or Mauritania, provinces which bordered upon Greek Kyrene; for certainly not Greek features are rendered in these thick, protruding lips and high cheekbones.

But, besides such admirable portraits of living persons, of which the coins of this age give us as well a stately array, the poets and sages of the past received similar life-like form. This tendency was, as we already have seen, probably awakened by the great Lysippos; but the effort to portray persons of whom no iconic statues existed must have continued long after him. A recently discovered inscription at Pergamon shows that its pedestal once supported a portrait of Sappho's admirer, the lyric poet Alcaios, of centuries before. Fortunately, among existing monuments, there are a few masterpieces

of this kind, showing how, out of the sayings of these old men, their character had been read, and brought to marvellous expression. In heads of Homer, the blind old man and divinely inspired singer of Greek imagination seems represented to us bodily in *two* different types.[1218] In the head of Hippocrates, we see the kindly and genial physician. So, probably, the ideal of Socrates was now developed under the immediate influence of Plato's vivid description of the great philosopher.

Numbers of portrait-statues of a similar character must also have existed, of

Fig. 258. Portrait Head in Bronze. From Kyrene. British Museum.

which a few are happily preserved to us. Such are the Diogenes of the Villa Albani, the remarkable seated Aristotle of the Palazzo Spada alla Regola, the so-called Anacreon and Pindar or Alcaios of the Villa Borghese, as well as the Æschines of the Naples Museum.[1219] In all these statues, portraiture seems to be rendered in the pose and build of the whole frame, and not in the head alone, as is the case with Roman portraits. Compared, on the other hand, with portraits of the fourth century B.C., such as the Mausolos and the Sophocles, how much greater the realism here!

With these few admirable portrait-statues, we close our survey of the tre-

mendous art-activity of the Hellenistic age. From its great altar-sculptures, triumphal monuments, and imposing images of gods and men, embracing the widest range of creative powers, and destined to stamp its impress upon the art of Rome, we turn to consider sculpture under that world-conquering city, and among her neighbors and predecessors in Italy.

SCULPTURE IN ANCIENT ITALY AND UNDER ROMAN DOMINION.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

ANCIENT ITALIAN ART.

Early Greek and Phœnician Influence among Italians. — Monuments found near Bologna. — Mystery hanging over Etruscans. — Their Character as manifested in their Art. — Earliest Bronze Works Importations. — Crudeness of early Etruscan Work. — Artists. — Tombs. — Terra-cotta Masks and Figures. — Contents of Tombs. — *Cippi*. — Cinerary Urns. — Ash-chests. — Sarcophagi. — Genii. — Lack of Artistic Style. — Greek Myths represented. — Sculptured Tombstones. — Objects of pure Greek Origin.

Before considering sculpture as patronized by the Romans, we may cast a glance at its condition among their predecessors and teachers in Italy, — that favored land in the midst of the seas, and peopled by various nationalities, among whom the Romans last came to play the most important part. From very early times, the Greeks had had their flourishing colonies along the shores of Southern Italy; and about them, to the north, lived Oscians, Latins, Etruscans, and probably a primitive population more or less intermingled with these different elements.[1219a] An extensive trade with Greece, its colonies, and the remote Orient, had served as a great motor in the spread, among these early Italian peoples, of art forms and methods, which were taken on and worked up according to the national spirit.[1220] There are many indications that these early nations of Italy, prominent among whom were the Etruscans, felt the influence of Greece prior to that of Phœnicia. Thus the Etruscans adopted, not the Phœnician, but old Greek Chalkidian, mode of writing; and in the old Italian art-forms there are very few signs of copying Phœnician works, but countless tokens of the influence of very early Greek models.[1221] Genuine Phœnician wares are indeed found in some of the oldest tombs, mixed with Egyptian *roba;* but, as Mommsen has well said, the people of Italy may have bought of the Phœnicians, but they learned of the Greeks.

The very ancient tombs about Bologna have recently yielded most remarkable testimonies to a very primitive Italic art, sometimes called Umbrian, and sometimes Euganean, tinged with that early Greek coloring familiar to us from the so-called Corinthian vases. Among these objects none is more characteristic than a *situla*, or pail of beaten metal (Fig. 259), the manufacture of which, by comparison with other remains, may be traced to an Euganean (Este) source.[1222] On it are rows of relief representing various scenes, for the most

part directly connected with religious rites: beasts are being led to sacrifice; women bear wood and vessels; two figures carry a pail like the very one on which it is pictured, and doubtless intended for wine for libations. On another row seems to be a rivalry in music between a harper and a *syrinx*-player sitting astride a very curious sofa, the arms of which end in lions' heads. One of the latter holds a half-devoured human being, and the other a rabbit. The lowest tier shows most clearly Greek influence in the three monsters, resembling those often met with on so-called Corinthian vases. This Italic art is chatty and descriptive in its nature, and its forms have little affinity with earliest Etruscan monuments. Judging, therefore, from the independent character and contents of these tombs, it would seem that the Etruscans gained a footing in this northern part of the Italian peninsula at a comparatively late date.

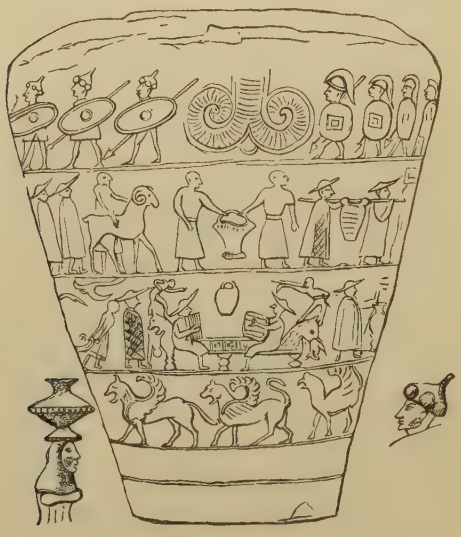

Fig. 259. Bronze Situla. Bologna.

Of the art of Etruria proper, much more is known, owing to the thorough excavation of its monuments, and their preservation in immense numbers. Great mystery hangs over the race-affinities and origin of this people, for their language still baffles all efforts at interpretation; but, from the resemblances between Etruscan and Asia-Minor monuments, it seems possible that they are of Eastern, perhaps Lydian, origin. Once holding much of the southern part of Italy, they were doubtless, at an early date, driven back to occupy Etruria proper, north of the Tiber. Their intensely practical character is proved by the unsurpassed masonry of their hydraulic works, sewers, and the like; but there does not prevail, in their sculpture and painting, the sunny, poetically ideal spirit of even early Greek art. On the contrary, we find a singular combination of most realistic conceptions and renderings of life, with a weird and frightful symbolism. The Etruscan religion seems to have been "one of mysteries, of marvels, of ceremonial pomp, and observances of fear." [1222a] One of the most striking features of their art is the frequent recurrence of demons, both good and bad. We see the terrible Charon, with forbidding visage, on paintings or sculptures belonging to the tomb; and numerous winged spirits appear on even early monuments, carrying torches, snakes, or a hammer. This Charon seems to be the pattern after which mediæval art expressed its conception of Satan, his very form being found among old pictures in the Campo Santo at Pisa.[1223] These old Etruscan spirits are, how-

ever, not clearly individualized; and we are compelled to be satisfied with the general appellation, Furies, Fates, Lasa, Mean, and the like. The fondness of the Etruscans for an external symbolism is most evident in the unfailing adjuncts of wings: even the great gods themselves, such as the Greek Athena and Aphrodite, receive them. Among these strange Etruscan combinations are semi-human, semi-animal, or fish monsters, often torturing in their coils unhappy mortals, or carrying them off. These beings, according to their sex, are now called Glaucos or Skylla, but probably have no connection with Greek myth. This stern Etruscan art, with its enduring structures, and its forms of fear, seems to reflect the character of that people whose religion was one of terror, and reveals a strong but gloomy nature which revelled in dark and sinister imaginings. With such a stock forming the basis of its population, how natural it seems that Etruscan Tuscany should, with the centuries under the clarifying influence of higher civilizations, have ripened that plant which bore fruit in the "Inferno" of Dante, the frescos of Signorelli, and the Last Judgment of Michel Angelo!

The bronzes found in Etruria, from before the fifth century B.C., appear to have been luxuries of Greek or Phœnician importation. While Athens was in the full glory of the age of Pericles and Pheidias, the Etruscan style of sculpture was still primitive, and the industry in bronzes was just being developed. Even as late as 300 B.C., there is reason to believe that Etruscan art was rigid, following afar off the tremendous advances of the Greeks.[1224] Trade with Greece proper and its colonies, and the consequent change in Etruscan art, is intimated by the tradition that Demaratos, a Corinthian who had amassed wealth in trade with Etruria, fled thither when the Kypselos family came to rule, toward the end of the seventh century, bringing with him a band of fellow-refugees, among whom were the potters Eucheir and Eugrammos.[1225] Discoveries in Etruria, compared with those on Greek soil, confirm most strikingly these general facts, although they make even earlier the beginning of Greek influences; and we seem to see the merchants of that early time, and the ships from Southern Italy, coming with choice bronzes and vases to the Etruscan coast, or bringing Corinthian, Athenian, and perhaps Milesian, wares from far-off Ionia.

To sift out what is of genuine Greek origin from among the myriads of objects found on Etruscan soil, to trace them to their sources, following the ancient lines of traffic, and to note the changes occurring in Etruscan art, are among the fascinating problems which now absorb the archæologist. In this process, the most of the vases found in such numbers in Etruscan tombs are proved to come from genuine Corinthian, Attic, and other Greek sources; and, in like manner, the numerous far-famed Etruscan bronzes — many of which are handles and decorations — are, little by little, being given back to their rightful creators, the Greeks. Thus a nude figure below two kneeling sheep, doubtless

Apollo, the protector of the herds, and the lions rampant by the side of many tripods, are conclusively proved to be Greek importations.[1226] So, also, the famous bronze facings for a chariot, discovered in Perugia, as well as similar bronzes in Chiusi, have such strong resemblance in subject and treatment to the reliefs of the Assos temple in Asia Minor, that we may assume for them an Ionian origin. In time these foreign objects seem to have incited to imitation; the reproductions showing, however, variations on the originals, which are far from being for the better. Genuine early Etruscan bronzes are exceedingly bungling, with no striving to represent the human shape according to some norm, and no seeking after artistic style. Such are the old bronzes representing Etruscan ladies in their ungraceful, pointed headdress, the *tutulus*, with a heavy, stiff mantle dropping from the head, and wearing shoes with pointed turned-up toes; such are the very much elongated figure, recently discovered at Bologna (Fig. 260), and many others found in Etruria proper. The male figure is often nude, and wears a pointed cap. One peculiarity of these native bronzes is, that two singular prolongations are almost always attached to the feet.

Fig. 260. Bronze Statuette of an Etruscan Lady. Bologna.

It is reported by ancient writers, that, in the fifth century B.C., Tyrrhenian (i. e., Etruscan) wares, no doubt for practical use as utensils, such as candelebra, trumpets, etc., came to be sought for even in Greece itself; but it is a striking fact, however it may be explained, that there is an utter lack of such relics among the troves on Greek soil.[1227] That this people were active in terra-cotta works and stone carvings also, is abundantly proved by their tombs. Of Etruscan artists, the notices are most scanty. One Volcanius of Veii is said to have been employed by Tarquinius Priscus (616–578 B.C.), to make a clay image of Jupiter, painted red, for the Capitol.[1228] Although the temples are mentioned as abounding in terra-cottas and bronzes, still no temple-ruins have been preserved, — a fact to be explained only on the supposition that the buildings were of wood; but their terra-cotta adornments are, no doubt, adequately illustrated by the decorations of the tombs.[1229] The discovery of a great number of bronzes, from six to seven hundred, on Mount Falterona (where the Arno rises), far from any necropolis, seems to indicate that they were votive gifts, perhaps accumulated in some ancient shrine; but much about them still remains a mystery.

The discovery of monuments outside of the tombs is the great exception in Etruria; but, in supplying tomb-interiors with objects in bronze and pottery, there appears to have been the greatest profusion. The tombs were constructed so as to be secure against destruction, and vary greatly with their age and their sites near different cities. In view of the utter lack of literary remains, treating of the Etruscans and of their art, the accurate comparison of

these burial-places is of prime importance. These tombs frequently have slight architectural decorations, but seldom any external sculptural finish. Where such sculpture exists, as in the rock-tombs of Norcia, it seems to mark a late period when a developed Greek art had carried all before it. Sometimes fantastic monsters, winged lions, or sphinxes, crudely carved in stone, seem to have kept watch at the entrance ; and grave-tablets seem also to have been put up, among the oldest of which is, doubtless, the warrior in the Buonarotti collection at Florence.[1230] In the interiors, seldom does any stone-carving adorn the walls. Here are to be found instead extensive and elaborate paintings, and terra-cotta antefixes of various shapes, and bronze disks, affixed in *cassettes* in the ceiling. These terra-cotta masks and figures were once all painted, as the glaring colors on many still bear witness. Among these is a remarkable group,

Fig. 261. Relief on an Etruscan Cippus. Mourning about the Dead. Florence.

now in Berlin, of a winged female in rapid motion, bearing in her arms a nude boy. This is probably an Etruscan version of the myth of the rape of Kephalos by Eos. The character of the drapery here, and the violence of the action, betray a comparatively early age, while the Etruscan artist was doubtless still under the influence of early Ionian art. The subject calls to mind the so-called Harpy monument in Lykia, where the souls are borne by winged beings ; and the general treatment recalls similar scenes on Greek vases of the sterner style, found abundantly in Etruscan graves, and from which an Etruscan artist might have received his inspiration.[1230a]

But how bewildering, at first glance, the contents of these graves, and how greatly varied, according to their age! Many times they were the resting-places of generations. In one, fifty-three small sarcophagi were found; and in another, at Toscanella, twenty-seven larger ones occupied a single apartment. In the older tombs, such as the famous Regulini Galassi tomb at Cervetri, and the Grotta d'Iside at Vulci, placed by Helbig about 641 B.C., genuine Egyp-

tian vases and Cypriote bowls appear, with rich gold ware, and caldrons with griffins' heads, such as those found in Olympia, all evidently of foreign importation.[1231] In the Regulini Galassi tomb were found, besides, by the side of the bier, forty small earthenware figures, calling to mind by their great numbers, not by their form, the Egyptian *shabti*. The *cippi*, or round and square blocks of native stone, also found in the tombs and decorated with reliefs, and supposed to be altars, are certainly of Etruscan fabric, as are also the strange receptacles for the ashes of the dead, and the sarcophagi for those who had not been cremated. These altars are usually of fetid limestone, and are often decorated with realistic mourning scenes about the bier, the body being sometimes represented as laid out (Fig. 261). Funereal processions, and feasting, also adorn the sides. In these quaint, flat reliefs, women wear the usual *tutulus*, or high pointed headdress, a tunic reaching to the knees, a long, heavy mantle thrown over the head, and pointed turn-up shoes. On the older sculptures, there is a crowding of figures, and a struggling to reduce the realistic detail to something like conventional style, but without the success seen in Egyptian, or in the forming stages of Greek, relief. Still more pronounced is the lack of artistic sense in the cinerary urns, receptacles for ashes, of devious and often most forbidding shapes in stone and terra-cotta. Sometimes they are hollowed stone statues with removable heads, doubtless to facilitate the pouring of libations on the thirsty ashes within: instance a standing figure now in Palermo. Often these figures are seated, and have arms and feet likewise movable.[1231a] Very frequently the human head alone is retained, while the rest is left an imitation of a chair (Fig. 262). In these monstrous medleys, the heads are usually portraits of the deceased; and the broad realism with which they are expressed, combined with very tolerable execution, makes us marvel that men who could execute such heads should have combined them with such repulsive and shocking shapes, utterly barren of artistic style.

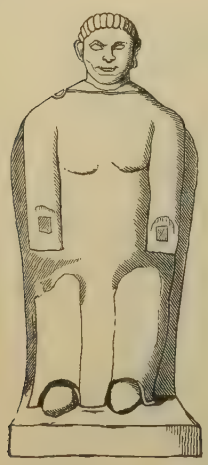

Fig. 262. Cinerary Urn in Shape of Chair, with Portrait of Deceased. Florence.

Far more numerous in the tombs are the "ash-chests" (inappropriately called urns), or sarcophagi of diminutive size, and the large sarcophagi in stone and terra-cotta: marble does not seem to have been used until a very late day. Two such large sarcophagi from Cervetri (ancient Cære), one of which is in the British Museum, and the other in the Louvre, show decidedly archaic forms, but have the peculiarities which marked Etruscan art throughout its course. The one in the Louvre (Fig. 263), of terra-cotta painted with gay colors, has the form of a rich couch spread with coverings and cushions.[1232] On it recline the figures of the couple buried within, apparently engaged in converse. The lady is fully clad in a yellow tunic, and red mantle, wearing well-

laced red shoes, and the painted *tutulus* with a diadem in front. Like most Etruscans, the man wears simply a mantle wrapped loosely around him, leaving bare his strong chest. The adjuncts were all of separate material, afterwards attached, and hence their loss; but, judging from other sarcophagi, the lady is dropping ointment from a balsam-bottle into the outstretched hand of her husband, whose other hand, laid gently on her shoulder, seems to have held a fan. Owing to the size of this sarcophagus, it was made in several pieces, separately fired, and then well adjusted. At first sight, the stiff curls and obliquely set eyes of these figures give the impression of archaic severity, but we are astonished to find no mean degree of skill and freedom displayed in the forms. Thus the heads seem modelled almost directly from nature, and the

Fig. 263. Etruscan Sarcophagus from Cære (Cervetri). Louvre.

same naturalness extends to the shoes and some parts of the drapery. But there is lacking the accuracy of build of the human form, so characteristic of archaic Greek works. There is, instead, throughout a slovenly treatment, as seen in the form of the Etruscan lady, and still more evident in the drapery, so wanting in decision and sculptural style. In archaic Greek works, the form is carefully preserved; or, where folds fall over it, they hide it by severe but still agreeable lines, which, though taken from nature, are reduced to sculptural form. Here, however, there seems an attempt to copy nature exactly, and a complete failure to abstract what is truly plastic: hence the result is confused and unsatisfactory. We miss the prime element of every art, *style*, so pre-eminently characteristic of Greek and Egyptian works. Further, these lying figures offer no signs of imitation of any thing Greek, but rather the efforts of a people delighting in gross realism. There is much about the group

which gives the impression of great antiquity; but the tell-tale ornament on the front of the couch teaches us that this work cannot be so very old, its artist having been familiar with ornaments of the developed Greek vases. Borders like this occur on Attic vases of the latter part of the fifth century B.C.; and, as many of these are found in Etruscan graves, it may be inferred that the Etruscan sculptor subsequently borrowed his decorative designs directly from them.

This realism, combined with poverty of style, in Etruscan sculptures, even shows itself in monuments, in which the sculptor has gained freedom. This is to be seen on a sarcophagus in fetid limestone from Chiusi, now in the Louvre (Fig. 264).[1233] Here, a man of full, obese form reclines on his couch, with chest bared, and a fan in his right hand. He is surrounded by a swarm of those strange winged figures, so common in Etruscan art. One sits at his feet, occu-

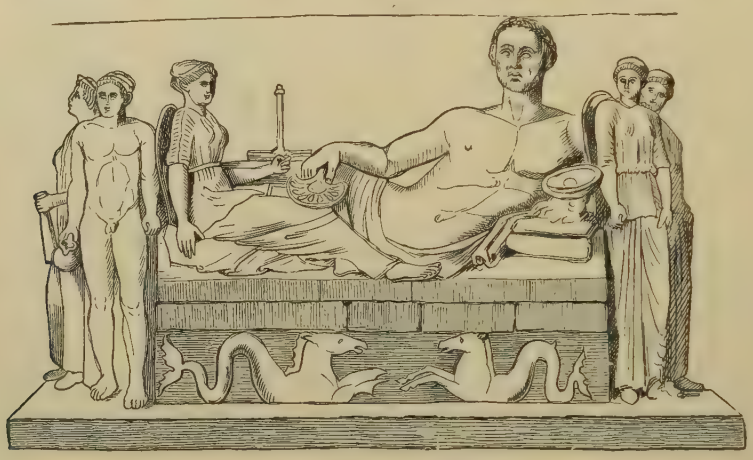

Fig. 264. Etruscan Sarcophagus of Advanced Style. Louvre.

pying the couch with him; two stand at the head, and one at the foot. United with them is a nude cup-bearer, carrying his vase. Intensely portrait features mark this worthy Etruscan's figure; his chest is well and freely rendered, but his limbs and the drapery of his attendant spirits are feeble. In total disregard of all unity of build, and organic beauty, the artist has loosely inserted the heads of the accompanying spirits, so that they can be turned, and made to look in any direction. Often the lids of these sarcophagi, and the lower part, show great difference, not only in their material, but also in their art. This discrepancy is so great, that it has been conjectured that lidless sarcophagi were kept on hand for trade; the covers, with portraits of the deceased, being made as occasion demanded. Thus, the beautiful Amazon sarcophagus at Florence, painted with exquisite and truly Greek taste, has a lid showing an incongruity, equal to that between the beautifully incised scenes and the rudely figured handles on the jewellery-boxes (*cistæ*) of the ancient ladies of Italy, such as have been found at Palestrina.

This intensely realistic turn of the Etruscans, and their lack of poetic and artistic feeling, is most evident in the numberless "ash-chests" or small sarcophagi, of which there are four hundred collected in the museum of Volterra alone. These may be divided broadly into two classes. The one decorated with very low relief, representing scenes from real life, expressed in archaic, conventional forms, like those on the *cippi* described above, seems to show the old Etruscan spirit, as yet little affected by contact with the Greeks. The second great class includes those in which the myths of the Greeks have been appropriated, and free forms attained.[1234] This class, doubtless, belongs to the age when Roman dominion prevailed. These reliefs are often high, and represent mythic scenes, and those from real life. Strange winged spirits now most frequently appear, bearing snakes, torches, and the like. In the mythic scenes adapted from Greek story, form and idea have become barren of poetic beauty, and give, to use Brunn's admirable figure, the impression of poetry translated into limping speech, "*poesia tradotta in orazione pedestre.*" The more bloody and terrible scenes in myth are chosen, doubtless, to intimate the fearfulness of death and the terrors of the *inferno.* Thus we find represented by preference the myth of Telephos threatening to kill the child Orestes on the altar (Fig. 265), the sacrifice of Iphigeneia, Paris threatened by his brothers, etc. Certain given types of figures are here grouped again and again most mechanically, with no sign of an individual artistic development of the myth, such as characterizes the works of even modest vase-painters in Greece. The Paris threatened by his brothers, and the Telephos of the altar scenes, are the very same figure differently placed; and the same is true of the Priam and Agamemnon, these being single cases out of very many. In the composition and forms, there is a lack of sound underlying principles, a clinging to the mere outward appearance. The artists seem to have used statuette models, which they arranged to suit the myth they wished to illustrate. These puppets, storming against each other or falling, they copied into relief without any regard to its stern laws, sometimes in full front view, sometimes coming out of the background, or even rushing against it. Where it was impossible to express every member,

Fig. 265. Etruscan "Ash-chest." Telephos threatens to slay Babe Orestes at Altar. Munich.

they quietly omitted a leg or an arm as it suited them. These reliefs on the chests seem to have, moreover, no vital connection with the figure reclining on the lid, which is generally a portrait, and has its extremities shockingly stunted to suit the size of the chest. The men are often half-draped, and wear twisted necklaces, or long breast-garlands, which, in nature, were worked around with wool. Their fingers are frequently laden with rings; and they often hold a *patera*, as if reclining at a banquet. Figures of ladies are fully draped, and carry, as the case may be, a fan, a tablet, a bird, a cup, an egg, or fruit, in their heavily jewelled hands. As in the case of the chair-formed ash-receptacles, mentioned above, the head is here also frequently removable, doubtless to allow the pouring-in of libations to the deceased.

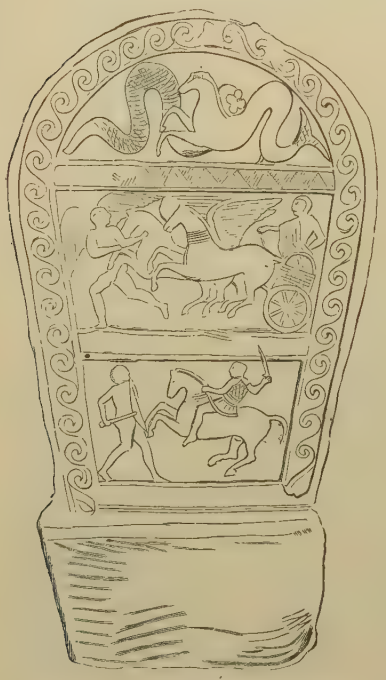

Fig. 266. Tombstone found near Bologna. Bologna.

Other monuments, not occurring in Etruria proper, but in which Etruscan elements are strong, are the forty-five sculptured tombstones found in a Bologna necropolis.[1235] They are generally very large, and sculptured on both sides in low relief. The edges are adorned with peculiar spiral and geometrical ornaments, as though in imitation of metal, and recall the very ancient Mykene tombstones (p. 142). On the rows of relief which run across the face of the monument, those strange monsters appear, so often met with in Etruria. On one of these tombstones (Fig. 266) we see a hippocamp attacked by a mammoth serpent; below this, a winged spirit runs before a chariot drawn by winged steeds; and, in the lowest row, a fight is represented between a mounted armed warrior, and a nude figure on foot. The forms on this stele show that they belong to a late day, when freedom had been attained, and Etruscan faiths had gained the upper hand, north of the Apennines. Their style, however, is more true to relief than that of late and pure Etruscan monuments, and consequently more pleasing.

Besides the small objects in bronze, referred to above, there are many large works found in Etruria, in which the genuine Etruscan character is not evident, and others in which Greek and Etruscan influence combined is most marked. To the former class of clearly Greek works, belongs, doubtless, the splendid Cortona lamp, decorated with lusty satyrs and quiet sirens and the famous chimæra, now in the Uffizi at Florence; both of which works bear Etruscan

inscriptions, such, however, as might easily have been scratched into a genuine Greek work, imported for some wealthy Etruscan to dedicate to his gods.[1235a] About these two great works there is nothing of that inorganic, uncertain character, so peculiar to genuine Etruscan products. The same cannot be said of the famous wolf of the Capitol, now nursing the infant Romulus and Remus, whose baby forms were added in the fifteenth century A.D. This bronze wolf is so crude in shape, that many have believed it to be a mediæval work of about the tenth century A.D. But the excellent technique is inconceivable in the Rome of that late day, and makes it most probable that it is an Etruscan work, perhaps the very votive gift reported to have been put up in 295 B.C. at the Ruminal fig-tree in Rome. The famous life-size bronze in Florence, an orator or senator (Fig. 267), wearing a tunic (*pallium*) and high laced buskins, was discovered in 1566, near the shores of Lake Trasymene, and represents one Aulus Metellus, son of Velus, according to its Etruscan inscription. Here, although we see a sharp characterizing of the outspoken orator, and great realism in the face, there is lacking the noble rhythm and free play seen in genuine Greek portrait-figures, while a great similarity to numbers of portraits of Roman days is clearly apparent.

Fig. 267. The Etruscan Orator. Florence.

CHAPTER XXXV.

GENERAL CONDITIONS OF SCULPTURE UNDER THE ROMANS. — KNOWN ARTISTS AND THEIR WORKS.

Etruscan and Greek Influence. — Wax Images of Ancestors. — Honorary Statues. — Influence of Greek Art after Roman Conquest. — Transportation of Sculptures and Paintings to Rome. — Roman Opinion of the Fine Arts. — Portraits receiving Divine Honors. — Boundless Display. — Roman Gods. — Representations of them. — Artists. — Slave Labor. — Multiplication of Copies. — Cheap Material. — Venus di Medici. — Subjects of Sculpture. — New Attic School. — Artists. — The Belvedere Torso. — Farnese Heracles. — Sosibios Vase. — Pasiteles. — Archaistic Art. — Group called Orestes and Electra. — Venus Genetrix. — Artists from Asia Minor. — Borghese Warrior. — Reliefs.

The Romans, although belonging to the same great stock whence sprang the Greeks, do not appear, like them, to have been artistically a gifted people. Heirs of the civilization of Etruria, they long received from the Etruscans their art-impulses, their own pre-eminently practical tendencies being directed to developing the ideas of state, good government, and conquest. The Etruscans, we are told, built for them their earlier temples, and executed their statues in terra-cotta and bronze. Direct Greek influence, however, must also have come in at an early date; since two masters, Damophilos and Gorgasos, from Sicily, about 493 B.C., adorned the temple of Ceres in Rome with sculptures and paintings, and, soon after, monuments to deity were put up.[1236] But during the centuries when Athens was at its height, when a Pheidias and a Praxiteles were executing their immortal works, we must not imagine that ideal sculpture was encouraged in Rome. The custom of raising statues and colossi to the gods, as consecrated gifts, was not practised, as it was in Greece, until after the Samnite wars, about 290 B.C.

The peculiarly Roman employment of sculpture appeared, not in connection with gods, but with the Romans themselves, and in the line of portraiture, showing how closely they followed the spirit of their Etruscan schoolmasters. Emphatically illustrating this spirit, were the wax masks (*imagines*), or portraits, of the deceased ancestors, kept by patricians as a special ornament in their houses, and wreathed with laurel on great feast-days.[1237] On funeral occasions, the important feature was the "procession of the ancestry," when the deceased was often also represented by an image borne in the procession as living. Here persons, often actors who had the size and shape of the departed ancestors, wore these masks, as well as the garments of the deceased. Had the ancestor

to be represented been a censor, then he who personified him, disguised in a mask counterfeiting the deceased, wore a purple toga; for a curule magistrate, his shadow wore a white one, bordered with purple; for a victorious general, a purple toga was worn, embroidered with gold. Thus clad in the insignia of office, and mounted on a high chariot, the ancestor appeared bodily, as it were, accompanied by his lictors. The great importance attached to these shows, and the luxury attendant upon them, appear from the fact, that sometimes the carriages carrying these effigies were numbered by the hundred. At the funeral of Marcellus, there were said to have been six hundred; and at that of Julia Tertullia, wife of Caius Cassius and sister of Marcus Brutus, the ancestry of twenty patrician families, all related to the deceased, are said to have taken part.[1238] A few notices left us of the figures of the deceased, represented so as to imitate life, show how intensely realistic a vein there was in the Roman fancy. Julius Cæsar's figure even moved about, showing his wounds, as the bier passed by. And effigies of the deceased figured, we know, at the funerals of Paulus Æmilius, Sulla, Augustus, Pertinax, and Septimius Severus.[1239]

But not only in this semi-barbarous funereal manner did the old Romans practise the plastic art. It was also an ancient and prevalent custom, to erect honorary statues in bronze. The oldest of these can be traced back to the days of the Decemvirs, about 450 B.C.; and, strange to say, this earliest honorary statue was put up to a Greek who had acted as interpreter to the Decemvirs, in framing the ten tables of the law, the elements of which had been collected in Greece.[1240] Romans soon put up statues to themselves, and, by about 300 B.C., many statues to the great men of the republic had been erected; at the close of the second Punic war, about 201 B.C., we learn that the Capitol and Forum were more than full of such honorary figures. In 179 B.C., a part of these were removed; and in 158 B.C., the censors had all statues of magistrates, not elected by the people, taken away from about the Forum. So common was the custom of erecting such statues at that time, that Cato, who lived about 150 B.C., is said to have preferred to be asked why no statues had been erected to him, rather than why it had been done. He deeply lamented, that, in the provinces, statues to women, even, were put up; but must soon have seen the evil creep into Rome itself, where an honorary figure was erected to Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi.

But familiarity with the creations of Greece, and the sight of the great Hellenistic cities of the east, were destined to introduce many new elements into the art of the stern capital, and make it a mirror of what had gone before, a continuation, as it were, of Hellenistic art in form, subject, and spirit. The change could have been no sudden one, but must have gone on slowly, as Roman legions, like a vast net, little by little encompassed the lands where Greek culture had come to bloom, and gathered home the fruits it had borne.[1241] Marcellus was the first to bring Greek works of art before the

Romans on a large scale. During the second Punic war, in 212 B.C., he stripped Syracuse of the most of its sculptures and paintings to adorn his triumph. Some of these he afterwards used to beautify a temple to Honos and Virtus, which he built; some were scattered through other parts of the city. When charged with rapacity, he replied, that he had done it to adorn Rome, and introduce a taste for the fine arts and elegance of the Greeks; and he even sent presents to the Greek shrines at Samothrake. In the following year, 211 B.C., the entire population of Capua was sold into slavery; and to the Roman college of priests was granted the disposition of its monuments, as well as those of all the cities of Campania. Doubtless the most of these treasures of ancient Greek art also found their way to Rome. In 210 B.C., Fabius Maximus conquered Tarentum, removing thence rich treasures to Rome, among which was the celebrated colossus of Heracles by Lysippos. But Greece herself was not long to escape. In 197 B.C., T. Quinctius Flaminius conquered Philip of Macedon at Kynoskephalai, taking from him the treasure which that king had himself stolen from other parts of Greece. Three whole days were required for Flaminius' triumphal procession to pass into Rome; the first day being occupied with the introduction of bronze and marble statues alone, and the second taken up with vases, reliefs, and other minor works. A few years later, 189 B.C., M. Fulvius Nobilior conquered the Aitolians and Ambrakia, that city which had been the residence of the art-loving Pyrrhos, king of Epeiros. From this favored spot, as well as from other places in Greece, the Roman general carried off an almost incredible amount of booty which should make his triumph even richer than those which had preceded. We are told, that he also brought Greek artists with him, to direct the artistic arrangements of his celebration. In his triumphal procession were seen two hundred and eighty-five statues in bronze, as well as two hundred and thirty in marble. Among this army of bronze and marble captives, was a bronze group of the Muses, which the conqueror consecrated in a temple he built to Heracles. In the same year came another triumph held by L. Cornelius Scipio, after his victory at Magnesia in Asia Minor. This procession was so laden with choice works, graven vases, and the like, that it is especially mentioned by the ancients as awakening in the Romans a taste for Greek works. About twenty years later, Paulus Æmilius made a most brilliant entry into Rome, after having conquered Perseus of Macedonia, at Pydna, 168 B.C. Three days long it lasted; and two hundred and fifty chariots, full of works of art, statuary, and painting, could scarcely pass in on the first great day Among these one statue is mentioned, — an Athena by Pheidias. This general's appreciation of the Greeks appears from the honor he awarded Pheidias' Zeus, when in Olympia, as well as from the fact that he had his sons instructed by Greek painters and sculptors. Another twenty years passed; and Metellus Macedonicus, in 148 B.C., celebrated his

victory over Pseudophilippos, by a triumph in which were very many statues from Dion in Macedonia. Among these was Lysippos' celebrated group in honor of Granicos, representing Alexander and twenty-five mounted warriors. Some years later, Greece was absorbed into the Roman empire, as the province of Achaia, after Corinth had been totally destroyed by Mummius, 146 B.C. On that occasion, great numbers of choice works of art perished by fire, and through the barbarity of the Roman soldiery. The latter, it is said, were seen playing at dice on one of the masterpieces of painting, of the value of which Mummius had no idea, until, at the sale, a large price was offered for it by Attalos of Pergamon. Mummius thereupon decided to keep it, and afterwards consecrated it in the Temple of Ceres at Rome. Mummius' ignorance in art-matters is also forcibly illustrated by his warning to those who should convey the plundered works of art to Rome, that, if any thing were lost or injured, they must replace it. After the conquest of Corinth, sanctity of place does not seem to have been regarded, and the passion to possess works of Greek art spread from general to common soldier. The ruthless robberies of Sulla and his army, in the war waged against Mithridates, are notorious, when Athens, Olympia, Delphi, and Epidauros were plundered. During the siege of Athens, money failing him, Sulla made no scruple to despoil the temples of their treasure, to buy the devotion of the soldiery to his cause. During his campaign in Asia Minor, the legions, down to the common man, were seized with a passion for plunder, and came to know the value of works of art. About the middle of the first century B.C., pirates swarmed the Greek seas, and did untold damage, plundering the celebrated temples of Apollo at Miletos, of Hera at Samos and Argos, of Asclepios at Epidauros, and of the Cabeiri at Samothrake, as well as many others. But this barbarity was brought to an end by Pompey, who then fought and overcame Mithridates. His triumphal entry into Rome, after these successes, in 61 B.C., was a display of spoils and trophies such as Rome had never before witnessed. Banners, borne in the procession, announced that he had taken eight hundred vessels, one thousand fortresses, and nine hundred towns. There were figures of gold, rare engraved gems, as well as pearls, and many other valuables, among which was a celebrated Heracles by Myron. But this temporary passage of conquering generals was not alone in draining Greece and Asia Minor of their treasures. The provinces were governed by proconsuls, who were supposed in strictness to serve the state gratuitously, as a public duty, but were practically left free to remunerate themselves by extortion. As an interest in art had now dawned, many of these officials sought to ingratiate themselves with their fellow-citizens by ransacking temples and rebellious cities for treasure to adorn the Roman capital. This thirst for spoils often led to acts of hateful cruelty; where persuasions failed, punishments and tortures were used. Verres carried matters with so high a hand, that Cicero was called out to be his accuser,

although Cicero's own son-in-law, Cn. Dolabella, is said to have plundered the temples of Asia. Verres accompanied the latter to his government in Kilikia, and on the way passed through Sikyon, carrying off sculpture and paintings. At Athens, Verres shared with Dolabella the plunder of the temple of Athena, at Delos that of Apollo; and at Chios, Erythrai, Halicarnassos, and elsewhere, he perpetrated similar acts of rapine. Perga boasted a statue of Diana, coated with gold: Verres scraped off the gilding. But in Sicily he seems to have committed his greatest outrages: wherever he stopped, he extorted gems, vases, and trinkets from his host, or from whomsoever he heard possessed them.

The emperors now followed in this work of removal of treasure to Rome, and at the same time caused their own portraits to be erected in the conquered provinces; Augustus, Caligula, and Nero being most prominent. Many of the statues brought by Augustus to Rome were of the quaint, archaic style: thus works of the old masters of Chios, Bupalos and his brothers, who flourished about 550 B.C., adorned, we are told, "all Augustus' buildings." At the entrance to his Forum was a statue to Jupiter Tonans, by Endoios. On the Capitol stood the Dioscuri, from the hand of Hegias, who was Pheidias' first teacher. Besides such quaint old masters, Myron, of the transition style, was represented. From his group of Zeus, Athena, and Heracles, brought from Samos by Anthony, Augustus saved out the Zeus, and built for it a chapel on the Capitol; while the remainder he returned to the original shrine. Four steers, by Myron, stood around an altar in the portico of Augustus' Apollo temple on the Palatine; and an Aphrodite, by Pheidias, was placed in the Portico of Octavia. Among these plundered treasures, now set up in Rome, far more numerous than the works of the age of Pheidias appear to have been those from the ensuing century. Not only Scopas, Praxiteles, and Lysippos themselves, but also their scholars and contemporaries, were represented. In the Apollo temple on the Palatine were, for instance, a great Apollo by Scopas, a Diana by Timotheos, and a Leto by Praxiteles' son Kephisodotos. This temple must have been a museum in itself, the subjects collected seeming to have reference to the great god of the building. Here were statues from the time of the highest bloom of art: quaint, archaic works adorning its architecture; Myron's vivid representations of animal life, its portico; while its ivory doors, the work of Pergamon artists, were decorated with the fall of the Gauls, and of the family of Niobe at the hand of Apollo. At this time the great Niobe group was brought from Asia Minor by Cn. Sosius, to be dedicated in a temple to Apollo; and Scopas' Achilles group was, doubtless, also now brought to Rome. Marcus Agrippa placed in public view, as a decoration of his baths, Lysippos' Apoxyomenos; and Asinius Pollio gathered into his choice collection a Canephoros by Scopas, a Dionysos by Eutychides, an Aphrodite by Kephisodotos (Praxiteles' son), besides Mænads, Silens, etc., by the great master himself, and that Hellenistic work, now known as the Farnese Bull, by

masters from Tralles. During the reign of Tiberius, Augustus' successor, there seems to have been no extensive removal of works from Greece. It was, however, renewed by Caligula, who dealt barbarously with statues already in Rome. Many of them he beheaded, to be restored with his own portrait; and the statues of great men, which Augustus had moved from the over-filled Capitol to the Field of Mars, he broke to pieces. He ordered the best statues from all the Greek cities to be sent to Rome; and Praxiteles' famous Eros seems to have been one of the works now robbed from Greece in compliance with this command. So high-reaching was Caligula's ambition, that he even sought to have Pheidias' Olympian Zeus removed; but tradition reports that he was supernaturally prevented. The workmen, while attempting to remove the statue, were frightened away by a peal of scornful laughter from its ivory lips; and the ship which was to convey it to Rome was destroyed by lightning. Claudius, Caligula's successor, does not appear ever to have encouraged the robbing of Greek shrines, and even returned Praxiteles' Eros to Thespiai. But Nero abundantly made up for all such omissions during his reign of fourteen years from 54 to 68 A.D., while his destruction of works of art was on a far greater scale than that by Caligula. Countless were the priceless works of art that now perished, as Rome became the prey of the flames, to gratify this madman's whim. He imagined himself a great musician and athlete, and contended with professional artists in Rome. In Greece he offered himself as a candidate in the games, and, though defeated, the flattery of the spectators adjudged him the prize. So insane was his jealousy of victors who had won long centuries before his day, that he gave vent to it by having their statues knocked to pieces. After the conflagration of Rome, he feigned commiseration for his subjects, and began the reparation of streets and public buildings at his own expense; but was far more lavish in the erection of an enormous palace called the Golden House.[1242] The entrance was sufficiently large to admit a colossus of the emperor one hundred and twenty feet high; the galleries were each a mile long, and the whole was covered with gold. The roofs of the dining-halls represented the firmament in motion, while perfumes were continually descending in showers. Within the vast enclosure, artificial lakes, gardens, and baths were profusely adorned with gold, precious stones, and whatever was rare. For the adornment of this palace and his other buildings, his agents collected statues in immense numbers in Greece and Asia Minor; bringing from Delphi alone, five hundred bronze statues of victors and Greek gods. Nero's freedman Acratus is said to have travelled almost everywhere where statues could be obtained.

The soil was indeed a strange one, to which, for a period of three hundred years, the products of Greek art were thus being transplanted. At first the stern old Romans frowned upon that which was the very life of the Greeks,

as a dangerous luxury. It was complained, that the people were led to waste their time in art-gossip; and Seneca considered art a dissipation which mankind would be better off without. Cicero disclaimed all interest in art-matters; and Virgil, with true Roman pride, said that his nation was called to rule the world, and not to put a soul into bronze, or from the marble draw out the features of life. But the Greek literature, to which the Romans now turned with great zeal, directed their attention to the work of the statuary and painter; the rhetorical treatises abounding in allusions to the fine arts. It became a part of a polite education, to be informed about the masterpieces, and to be familiar with Greek epigrams, convenient modes of criticism, where genuine interest in the object was lacking. It was considered good tone, that one should have seen the most celebrated works; and Tacitus, no doubt, betrays the prevailing spirit when he says, "One having looked at a statue or picture once goes away satisfied, and never returns again." In travelling, the Roman's chief interest was for historical associations. Cicero makes Atticus say, "Even my beloved Athens delights me, not so much by her buildings and works of old masters, as by the memories of her great men, where they lived, where they sat, and where they were accustomed to pass their time in converse; also their graves I look at with interest." But the gloriously laid out cities of the Hellenistic age, with their wealth of art adorning temple and palace, met the eyes of the Romans wherever they went, and could not fail in time to arouse them, if only from love of display, to emulate such examples. Even in the days of the republic, matters had gone so far that in Sulla's time statuary and painting were as necessary a part of the furniture of a rich man's house as his tapestries and silver. Cicero himself is a striking instance of the power of this fashion. Although disclaiming an interest in art, he had Atticus send him many statues for his villa at Gaeta, and to fit out his Tusculum villa, where he planned an academy. He especially desired reliefs, to be let into the wall, evidently those pictures in stone which decorated Hellenistic palaces; but he paid liberally for statues as well, although complaining sometimes of their cost. But Cicero was only one of many. It was said of Julius Cæsar and of a certain Damasippus, that they bought old statues as though they were insane. One Domitius Tullus had stowed away in his magazines so great a store of glorious works, about which he had, however, concerned himself but little, that, the very day on which he bought a park, he was able fully to furnish it with statuary. Did a rich man's house burn down, his friends made good his loss by presenting him with every variety of famous old works. Juvenal's expression, "marble gardens," is made vivid by Martial's description of a fountain in the garden of Arruntius Stella, about which stood a crowd of marble figures of beautiful youth, while in a grotto near by was to be seen a Heracles. Such pictures as that given of the villa of Pollio Felix at Sorrento, looking off on to the Gulf of Naples, with marble-lined courts, and sculptures of old

masters, and portraits of generals, poets, and philosophers, standing about, show emphatically how decorative a part was played in Roman residences by Greek art, torn from its temples and shrines. Villas where statuary and painting did not form the chief attraction were exceptions: such were several of Augustus' dwellings, in which rare antiquities and natural-history curiosities took their place. This fashion of decorating, set by the rich, was followed by those less favored with means, who are compared, by the poets, to the frog who strives to inflate himself to the size of an ox. As costly originals could not be purchased by many, nor even marble and bronze copies, cheaper materials, such as terra-cotta and plaster, came into extensive use. Tradition tells us that plaster busts adorned the libraries and studies of many. Thus, in the houses of the would-be stoics and late philosophers, plaster heads were to be seen of Democritos, Chrysippos, Zeno, Plato, and others, with their shaggy beards. The discovery, in the provincial city of Pompeii, in the house of Lucrezio, of a peristyle adorned with twelve large and ten smaller statues, hints to us the prevalence of the custom of thus adorning private mansions, which was continued as late as the end of the fourth century A.D. Had the more extensive villas on Roman soil, such as that of Mæcenas, and that of Hadrian at Tivoli, been excavated with plan, and not ransacked with ignorant greed through many generations, how vivid would have been our picture of all this plastic decoration, which indeed was co-extensive with Roman dominion, as ruins testify!

But our idea would be inadequate indeed, of the market for genuine Greek sculpture and its copies, did we imagine that private buildings consumed the major part. How feeble is the effort of the imagination to conceive the number and magnificence of the public edifices which shot up from Roman soil after the conquest of the Greeks! Here statues, singly and in groups, adorned the niches, intercolumniations, and roofs, filled the pediments, and lined temple steps, theatres, basilicas, baths, gateways, bridges, balustrades, and arches of all kinds. Like Rome itself, all the provincial cities had their forums, crowded with temples and colonnades, their capitols crowned by the temples of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, as well as their theatres, amphitheatres, baths, circuses, — all adorned with sculpture. In 58 B.C., Scaurus, it is said, used for his temporary wooden theatre in Rome, three hundred and sixty columns of foreign marbles from Euboia and Melos, besides three thousand bronze statues. Agrippa, while ædile, 33 B.C., decorated his extensive water-works with four hundred marble columns, and three hundred marble and bronze statues; his work to be continued by others. Domitian built so many passages and triumphal arches, crowded with groups of statuary, *quadrigæ*, and insignia of war, that he became the object of ridicule. On one monument figured on his coins, the spaces of the arches are adorned with medallion busts; reliefs and sculptures occupy the roof and *attica;* while two chariots, drawn by two elephants, guided

by the colossal form of the emperor, crown the building, doubtless representing him as endowed with divine honors.[1242a] How eloquent are the ruined witnesses to this profuse union of statuary with public buildings, as evident from sculptures of the great Altar of Peace built by Augustus, the Arch of Titus, and the numerous ruins of Trajan's noble monuments, of Nerva's forum, and of many others! This architectural sculpture, borrowing its subjects from Greek mythology, as well as from the exploits of generals and the like, found partial expression in pictures in stone, illustrating successful campaigns of individual generals on triumphal arches or lofty columns, and sometimes commemorated escapes from danger on chapel-walls.

A wide field was offered also by the portrait-statue; and that including all classes, the general, the lady, the slave, the patrician, and the plebeian. The Roman came legitimately to this taste in art, having imbibed it from the Etruscans; but, doubtless, it was thoroughly congenial to his vainglorious nature. The portraits of emperors were put up in every city and camp to receive divine honors. The senate decreed statues to Cæsar in all the temples of Rome. To Augustus, the number of bronze and marble portrait-statues while he still lived must have been innumerable. He himself tells us, that he had melted down eighty silver statues put up to him, and in their stead had placed golden gifts in the Temple of Apollo, principally tripods bearing his own and the donors' names. These statues in silver included standing and equestrian figures, besides others in chariots drawn by four steeds.

The numerous temples to the emperors show how extensive this cult, even during their lifetime. Temples to Augustus have been discovered in remote parts of the Roman Empire, at Ankyra, Mylasa, and recently at Pergamon in Asia Minor. After death, religious services were still continued with great pomp, especially at Rome. The blazing funeral pyre, from the summit of which an eagle soared, was symbolical of the *apotheosis;* no sooner had the soul thus appeared to fly, to dwell with the Eternals, than the cult of the new emperor-god was established. A temple was built with its altars and *pulvinar* for the repose of his image, honored with gifts of food and drink; a priest or *flamen* was appointed; the translated was proclaimed Divus Pater, and his statue was placed in the shrine ever to receive worship.[1243] Portraits of deified emperors appeared in processions, and especially at the Roman games. In the circus they were placed alongside of the statues of the gods; and in solemn processions, as symbols of deification, they appeared riding on chariots drawn by elephants. On the coins of Augustus, Claudius, and Vespasian, is seen a *tensa* (chariot with sacred images) drawn by two and sometimes four horses, or by elephants, and carrying the emperor with a Victory or some other symbol in his hands.[1243a] Caligula at first forbade the worship of his statues, but afterwards withdrew the order; and soon, as Josephus says, all the conquered cities had his image along with those of the gods. Domitian filled

Rome with his gorgeous portraits, sometimes colossal statues. These were of gold and silver in the Capitol, where only those of a prescribed weight were admitted, and we are told that the streets were not wide enough for the never-ceasing passage of sacrificial beasts to be offered before these images of the emperor. To these figures of deified emperors, were, besides, brought incense and wine; and thither the persecuted fled for asylum. Such imperial portrait-statues were found, moreover, not in Rome alone, but in every city. When Pliny the younger bought new lands, he found so many of these images upon them, that he obtained permission from Trajan to build a new temple at Como for their reception, and added that of Trajan to the number. In Tarraco, in Spain, a prominent man was purposely elected to keep in order the statues of the deified Hadrian. More than a hundred years after the death of Marcus Aurelius, his figures were seen in the possession of many families, among the household gods, so greatly was he beloved. The Antonines were to be seen, even in all places of business, and in workshops, but often most rudely carved. Special temples were also erected to the whole sacred number of emperors, in which the entire cycle in portrait-figures was represented; and, as the number increased, fresh statues were constantly added.

Members of the royal family, the empress, the heir-apparent, and even the favorites of the ruler, were often thus honored, and their portraits made objects of worship. Hadrian put up portrait-figures of his heir, A. Verus, in all the empire; and the extent of the cult of Hadrian's favorite Antinous is well known. On the accession to the throne of a new emperor, it was customary to have portrait-statues erected to his deceased relatives. Antoninus Pius willingly accepted statues, decreed by the senate to his departed grandparents, father, mother, and brother; and Marcus Aurelius honored with statues even the friends of his parents after their death. In like manner, Severus put up images to his deceased ancestors, as well as to his first wife. As an illustration of the extent to which this honor was conferred upon court officials, may be mentioned the case of Severus' favorite, Plautianus, to whom so many more, and larger, portrait-statues were erected, in and out of Rome, than to the emperor himself, that at last it aroused the jealousy of the latter, and caused the fall of this courtier. For his teacher, Fronto, Marcus Aurelius requested of the senate one statue; and for another, several. Rulers of provinces also came in for a share in honorary portrait-statues. Cicero writes, that in Kilikia he had refused "statues, temples, and *quadrigæ*." Verres obliged the communes of Sicily to erect statues not only to himself, but to his father, and son, a mere lad; and so great was their number, that they seemed to equal what he had carried off of older works. In Rome were to be seen gilded bronze equestrian statues to Verres, put up by Roman merchants. Sub-officials in the provinces, and successful military men, were frequently rewarded by statues in public squares; and private individuals often received a like honor from their fellow-

townsmen, as a recognition of their services. Along the west side of the forum of Pompeii, a city of only about thirty thousand inhabitants, have been found fourteen portrait-statues, to say nothing of numbers discovered in other parts of the buried city. Great learning was also thus recognized, as in the case of a statue on the capitol at Beneventum to Orbilius Pupillus, who died in great want, in an attic, at the advanced age of nearly a hundred years. It represented him as wrapped in a Greek mantle, and having two book-holders by his side. Statues were also put up as a consolation to the bereaved. In Brixia, the commune, on the occasion of the death of a child six years five months and five days old, ordered an equestrian figure of gilded bronze to be put up, to comfort the mourning father. Frequently these statues to humble individuals were multiplied to increase the marks of respect.

It is a curious fact, that very often the expense of such statues was defrayed by the person to whom they were erected; the expression being frequently found in inscriptions, "Satisfied with the honor, he paid the cost." It became customary for Romans even to put up statues and monuments to themselves; and although the senate, as early as 45 B.C., limited the privilege for the Forum, it was allowed in temples and private grounds. One Regulus, although notoriously miserly, built limitless colonnades in his garden on the Tiber, and lined the shores with statues of himself. To his son, who died while still a lad, he raised many statues and likenesses; having him portrayed by different artists, not only in bronze, silver, gold, marble, and ivory, but also in encaustic and other painting. Statues were also put up by the client to his patron, by freedmen to masters, often in their dwellings. No less than thirteen pedestals of statues to L. Licinius Secundus, underling of L. Licinius Sura, exist in Barcelona, three of which were put up by as many Spanish towns, four by friends, and one by a freedman. How boundless was the ambitious display in *funeral* monuments, even with subalterns, is well illustrated by a palace-like tomb erected to his wife Priscilla, by the freedman, Abarcantus, Domitian's secretary. In this tomb she appeared several times, — in the form of the goddesses Ceres and Ariadne in bronze, and as Maia and Venus in marble.

In addition to their few native Italic gods, the Romans adopted in thought and form many Greek deities, so that their Pantheon became most crowded. In this process of adaptation, Jupiter came to represent Zeus, Minerva stood for Athena, Venus for Aphrodite, Diana for Artemis, Salus for Hygieia, and so on. The specifically Italic god, Janus, at first represented as double-headed, was doubtless but a reflex of the double-headed Greek *hermæ;* later, Janus came to appear as a full figure, with key and staff, or with the fingers of one hand bent to represent CCC, and those of the other to represent LXV, thus making up the number three hundred and sixty-five, the days of the year, with which he was intimately connected: but of how little importance this Roman Janus

was to art, appears from the fact that the figure is to be traced only on gems. A prominent feature in the Roman faith was the world of minor spirits, guardian genii, who came to existence with each individual house, family, state, and people. In comparison with these, the more poetical rural genii, such as fauns, Silvanus, etc., were of less importance. Even each god was supposed to have its genius; but so impalpable was this faith, that it was late before these beings took form. Usually they were represented by a snake; but, in time, took on human shape, sometimes bearded, sometimes youthful, and often carrying a cornucopia. After Aurelian's time, the genius of Rome was represented on the Forum in gold, gilded bronze, or silver. To supply the extensive demand for such genii, shops and factories existed in great numbers behind the Temple of Castor. Near of kin to these genii, were the Lares and Penates, or household gods. The former are spoken of as winged, and may have had many attributes; but their usual form was that of a youth with his tunic girded short about him, and flying out.[1244] They were, moreover, often supplied with a drinking-horn in one hand, and a saucer or vase in the other. These small images, preserved in numerous repetitions, were usually of wood or of bronze in the country, and of stone in the city. They were kept in small chapels, where the family came together for morning prayer. On festive occasions they were almost buried in flowers, and received their share of every meal. After the first plateful had been eaten, silence was observed, and the portion for the Lares was put upon a small plate (*patella*) on the hearth; then it was poured into the flames, with the ejaculation *Dii propitii*, after which the meal was continued. But these Lares do not appear to have awakened any great artistic creative power.

The foreign gods worshipped in Rome seem to have been either adopted directly from their various lands, or to have been variations on types developed by the Greeks. Among the most interesting recent excavations in Rome, are those made in 1883, in the Via di S. Ignazio, leading to S. Maria Sopra Minerva, uncovering much of the ancient Iseum and Serapeum, where Egyptian deities and art prevailed.[1245] This temple was not only "built in the Egyptian style of architecture, but with materials brought over piece by piece from one or more Egyptian temples." "Tiberius condemned the priests here employed to crucifixion, burned down the shrine, and threw the statue of the goddess into the Tiber." Nero, however, restored it; and succeeding emperors did not fall behind him in devotion to the foreign gods, collecting in this temple many works of genuine Egyptian as well as of Græco-Roman art, treating of Egyptian subjects. Here a genuine sphinx of Queen Hatasoo, now in the Barraco collection, and a very fine one of Amasis, were found; as well as two grand lions, now reposing at the foot of the Capitol. Among the other treasures of this Egyptian shrine in the very heart of Rome, were the Nile of the Braccio Nuovo, and the Tiber of the Louvre.

By this glimpse at the amount, variety, and uses of sculpture in Rome, we are naturally drawn to think of the men who must there have executed the works required. Were they great creative masters, borne on the shoulders of popular sympathy and interest? or were they strangers in a strange land? Judging from the small number of Romans mentioned as sculptors, their capabilities in this direction would seem to have been very limited. The sculptors were, we know from inscriptions and history, mainly Greeks, and seem to have been looked upon with little respect by the proud Romans. Seneca says, "While the figures of the gods are worshipped, those who make them are despised;" and Cicero, that the Romans left art to foreigners and slaves, that they might find in it forgetfulness of, and consolation in, their servitude.[1246] It was customary for the Romans to own families of slaves, who should decorate their houses, and work for others as well, thus becoming remunerative to their masters. When an artist slave was freed, it was often done on the condition that he should continue to work for his former owner.[1247] Inscriptions on two statues in the British Museum state that they are by a freedman. How little the spirit of these men was appreciated by the practical Romans, is shown by the enumeration of a slave's faults, one of which consisted in being too fond of looking at pictures. The fact that slave-labor was so much in vogue, doubtless, explains in part the great cheapness and vast amount of the work. In the time of Alexander the Great, three thousand drachms (about five hundred and ninety-two dollars) had been the average price of a statue; but in the time of Hadrian, a bronze statue could be obtained for from one thousand to five hundred drachms.[1248] Under Diocletian (300 A.D.), bronze statues were paid for by weight, about four drachms being reckoned to the pound.

But how great must necessarily have been the change in the position and character of art, no longer the spontaneous outgushing of a free spirit, but torn from its native soil, and serving to gratify the caprice of foreign taskmasters! The ceaseless drain upon Greece, for the works of great masters of old, in time had its effect, for the mine of Greek originals was not exhaustless; and so innumerable copies were made, and often palmed off for originals. This practice seems to have been common, even in the early part of the empire; the poet Phædrus of that time telling us that he affixed the name Æsop to his fables, just as many artists did that of Praxiteles to their marbles. Ideal art, at least, was confined, then, to reproduction; its types being traceable to the happier, more creative days of the past. One sculptor inscribes on his statue of Aphrodite, that it is a copy of the Aphrodite of Troas, a work otherwise unknown to us; but far the greater number omit to mention the works they have copied. Agrippa, according to Josephus, adorned the whole Phœnician city Berytus (modern Beirut) with copies of old works. In the Augusteum built by Herod in Cæsarea, the colossal statue of the emperor was a copy of Pheidias' Olympic Zeus, which, Josephus says, did not fall short of the original;

and the accompanying Roma was a copy of Polycleitos' Hera at Argos. A glance through the exhaustive work by Matz and Duhn, where works found in Rome are classified, and page after page is taken up with descriptions of the same subject and its variations, enables us, partially at least, to realize the extent of this reproductive art.[1249] Many of these works are decidedly inferior; but we are reconciled to the fact, since through them the archæologist is often able, by skilful combinations, to trace an original of the palmy days of Greek art. Scarcely a god or goddess of Greek mythology is left unrepresented. The statues of Aphrodite and Dionysos, with their followers, are, however, most frequent, being by their nature better adapted to cheerful decoration. Thus, over thirty statues of the satyr, traceable to Praxiteles' original, exist in various galleries, all being executed according to a uniform scale of proportions.[1250] Too often these works of Roman art have fallen into the hands of "shallow botchers," who have so mutilated them with would-be restorations, that their original beauty, to say nothing of significance, is lost. It is often a difficult matter, or even an impossibility, to know what is restored in these works, until the archæologist, on his ladder, has examined them with finger and knife, and traced in archives the modern hands through which they have passed. In general, it seems that the better statues are the earlier ones. Those of Hadrian's time, for instance, are usually marked by a very strong polish, and more academic character than the works of the previous centuries.

Fig. 268. The Venus di Medici. Uffizi. Florence.

Among these many graceful variations on older works, none is better known than the Venus di Medici (Fig. 268), doubtless one of the very distant changes rung on Praxiteles' great original at Cnidos. Whether this Medici Venus was discovered in the gardens of Nero on the Tiber, or in the Portico of Octavia, as was long supposed, is uncertain; but its inscription, stating it to be by Cleomenes, son of Apollonios, is proved by Michaelis to be a falsification of the seventeenth century A.D.[1251] On the removal of the statue to Florence, it was seriously broken; and its restoration was undertaken, after 1677, by Ercole Ferrata, to whom are due the lean fingers, so out of keeping with the dainty and soft feet. Venus here, in variation from the original by Praxiteles, is not represented as engaged with the bath, all intimations of which are wanting; but we simply see a nude female looking out into the world, and covering her-

self with both hands. Associated with her is a dolphin, referring, perhaps, to her connection with the sea. The dolphin is ridden by a child, who serves to support her, and may be Venus' son Cupid. But the Cupid is foreign to the original Greek ideal of the goddess, as may be inferred from her figure on Cnidian coins; and his shape is here strangely at variance with the graceful female form. With all there is of grace and excellence in the well-modelled members of this very celebrated statue, the coquettishness of this nude figure is not veiled from us, as it stands before us entirely divorced from all suggestive surroundings. Moreover, the surface of the statue has lost the freshness which it might have had, had not Ferrata's hand left its mark over the whole. Almost countless are the repetitions of this subject, which seems to have been a favorite one with the Romans.

The extent of the reproduction of mythological subjects is borne witness to by the half-dozen *replicas* of the crouching Venus, the oft-repeated bearded Silen tending the babe Dionysos, the five copies of a satyr pouring out wine, the ten or eleven *replicas* of Eros pulling a bow, the numerous repetitions of Ariadne sleeping, and of Pheidias' Athena Parthenos, as well as the three or four of the Apollo Sauroctonos, besides many more which might be mentioned. Athletic life was also represented in copies. They were needed to decorate the wrestling-grounds, and among them are numerous repetitions which seem traceable to the Doryphoros of Polycleitos. In the days of Winckelmann, these Roman reproductions were well-nigh the only channel through which the thoughts and inspirations of the older Greek masters could be reached; but now, since the recent excavations, we can compare them with unrestored originals of the Pheidian, Praxitelean, and Hellenistic ages, and our judgment of these later, often sadly patched-up Roman works becomes more just, as they sink to their proper level.

The sculptors of the age when Roman influence predominated in the ancient world may be roughly divided into three groups, a few names finding no connections. One of these groups is traced to Attica, and forms what is called the New Attic school; another seems to originate in Asia Minor, the flourishing seat of Hellenistic sculpture; and a third, to follow one Pasiteles, representing an archaistic tendency, perhaps a revulsion against the luxurious naturalistic art of Asia Minor.

Taking up the Attic masters, the first known to us by name seem to have been employed by Metellus Macedonicus, for a temple and portico in Rome, in 146 B.C. Pliny makes the statement, that in Olymp. 156 sculpture lived again, — a statement doubtless to be explained by the extensive introduction into Rome of Greek sculptures and sculptors at that time. The names mentioned are Antaios, Callistratos, Polycles, the Athenian Callixenos, Pythocles, Pythias, and Timocles, who, although inferior to those who had gone before, were nevertheless adjudged capable men.[1252] Polycles and Timocles seem to

have belonged to a large family of Athenian sculptors, among whom are reckoned Polycles, his two sons Timocles and Timarchides, and probably Polycles' brother Timarchides, with his son Dionysios, familiar to us from Pausanias, and from recently discovered inscriptions.[1253] These men worked for Rome and for Greece. Polycles, with his nephew, executed a Jupiter for Metellus' temple to Jupiter, and a Juno for a building afterwards turned into the Portico of Octavia. From the elder Timarchides' hand was an Apollo, in the temple of that god near by. To Polycles may probably also be attributed an Hermaphrodite, which enjoyed great celebrity, as well as a group of Muses. Of his sons, Timocles and Timarchides, we learn that they executed for Olympia the statue of a boxer, Agesarchos (the pedestal of which has been discovered), a bearded Asclepios for Elateia in Phokis, as well as an Athena, possibly traceable on coins of Elateia. The shield of their goddess they copied from that of Pheidias' Parthenos. Happily, one work by the cousins Dionysios and Timarchides is preserved to us in an honorary statue put up at a Delos shrine to Gaius Ofellius, and still on the island, a work which is placed by Homolle at about 167 B.C.[1254] The general scheme of this nude and ideally formed figure is that of Praxiteles' Hermes; and, although pleasing, it is more careful and pains-taking than free and bold, lacking, as it were, in inspiration. As the head is gone, it is impossible to tell how far portrait-features were represented in it.

Eubulides, probably a contemporary of these men, also belonged to a numerous artistic family in Athens.[1255] He appears to have executed and consecrated an extensive group seen by Pausanias in Athens in the Kerameicos, consisting of thirteen figures, — a Zeus, an Athena, the Muses, a Mnemosyne, and an Apollo. Happily, the dedicatory inscription, with parts of two of these figures, has been discovered.[1256] One of these fragments is the colossal head of the Athena, to which a bronze helmet was attached; the other is probably one of the Muses in ecstatic motion, with head thrown up. Eubulides' works, so pretentious in size, evidently follow older models, but lack the exquisite character of the best time, here supplanted by mannerism. These statues are, however, of great historic importance as the only datable witnesses found to this renaissance of art on Attic soil.

On other statues, in different museums, the names of a few other Athenians are recorded, but doubtless of much later date. Prominent among these is Apollonios, son of Nestor, whose name is inscribed on the rocky base of that celebrated statue of the Vatican, the Belvedere Torso. It is of this work that the story is told, that Michel Angelo ran his fingers over its surface during his sightless old age. Probably this was the same Apollonios who is said to have executed a chryselephantine statue of Jupiter Capitolinus, after the burning of the temple.[1257] This Belvedere torso was discovered in the ruins of Pompey's Theatre, which it doubtless once decorated. The lion's skin indi-

cates that Heracles is here represented; but it has been hotly discussed, whether as fatigued and mourning over his labors, or as rejoicing at the meal of the gods with wine-cup upraised, or as grouped with Hebe. Its massiveness calls to mind the tremendous forms of the Pergamon giants; but their fresh, vigorous muscularity, and splendid rendering of skin and veins, is lacking. Winckelmann, to whom it was not granted to see greater works, poetically imagined these defects to be due not to mannerism or inability, but to the sculptor's desire to represent the hero as transfigured, — a heavenly body, and one through whose veins blood did not flow.

Fig. 269. A Caryatid (restored by Thorwaldsen). Vatican.

Another Apollonios, son of Archias from Athens, has inscribed his name on a bronze bust, discovered in Herculaneum, and now in Naples. This somewhat stern head, with hair in very fine locks, was long falsely called Augustus; but, put alongside of the heads of Polycleitos' Doryphoros, there is no question that Apollonios has copied that great masterpiece, inscribing his own name underneath. The shape of the letters gives us the age as about the time of Augustus, when an imitative spirit must have prevailed among Athenian masters. A Cleomenes, son of Cleomenes, has put his name on the portrait-statue of some Roman, perhaps a senator or speaker, which is now in the Louvre, and is falsely called Germanicus. The shape of the letters shows that this sculptor lived also in the Augustan age, and had taken as his pattern an older type of Hermes, probably as the god of eloquence, which seems indicated by the tortoise. This statue is a lively witness to portrait-art as practised by the Athenians in Rome, but is frigid in its execution. One Diogenes of Athens decorated the Pantheon with architectural sculptures about 25 B.C.; but, according to Pliny, being high up, they were not fully appreciated. His *caryatidæ*, however, were prized as few other works. Several *caryatidæ* in Rome, copies of the Erechtheion maidens, one in the Vatican restored (Fig. 269), another in the Villa Ludovisi, and a third, neglected in a Roman palace-court, were long supposed to be the very works by Diogenes; but this is improbable, since his works stood, as we are told, *between* the pillars of the Pantheon, and hence could not have been like these architectural supports.[1258] The name of another Athenian, Antiochos, is cut into the end of the mantle of a colossal Athena in the Villa Ludovisi. The otherwise severe lines of this figure are disturbed by the restored arms and parts of the helmet. That this is a copyist's work, is clear on comparison, since it accords with other smaller *replicas* of Pheidias' Athena, many of which exist in Rome in the Villa Medici, the Palazzo Borghese, Palazzo

Colonna, and Capitoline Museum.[1259] The names of Criton and Nicolaos, of Athens, appear on one of three *canephori* discovered in the Vigna Strozzi, near the grave of Cecilia Metella, and seem to have decorated either a grave or a villa. The motive, that of an erect, fully draped figure, with the hands holding the *cista* on the head, is one we have seen magnificently developed in Athens, at the opening of the Hellenistic period. Here, however, the grandeur is lost ; and the execution is of the feeble, often mincing, sort of the Roman age. As an architectural decoration, these statues would, doubtless, have been sufficiently satisfactory to the obtuse critical sense of the Romans.

The colossal Heracles (Fig. 270) of the Naples museum, once owned by the Farnese family, bears the name of another Athenian, — Glycon of Athens. The almost exact double of this figure in attitude and build, but in diminutive size, we have met in the Heracles of the small frieze of the Pergamon altar, where the wearied hero regards his suckling Telephos (Selections, Plate XVII.). In the Pergamon relief, the whole composition, together with the accompanying foliage, is an attractive idyl, quite in the spirit of the Hellenistic age. But in this Farnese Heracles, restored with the Hesperid apples in the right hand, Glycon has neglected all enlivening accessories, representing the hero as crushed by his trials ; and, besides, has gone beyond the utmost that is allowable in representing physical force. The exaggerated muscles, the heavy build, and lack of firm, elastic execution, reveal the work of a man who was trying to outdo even such tremendous forms as those of the giants of the Pergamon frieze, but has far overshot the mark, and become *baroque*. Another repetition of this subject, associated with the name of Lysippos, is that in the Palazzo Pitti; but the name Lysippos has, without doubt, been attached by some modern forger of inscriptions. The frequent appearance of this Heracles in genuine reliefs and coins, and in Pompeian paintings, sometimes seen in front, sometimes from the back, and most often grouped with the babe Telephos and an eagle, makes it quite clear that Glycon's motive is a figure, sundered from such original surroundings, and made a separate statue.[1260] This original, there is much reason to believe, was a group erected in Pergamon in the third century B.C., where both Heracles and Telephos enjoyed special honors.

Fig. 270. The Farnese Heracles, by Glycon the Athenian. Naples.

A very curious marble vase in the Louvre, bearing a row of figures engaged

about a flaming altar, has upon the altar the name of Sosibios of Athens (Fig. 271). The letters indicate that this work dates from the early days of the empire.[1260a] On it we see represented a Bacchic ceremony in which join the gods, Apollo with his lyre, Artemis with her hind, Ares with his helmet, Hermes with his *kerkyon* held daintily in his right hand, and Athena with her shield, besides a satyr, and mænads. The combination of stiffness in the Hermes and Artemis, with freedom in these remaining figures, shows that the archaism in the style of this vase is affected.

With these men, whose spirit seems to be mainly that of imitation, our information concerning the so-called New Attic school terminates; and we may turn to a group of masters clustering about Pasiteles' name. Pasiteles, whose name has often been misread Praxiteles, was a native of Southern Italy, and doubtless received the right of Roman citizenship in 87 B.C., when it was granted to all the cities of Southern Italy. His life was spent, however, mainly in Rome; and it is related, that on one occasion, while studying a lion from nature, at the spot where the wild beasts from Africa were kept, a panther

Fig. 271. Marble Vase in Archaistic Style, by Sosibios the Athenian. Louvre.

breaking loose from his cage, and attacking him, the artist nearly lost his life.[1261] He is said, like modern sculptors, to have expended great care upon the clay models for his works, calling this process the mother of casting and of working in marble. His known works are a Jupiter in ivory, probably combined with gold; and a figure in silver of the actor Roscius, represented as a boy bound by a snake, which was considered a good omen.[1262] He was said also to have been skilful in marble and bronze, and to have written five books, on masterpieces of art, which were one of Pliny's sources in writing upon similar subjects. That Pasiteles was a teacher besides, we learn from the statue of an athlete in the Villa Albani, bearing the inscription, "Stephanos, scholar of Pasiteles."[1263] It is a mannered, unsympathetic work, and important only as being one of a large group which shows how, in this age, archaic models, in groups or standing alone, were copied, doubtless to suit a taste for old things, that became rife in Rome, and under Augustus seems to have been especially strong. This statue by Stephanos, of a youthful nude figure, like the youth in Fig. 272, is much restored. Two figures in the Villa Albani, one in the Lateran, and a much finer one in the Berlin Museum, resemble it in pose. In the latter, we have an excellent variation on an archaic scheme, but in the

works in Rome perhaps closer copies of the original. Sometimes this figure is grouped, or rather placed with another; in one case a male, and in a second a female. The latter work (Fig. 272), in the Naples museum, has received the designation Orestes and Electra. The type of this youth, doubtless as Apollo, occurs five times, receiving long, flowing locks. The one in bronze, in Naples, has a less empty character than the others, as though its details had been studied from nature.

This imitation of archaic works had been practised of old in Greece, but apparently with a hieratic purpose; and not as in Augustus', and most emphatically in Hadrian's time, to suit the antiquarian's taste. Thus the temple on Samothrake, built in the fourth century B.C., the age of Praxiteles and of Scopas, had a frieze twenty-eight centimeters high, of quaint dancing figures in stiff drapery.[1264] As we regard a part of them in the Louvre, we are conscious that these are not genuine archaic forms and folds, but from their clear affectation of stiffness in the bird-tail ends of drapery, and exaggeration of the form under the garments, we are sure that they were executed at a time when the sculptor could produce free forms, but chose, doubtless for some religious cause, to hold on to the received and traditional methods of representation. In Athens, also, archaic forms were imitated, as appears from stiff charioteer reliefs from the Acropolis, as well as from harsh figures of Hecate and Kybele, undoubtedly of late date. So in the Hellenistic times, archaic types must have occasionally appeared, like the stiff archaistic Athena, on some of the coins of Antigonos, Demetrios Poliorketes, and Pyrrhos of Epeiros.[1265] This was probably a revulsion from purely artistic motives, against the full, luxurious forms of a developed art, and a return to the quaint, simpler ones of older days; but it is only from Roman times, that we have numerous proofs of this archaistic tendency.

Fig. 272. Archaistic Group called Orestes and Electra. Naples.

To these *replicas* of archaic works belong a number of statues in our different museums, which must go back to a very celebrated original of ripe archaic art. They represent a nude, erect youth, with hair bound around the head in a braid, and, in the copy in the Museo Torlonia, with a large quiver by the side, which marks him in this case, certainly, as Apollo.[1266] These statues exist in London, the Capitoline Museum, and Athens. The head has been found alone in Kyrene; and one example has recently come to light in private possession at Ventnor, on the Isle of Wight. The best-executed of these statues is the one

Fig. 273. The so-called Apollo Gouffier of the British Museum.

in Athens, from the Theatre of Dionysos, restored falsely as standing on an *omphalos* found in the same place.[1267] The British-Museum copy (Fig. 273) was obtained in Constantinople by the French ambassador Choisseul Gouffier, and ranks next. This statue may also have represented Apollo, although the strap hanging by the side may permit the theory, proposed by Waldstein, that here the youth is an athlete. Although the abdomen is meagre, and the feet both rest flatly on the ground, there is a freedom in the modelling, and a severely chaste beauty about this work, like that of early Italian art. Without doubt, it has some of the great excellences inspired by an original coming just before the highest bloom of art, and its torso bears a strong resemblance to some of the figures of the Olympia pediments ; but in what school or place that original was developed, we do not yet know.

As enlarging the circle of archaistic works, might be mentioned the Artemis of the Dresden Museum, and possibly the graceful girl runner of the Vatican. Among reliefs, we should find many decorating altar-bases, and others which may have been votive tablets. In these latter the prominent features are the procession-like arrangement, the oft-recurring standing on tiptoe, and the union of stiff with free forms.

Fig. 274. Group by Menelaos, scholar of Stephanos. Villa Ludovisi.

Pasiteles and his school did not confine themselves to such imitations of archaic works as the Stephanos athlete. This is clear from a group (Fig. 274), in the Villa Ludovisi, bearing the inscription, "Menelaos, scholar of Stephanos," who, as we have seen, was a scholar of Pasiteles. Among the numerous names given this group are Orestes and Electra, Phaidra and Hippolytos, Octavia and Marcellus, etc.[1268] The idea of friendly union is here clearly expressed between a large, fully draped woman, and her much smaller companion. This pleasing group was restored about the hands by Bernini, and the faces were retouched by less skilful men ; but the polished surface and the intricate and heavy drapery are ancient. A similar scene has been found on Greek tomb-

stones, showing whence the sculptor got his type; and the subject is one which would have been most suitable for a Roman grave.[1269] The costume of the woman is made thoroughly Roman, and the lack of portraiture may be due to an idealizing tendency which prevailed in the Augustan age. Graceful movement, and inner feeling, somewhat theatrical in its expression, are here; but the surface lacks all pleasant details, and the drapery is mannered and full of trivialities, far different from the fresh realism even of the Hellenistic age.

Of one sculptor, Arcesilaos, we learn, that, like Pasiteles, he finished carefully his clay models.[1270] For these, artists paid more than for the finished works of other masters. A Roman nobleman, it is said, paid him a talent for a plaster-cast for a vase (*crater*). For Julius Cæsar, who claimed descent from Venus, he made a statue of Venus Genetrix for the temple of that goddess, which Cæsar built. Such, however, was his patron's haste, that the statue was put up unfinished, and consecrated with the temple 46 B.C. On a coin of Sabina, is an inscription, *Veneri Genetrici*, accompanying the image of a female draped in transparent garments. Many statues like this figure were long supposed to be traceable to a new type developed by Arcesilaos. But the headdress and whole build are such, that there can be no doubt, as said on p. 320, that the ideal dates back as far as the fifth century; and Arcesilaos' Venus Genetrix can, at the most, have been only a variation on the older work. We are little informed concerning a merry group by him, owned by Varro. It represented, in one block, a lioness held by several winged cupids, while others forced her to drink out of a horn, and still others put shoes on to her paws. Pollio Asinius owned centaurs ridden by nymphs, by this master; but, doubtless, the originals of these subjects are to be traced back to the Hellenistic age, so rich in similar subjects, which may have been here enlarged upon. Zenodoros is a sculptor of this Roman age, who seems to have devoted himself to colossal works in bronze.[1271] For the Gauls of Avernus, he executed a colossal Mercury, which occupied him ten years, and for which he received four hundred thousand sesterces (seventeen thousand two hundred and fifty dollars). His fame reaching Rome, he was called thither by Nero; where he made a colossal figure in bronze, of the emperor, one hundred and ten feet high. But, although Nero was ready to give gold and silver to mix in the bronze, Pliny says, one saw in the work that the art of casting was gone. The colossus first stood before Nero's Golden House, but, because of that emperor's great crimes, in 75 A.D. was consecrated to the sun-god. When Hadrian was building the temple of Venus and Roma, he had it removed by twenty-four elephants; and still later it was made a portrait of Commodus.

The most important class of sculptors, who were active in Rome at this time, are those from Asia Minor. With the latter country, Rome had longest stood on friendly terms; and the religions, especially that of Kybele and Attis, had gained great prominence. The rhetorical art developed by "Asi-

anic" masters was assiduously cultivated; and the garments and choice wares called Attalid, after the Pergamon house, were especially prized. It was Asia Minor that started the worship of Roman generals and consuls, and suggested to the Romans the personification of their city as the Dea Roma. To the latter a temple was built, as early as 195 B.C., in Smyrna; and in the Asiatic cities Augustus and Dea Roma were first worshipped together, their images

Fig. 275. The Borghese Warrior, by Agasias of Ephesos. Louvre.

occupying the same temples. In the Asia-Minor cities, this Roma appeared in the form of Tyche, guardian goddess of the different cities, with mural crown, and attributes of blessing such as the cornucopia; but in Rome itself she seems to have had a more warlike character, having much the garb of the Amazons, and the helmet of Athena. The names of Asia-Minor sculptors who worked in Rome are indeed very few; but the influence of the Pergamon sculptures is traceable, as we shall see, in very many monuments there executed. Among

these men was Agasias of Ephesos, the master who executed the warrior once owned by the Borghese family, but now in the Louvre (Fig. 275); a figure much resembling works from the Pergamon school, and long falsely called a gladiator. Its excited motion, and detailed anatomy, have caused it to be much studied by young artists. This warrior is in the attitude of vigorous defence; and the shield-band on his arm indicates that his foe, perhaps mounted, is conceived as attacking him from above. The attitude is given with all the fire of the old masters, carried to the greatest extreme; but, compared with the Pergamon figures of the great frieze, the execution of the surface is disconnected. There seems to be a display of anatomical knowledge, but carried so far that we are tempted to think that the artist has omitted the skin; still much of this effect may be owing to restoration.[1272] Archelaos, son of Apollonios of Priene, is another of these masters from Asia Minor. His name is found on a relief called the Apotheosis of Homer, now in the British Museum, and discovered at Bovillae in Italy (Fig. 276). On the height of Parnassos reclines Zeus, accompanied by his eagle, an amusing tame bird. Below are the Nine Muses, one of them rapidly descending the mountain-side.

Fig. 276. The Apotheosis of Homer. British Museum.

In a cave follows Apollo as Musagetes, accompanied by Pythia, or a priestess, and between them the *omphalos*. On a pedestal outside of the cave, in front of a tripod, is the statue of a poet. An inscription below leaves no doubt that the seated figure, being crowned, in the lower row, is Homer, surrounded by allegorical figures. By his throne kneel small figures of the Iliad and Odyssey. The inhabited Earth, wearing a *polos*, indicating perhaps the spread of his fame, and winged Chronos, are behind his seat. An ox is being brought to the flaming altar; and Myth, a small lad, approaches with vase and plate of offering, while History scatters incense into the flames. Epic Poetry swings

high two torches. Tragedy and Comedy approach with gesture of adoration; and, lastly, comes a throng made up of Nature, as a small child, and four womanly forms, Virtue, Memory, Truthfulness, and Wisdom, — altogether an interesting allegory, but certainly unintelligible without the accompanying names. The date of this relief is a disputed point, but all are agreed that it follows the spirit of the cult of Homer developed in Alexandria under the Ptolemies. Its artistic worth is very secondary, and the forms of the Muses in it seem copied from the same originals to which many statues in our galleries may be referred.

Aphrodisias, in Asia Minor, where are still beautiful ruins from Roman times, seems to have furnished several masters for Rome and Italy. Zenon's name is found on a male portrait-statue in the Villa Ludovisi: a better *replica* in the Capitol is called Marcellus.[1273] This artist's name appears also on a draped female figure, found in Syracuse; a work which interests, however, less than its inscription, in which the master says, that, "trusting to his art, he had wandered through many cities." The fact that his statues are found in Syracuse and Rome confirms his words, and gives us a picture of the sculptor's wandering about in search of occupation.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

SCULPTURAL MONUMENTS IN THEIR HISTORICAL SEQUENCE, FROM THE GOLDEN AGE UNDER AUGUSTUS (29 B.C.–14 A.D.) TO THE FALL OF ART UNDER CONSTANTINE (313–337 A.D.).

Roman Portraiture. — Heroic Portraits. — Portraits of Ladies and Others. — Augustan Age of Portraiture. — Altar of Peace. — Portrait-Statue of Augustus. — Reliefs from Claudius' Arch. — Arch of Titus. — Trajan's Forum. — Sculptures of Trajan's Arch. — Unfinished Statue of Barbarian Captive. — Trajan's Column. — Powerful Details, but Lack of Nobility of Style. — Relief of Nike. — The Brescia Nike. — Hadrian's Liberal Patronage of Art. — Antinous Relief in Villa Albani. — Use of Hard and Costly Materials. — Decline in the Time of Antonines. — Illustrated by Portraits. — Apotheosis of Antoninus. — Activity in Time of Marcus Aurelius. — Equestrian Statue of Marcus Aurelius. — Greek and Roman Sarcophagi. — Amazon Relief. — Rapid Decline after Commodus. — Arch of Septimius Severus. — Constantine's Arch. — Sarcophagus of Helena. — Decline in Rome. — Art Tradition in Provinces.

HAVING cast a glance at the numerous uses to which sculpture was applied, and at the repetitions of ideal subjects and types received from olden times, as well as at the names of the few sculptors preserved to us, we may turn to the historic and portrait art of Roman times, which, because more accurately to be dated, may be treated in more strictly chronological sequence. This art rises and falls with the degree of political prosperity and with the healthful condition of things. Thus, under Augustus, it enjoys a high summer. After him it sinks, but rises again in a different form under Trajan. In Hadrian's time, great efforts were made to bring art up again, and with a certain degree of success. Under the Antonines it seems also to have enjoyed a feeble summer, but after that in Rome sinks rapidly.

Portraiture, both ideal and iconic, had always appealed most strongly to the Romans. Their iconic male statues fall roughly into two classes, of which the first represented the individual in the costume of daily life, wrapped in the toga, — *statuæ togatæ*. Since the Romans were exceedingly punctilious in the fall of this capacious garment, it was possible for the sculptors to keep toga statues on hand, to which a portrait-head was added as desired. Hence it is, doubtless, that the forms very seldom show any thing like individuality, that great charm in Greek portrait-sculpture. The second class, *statuæ thoracatæ*, represented the warlike Roman in armor, sometimes addressing his army, sometimes on horseback, or in a chariot. For portraiture, where the person

was considered as elevated to the rank of a semi-divine hero, were used *statuæ Achilleæ*, which represented him as nude, and often carrying a spear. In statues representing deified men, Jupiter was naturally a favorite form for the emperors, who received highest religious honors. High-born ladies of the early empire, when represented as goddesses, were usually metamorphosed into Ceres; but the forms of Venus, Vesta, Diana, and the Muses were also employed, and in later times even the wives of freedmen were represented as goddesses. Excellent portraits exist from the later days of the republic, such as those of Cicero, Julius Cæsar, and Brutus; but the golden age of historic and portrait art in Rome was the time of Augustus.[1274] As far as poetic character is concerned, not only statuary, but relief, then stood higher than ever after. A breath of Greek idealism seemed still to rest upon the world; and sometimes, indeed, the portrait is quite buried in ideality.

As best illustrating some of the art-features of this age, we may take that monument, Augustus' Altar of Peace, which has at last been rescued from oblivion by the efforts of von Duhn, and its sculptural decoration brought to receive due admiration.[1275] This *ara pacis Augusti* was erected by the senate on the Field of Mars, upon Augustus' safe return, in 12 B.C., from his wars in the North, in Spain and Gaul. Its dedication followed in February, 8 B.C.; and a cult was then established, to be observed on every anniversary-day. On the spot occupied by the Palazzo Fiano, near the Piazza S. Lorenzo in Lucina, rose this monumental altar. Its quadrilateral form resembled the Great Altar at Pergamon; and, like that much more extensive structure, it was decorated with friezes in style and composition similar to the small frieze of the Pergamon altar, although more realistic than those mythic scenes. Around its sides, as shown by reliefs recently found on the site, and others, mostly preserved in the Villa Medici, and in the Belvedere of the Vatican, a procession moved towards a sacrificial scene, which was represented on the balustrade of the steps leading up to the altar proper. This balustrade was lined with fine arabesques, in which sacred symbols, such as *tænia* and *bucrania* (skull of the ox), were intermingled. Of the procession, seven much-restored large slabs (1.60 meters high) are preserved, besides three fine pieces (1.42 meters high) from the scene of sacrifice. In the quiet dignity of a religious rite, the procession approaches the centre from each side. Here, high public functionaries, doubtless the two prætors and the senate, accompanied by lictors, advance to meet Augustus, approaching from the north side. Behind them are the ministers of the ritual, one with toga thrown over his head, as was usual with those about to sacrifice, the flute-players, and the *camilli* or acolytes bearing the *ricinium*, or fringed and embroidered fuzzy garment, carried on such occasions, and the *acerra*, or small altar, for burning incense. Men, women, and children follow, as though indicating the Roman people. The faces are better preserved, and hence the procession more interesting, on the opposite side. First to attract

attention here, is a man regal in appearance, wearing an *apex* wreathed with laurel, and turning to talk with a follower (Fig. 277). Lictors attend him; and his features are so like those of the great Augustus, on coins, that there can be no doubt that this is the conqueror himself with his retinue. His *apex* seems to indicate his sacred office, as *flamen*, or priest of offering. The slab with a *camillus*, carrying a statuette of a *lar*, has been placed by restoration falsely in Augustus' immediate surroundings, and doubtless belongs to some other part of the procession. On the slabs following are the men, women, boys, and girls of the royal family; many of the heads being clearly portraits, but so idealized

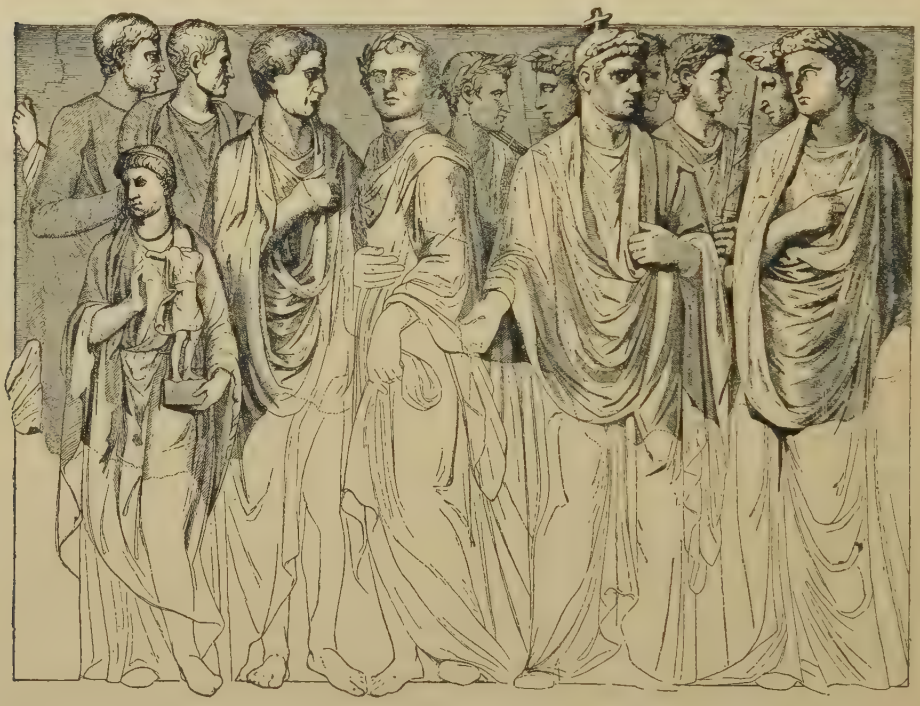

Fig. 277. Part of the Large Frieze from Augustus' Altar of Peace (Ara Pacis). Parts in Outline restored.

that it is difficult to recognize who are intended. One tall, solemn figure, with toga over his head, seems to have the lean, determined features of Julius Cæsar himself. If this be the case, then the sculptor must have intended to represent the great head of the Julian house, although long dead, as joining in the procession of his proud successor and heir, receiving honors with him. He is preceded by public officials, perhaps priests, as seems indicated by the *apex* worn by two of them. One carries in his hand a thin rod, the *commetacula*, with which the *flamen* kept away the crowd about the sacrifice. In the remainder of the procession (Fig. 278), women of dignified bearing, and children, appear, the latter wearing on their chests the *bulla*, indicating their noble birth. Possibly here are Livia, Antonia, and Octavia, with the children who should become the

great Claudius, Germanicus, and Drusus; but the portraiture is not sufficiently marked to trace a resemblance to their coins. In all these reliefs, life seems intimated, not slavishly imitated. The crowd is nowhere dense, and its composition is always clear. There are, besides, a grandeur and dignity in the forms and faces, which are not met with in similar scenes of after-times. But especially is the drapery vigorous in its sweep, and treated with a freedom and softness of surface such as was peculiar to this epoch, but afterwards degenerated into dry, stony harshness. In these compact rows, and gracefully draped figures, now looking outward, now in profile conversing with one another, how close the

Fig. 278. Part of Large Frieze from Augustus' Ara Pacis. Procession of Members of the Royal Family. Rome.

resemblance in composition and grouping to many parts of the small frieze of the Pergamon altar, where even the mantle thrown back like the toga is met with! The sculptor seems to have taken special delight in the scenes where victims for offering are represented. These reliefs are somewhat smaller than those of the procession, and, it is thought, faced the balustrade without; the inside face, as said above, being decorated with graceful arabesques. Here a lusty *victimarius* (Fig. 279), laurel-wreathed, and with form and features of an ideal athletic type, leads out the victim crowned with a palmette, and having a woollen *vitta* bound around and hanging from below its horns. In the background, a temple pleasantly fills out the space. Standing by, is a second *victimarius*, his back to the beholder, and with the hatchet on his arm. His mus-

cular shoulders are admirably expressed above his garment, which is gathered about his waist ready for his duties. Again, we see the beast's head being lowered for slaughter; and in one slab is an amusing scene, where a laurel-wreathed *camillus* carries a dish of fruit, a graceful vase, and the rich *ricinium* thrown over his arm, while a second attendant shoves forward the obstinate swine, intended for sacrifice (Fig. 280). On a rock in the background rises a temple, in which appear statues of two throned deities, doubtless Jupiter with some associate god; but what temple is meant here, we do not know. In the immediate foreground, we see a rough altar, and the branch of an oak-tree stretching its leaves into the bare space above the youths. Here, too, is the

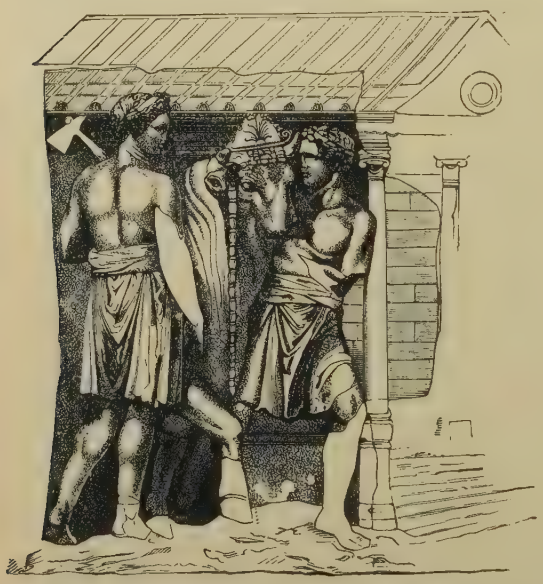

Fig. 279. Part of Small Frieze of Augustus' Ara Pacis. Beast led to Sacrifice. Rome.

Fig. 280. Part of Small Frieze of Augustus' Ara Pacis. Acolytes (Camilli) with Offerings. Rome.

same picturesque treatment, as in the small Pergamon reliefs, — the same rendering of the accessories of trees, rocks, and buildings. There is not yet, however, that following nature, in perspective and realistic detail, so characteristic of the later Roman times, especially that of Trajan, where we may read the exact topography of the scenes at last become prosaically realistic. And yet the Roman spirit shows itself in these Augustan reliefs most emphatically in the portrait element, and in the dwarfish shapes of the children, features not met with in the Pergamon reliefs.

One of the most beautiful statues preserved to us from Roman times is a portrait of Augustus, which, like the *ara pacis*, seems to have been executed shortly after the emperor's triumphant return from the North, and to have special reference to that event (Fig. 281). This marble figure was discovered

in 1863, in Livia's celebrated villa *ad Gallinas Albas*, on the Via Flaminia, near Prima Porta, and is now in the Vatican.[1276] Although the statue was broken, yet only a finger, the bit of one ear, and its sceptre, were lost; but there are signs that the left leg and extended right arm had been restored in antiquity, showing how much, even then, this Augustus was prized. Purple, red, crimson, yellow, and blue, now well-nigh faded, enlivened the surface, touching up

Fig. 281. Statue of Augustus found in Livia's Villa ad Gallinas Albas. Vatican.

the finger-rings, garments, hair, and like details. The easy gesture, shared by the whole body in its swing, may indicate addressing an army, or, more broadly, sovereign rule. How lordly the pose and expression of this man who had just restored peace, and caused prosperity to shine upon a vast dominion! The finely worked reliefs on his cuirass seem the imitation of an actual piece of metal armor. In the centre, a Roman, in the uniform of a general, with helmet, cuirass, girdle, and purple *paludamentum* hanging from his shoulders, receives a Roman standard, eagle-crowned, from one dressed in the garments of a barba-

rian, — trousers and long sleeves, — and having shaggy long hair, and bow and quiver. This latter is, no doubt, the Parthian Phraates, surrendering to Augustus a Roman standard, for which he obtained the freedom of his son, — a deed of clemency and sly diplomacy, of which Augustus was always proud. On either side sit, bent over in sorrow, the genii of two conquered nations: on the right, Gallia, marked by the boar-crowned standard resting against her; and on the left, as indicated by the general costume, the genius of the Alpine people, conquered by Augustus shortly before returning to Rome (12 B.C.). Near the neck of the cuirass appears the god Cælus, half emerging from the clouds, and holding his drapery arching above his head. Just below, three figures indicate the rising day, — Sol, in his *quadriga*, preceded by a winged female in rapid motion, pouring out a libation, and, at the same time, carrying on her shoulders a figure who holds a burning torch, and seems to regulate her bearer's motion by touching her wings: these can be only the Dawn and Morning Red preceding the sun, to indicate that, by Augustus' achievements, a day of glory had dawned. Prosperity seems symbolized by the reclining goddess Tellus, at the base of the cuirass, holding a horn of plenty, and two children at her breast. Divine blessing is represented by Augustus' tutelary deities, — Apollo with his harp and griffin, and Diana, with quiver and torch, riding her deer. In verses that call to mind such a conception of the great ruler's deeds, Horace sang of Augustus on this very return from the North, commemorated by this statue and the Altar of Peace.[1277] Examining the details, we see that the hair is more indicated than worked out; the eyebrows have no hairs marked, and the pupils are cut into the ball. The mantle, though fine in its general arrangement, shows that harshness in finishing the breaks of the folds which appears first in this Græco-Roman time. The drapery is laid across the lower part of the armor, in a pleasant manner, doubtless to suit an artistic plan, while the legs are left bare. A cupid at Augustus' feet, riding on a dolphin, may have reference to the emperor's supposed descent from Venus, but is doubtless required here as a support for the marble. The forms of the child are so defective, that we marvel that the sculptor of so fine a statue could have been contented with such accessories.

Leaving the monuments of Augustus' age, some of which, in San Remy in France, as well as many single ones in Rome, are of great interest, let us consider those of later reigns. Very many of these latter are connected with triumphal arches. Originally, the victorious generals made use of paintings, put up on scaffoldings, to depict all their marches, battles, toils, and conflicts before the gaping populace. This practice was an early one, and continued long; Titus and Vespasian, we are told, using it in direct connection with their triumphs. It was natural, that, to make these pictures enduring, they should have been translated into stone; and this seems the origin of the realistic chronicles carved on triumphal arches and columns.[1278] Of Claudius'

triumphal arch, built 51–52 A.D., a few slabs of relief, now in the Villa Borghese, are preserved.[1279] Here, in the processions represented, the simpler arrangement of the figures on Augustus' *ara pacis* has given place to denser masses four and five deep, instead of the double depth of the older frieze, which approached more closely the small frieze of Pergamon. Still later, in 81 A.D., senate and people erected to the deified Titus, called "*divus*" in the dedication, that arch which, of all existing Roman monuments of the kind, is the simplest and most harmonious (Fig. 282). Here the lines of the architecture have their suitable preponderance, while the sculpture

Fig. 282. Arch of Titus. Rome.

takes an honored and select place, — a great contrast to later monuments, on which the relief is so excessive as to become commonplace. Trajan's arch at Beneventum, covered all over with stone-pictures, well illustrates this later prodigality.[1279a] These sculptures of Titus' arch commemorate the emperor's victory over the Jews, culminating in the destruction of Jerusalem, 70 A.D., and also the emperor's apotheosis. In the midst of the *cassettes*, which line the arch spanning the road, Titus is seen borne aloft on an eagle, the symbol of his ascent to the gods. But more important far, are the two scenes which line the sides of the arch. On one side we see Titus in triumph on a chariot, drawn by prancing horses. The goddess Roma herself leads, while a winged Nike behind holds over the imperial head a significant wreath. Twelve lictors, as well as Romans dressed in the toga of peace, laurel-wreathed, and carrying

laurel-branches, make up the *cortége*. So much in perspective is the direction of Titus' chariot, that the figures appear to be coming out toward the beholder. Of great historic, as well as artistic excellence, is the continuation of the procession on the opposite side of the archway (Fig. 283). Here the line enters a gate, above which are seen indications of statuary, probably the decorations of a city portal. We see sturdy, laurel-wreathed men bringing in the booty taken from the Jews, — their seven-armed golden candlestick, and the table of shew-bread. The picturesque element, the crowding of the figures, and realism of the scene, are far more pronounced than in the reliefs of Augustus' Altar of Peace. There the rows were two deep, here much more: there, two lictors sufficed to indicate the *cortége*, here the full number are given. In Augustus' altar, there was no attempt to represent the procession as it wound through the streets: here, showing that relief is losing its unique character, and becoming a true picture in stone, a strong perspective even is given. Gracefully filling out the triangular spaces above the arch, are floating Victories, their easy, noble forms a great contrast to the Victories of later arches: instance those on the Arch of Constantine. On the keystones are sculptured the goddesses Honos and Virtus. The sacrificial scenes, forming the narrow frieze facing the façades of this Arch of Titus, are more quiet than the other reliefs, and seem hardly to be the product of the same fancy. Here beasts are led to sacrifice; soldiers march with armor and standards, carrying a reclining statue of the river Jordan, no doubt such as was borne in Titus' triumphal procession. The almost archaic monotony in the arrangement of the figures, one after the other, is much inferior to the spirited scene within the arch, and nearer the eye, of which the fire in the detail, the freedom and correctness of composition, are scarcely to be met again in existing Roman reliefs.

To the reign of Titus followed that of Domitian (81–96 A.D.), to which time belong the very high reliefs, still crowning the so-called Colonnacce at Rome, once forming a part of the luxurious decoration of the Temple of Minerva, incorporated into Nerva's Forum. Here the colossal goddess Minerva stands erect in the middle, while thirty-eight busy figures, on the frieze below, represent the household arts, — washing, weaving, spinning, and the like, — all supposed to be under her fostering care.[1280] Although the figures are much injured, they offer us a gauge of the sculptor's capabilities in representing ideal and quiet scenes; and, in their weak and scattered composition, we see how great the inferiority here to the compact and realistic rendering of the triumphal procession on Titus' arch of but a few years previous.

In the reign of Trajan (96–117 A.D.), the realism of Roman sculpture appears to have reached its height, spreading its panoramic illustrations over all the buildings then erected. Trajan's passions seem to have been war and architecture; and the number of public buildings built or restored by him,

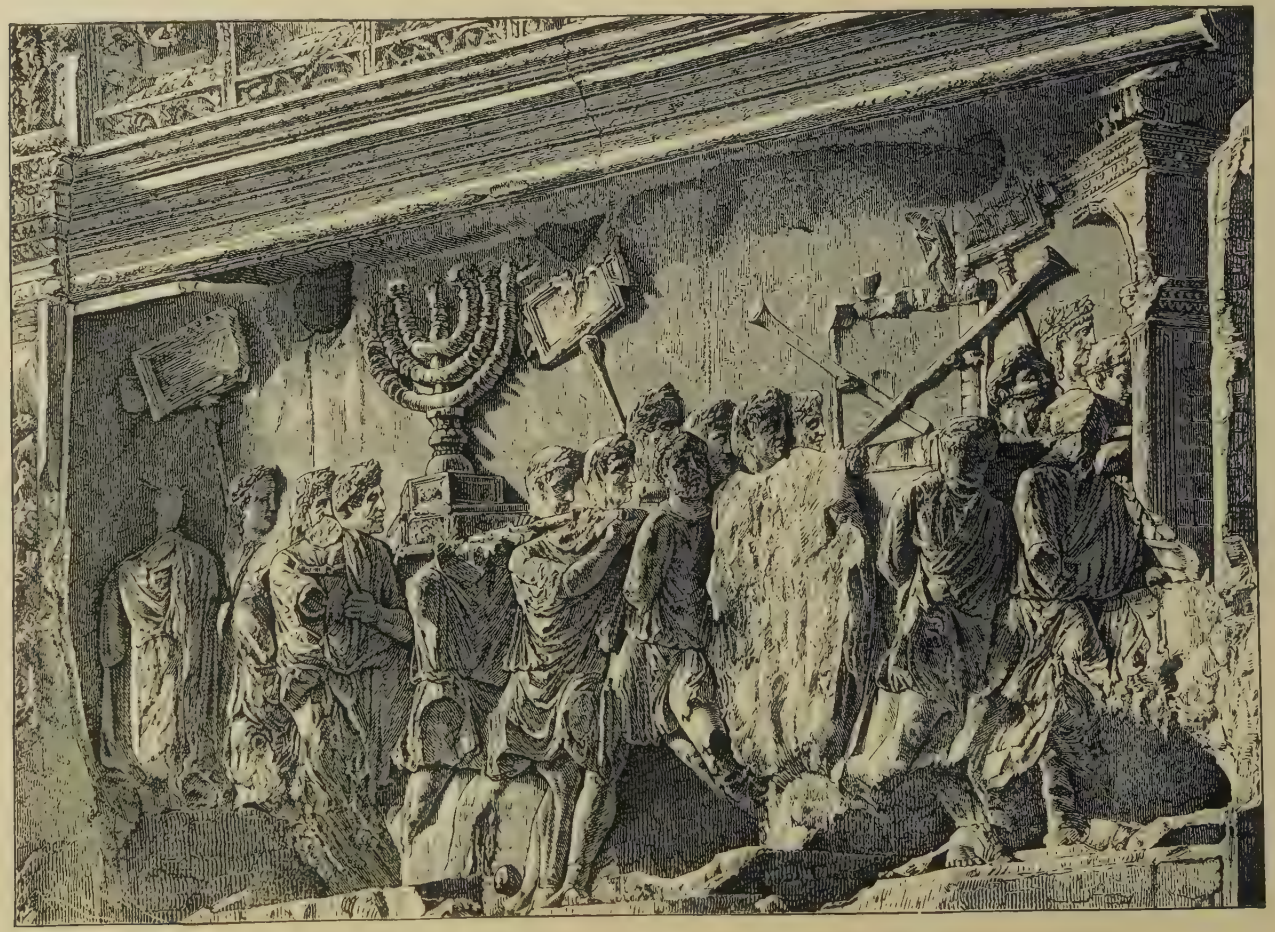

Fig. 283. Relief from Inside of Arch of Titus. Triumphal Procession entering Rome after Conquest of Jerusalem.

and bearing his name, was so great, that Constantine the Great compared Trajan's name to that flower which attaches itself to every wall; and an ancient writer, Eutropius, styled him "the architect of the world." [1281] Trajan's greatest architectural achievement in Rome was his Forum, built by the architect Apollodoros, and of which the partially excavated ruins reveal the extent and rich sculptural finish.[1282] To obtain the requisite building-site, a ridge, forty meters high, between the Capitol and Quirinal, was removed: here Trajan's Forum was laid out, between the Campus Martius, with its colonnades, statues,

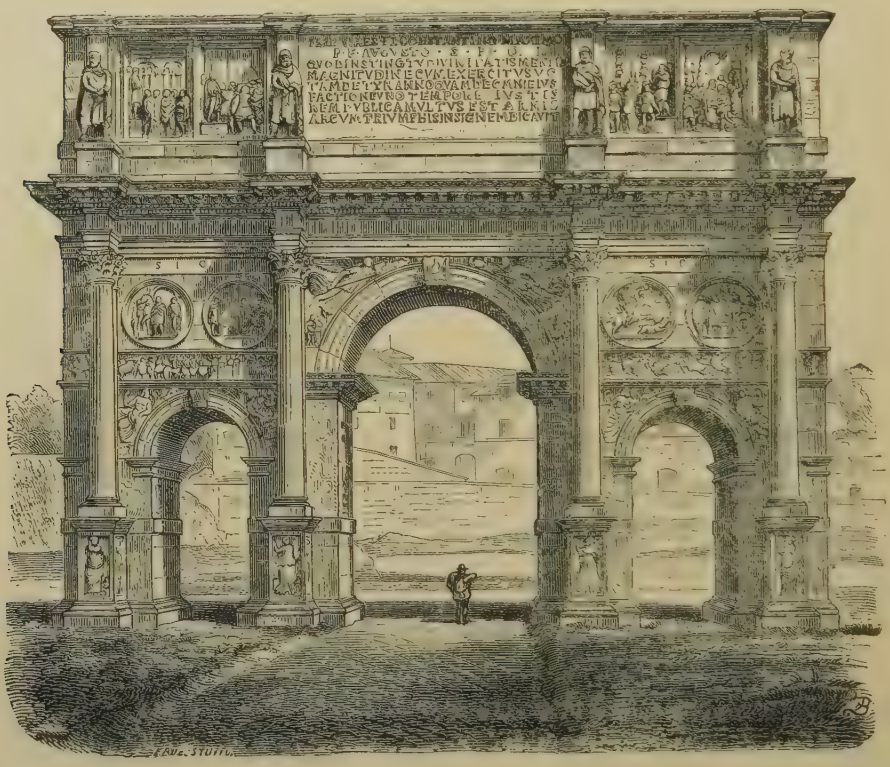

Fig. 284. Triumphal Arch of Constantine, built after Plan of Trajan's Arch (about 312 A.D.). Rome.

and sacred altars, on one side, and Augustus' Forum, with its temple to Mars Ultor, on the other. At the entrance to Trajan's Forum was a triumphal arch, which led into a great court surrounded by colonnades, the roofs of which were decorated with gilded horses and trophies taken from the enemy; architectural ornaments evidently traceable to the influence of Pergamon, where, as we have seen, similar decorations existed on the colonnades of the Great Altar. In the centre of the court stood the equestrian statue of Trajan; and across the north ran the Basilica Ulpia, its columns of sienite and *giallo antico*, and its pavement of Phrygian marble. Directly adjoining this regal basilica, was the column erected in 113 A.D., by senate and people, over Trajan's tomb, and built to

equal the height of the hill removed to make place for his Forum. On either side of the column were libraries, one for Greek and the other for Latin literature; and, opposite the emperor's grave, a temple for his worship. Of the sculptures that once finished these numerous buildings, the best-preserved are those from the triumphal arch, and those still winding about the column, which no longer bears the statue of Trajan, but that of the Apostle Peter.

This triumphal arch, erected by the senate in honor of Trajan's victorious campaigns against the Dacians, and lavishly decorated with sculptures, was torn down by Constantine; but its architecture was copied in that emperor's own arch, still standing near the Colosseum, and the new structure (Fig. 284) was adorned with sculptures taken from the one demolished. Among these are extensive sculptured slabs, eight medallions, and a number of statues. In the broad slabs now along the top (*attica*) of Constantine's arch, Trajan appears in public activity. In one scene, he appoints a vassal king; in others, he hears prisoners, addresses his army, makes offerings to the gods, enters Rome led by Roma and crowned by Victory, restores the Via Appia represented as a weeping woman, feeds poor children on the Forum, and receives a barbarian king. Some of the sculptures seem to have been sawn apart, to be applied to the new arch; but, though separated, the war-scenes at the ends of the arch are powerful in their intricate composition, their dense masses of fighting warriors, and tremendous realism, surpassing even that of the earlier reliefs lining Titus' arch. In the medallions, four of which appear in the cut, the emperor may be seen either in the hunt, or engaged in offering. Sometimes, wearing the *nimbus*, he contemplates a slain lion, or rides his fiery horse; again, like a common mortal, he attacks a bear, or starts out on the chase; four medallions witness to his piety to the gods, as he makes grateful offering to Hercules, Diana, Apollo, and Mars. The representations of the conquered people, which now surmount the columns of Constantine's arch, also torn from Trajan's monument, are tragic in their sorrow; and such figures seem to have been numerous about Trajan's buildings. Those on Constantine's arch have been sadly restored; but one unfinished statue, like them in composition, discovered in 1841, among the ruins of ancient sculptors' workshops, near the Chiesa Nuova, and which is now in the Lateran (Fig. 285), expresses not only the distress of these captives, but also their dignity and power. Its combined realism and pathos are the direct lineal descendants of the earlier art of Pergamon, which produced such works as the Dying Galatian. Only a part of the locks under the right ear, some of the fingers, and parts of the feet, required restoration; so that here we see a grand sketch approaching the last stage of completion before it left the workshop. The barbarian wears bunchy trousers, over which falls a full, girded tunic. Across his shoulders is buttoned a fur-edged mantle; and his feet are wrapped in cloths, over which shoes of coarsest make are laced. His broad shoulders and powerful frame seem to defy the conqueror's power;

but his crossed hands, his bended head, with its shaggy locks, furrowed brow, and sinister eyes, tell too clearly the story of his captivity. The top of the head is somewhat flattened, so that it is probable that this figure was intended to support some architectural member; and the back, left wholly in the rough, indicates its application against a wall. How interesting the technique of this statue, which, in its intense and lifelike realism, is a very Tiepolo in ancient art! The black points of measurement (*puntelli*) left in its surface betray a method of copying used also by modern sculptors. Similar points were used in the late time in Greece, as appears from the copy of the Athena Parthenos discovered in 1881, and from a sphinx now in the Theseion Museum at Athens.

Fig. 286. Barbarian Prisoner. Lateran Museum. Rome.

While reliefs from Trajan's structures are in the Lateran, comprising intensely realistic wrestlers and a procession of lictors, no sculptures from the time of this emperor are better preserved than those on the triumphal column, 106 feet high, surmounting the tomb where his ashes were laid away in an urn of gold, and erected by the senate and people in 113 A. D. Trajan's Column is composed of twenty-nine blocks of Parian marble, of which eight form the hollow pedestal, below which was the grave proper. Seventeen round blocks hollowed out so as to form a winding stairway within, leading to the top, make up the shaft, which is decorated externally with twenty-three spirals of relief, growing wider at the top to suit the perspective. The column was crowned originally with Trajan's portrait-statue in armor, doubtless somewhat after the manner of the statue of Augustus, and, according to coins, holding in one hand a goddess of Victory, standing on a globe.[1283] Columns surmounted by a statue had existed in older times, as at Melos, Delos, Olympia, as votive offerings, but nowhere on so extensive a scale as here. On the pedestal of Trajan's Column are represented trophies of war; calling to mind the numerous trophy sculptures of the stoa of Attalos II., at Pergamos, so well represented in the Berlin

Museum, and, no doubt, the models for that style of sculpture which came to be so widely prevalent among the Romans.

In the spiral reliefs, winding like painting on canvas around the column, are twenty-five hundred figures, executed with various degrees of excellence, the scenes represented (one hundred and fourteen in number) being from Trajan's Dacian campaigns. We see the soldiery crossing the Danube, while the river-god, whose breast is washed by the waves, looks out of his cave with astonished mien, as though called up from the depths by the tread of the intruding legions. Infantry and cavalry surround the emperor, who seems to point the way. We see the council of war, and the sending of ambassadors to the Dacian king. In accordance with the Roman custom, Trajan appears sacrificing before well-nigh every encounter. Once the scene is in front of

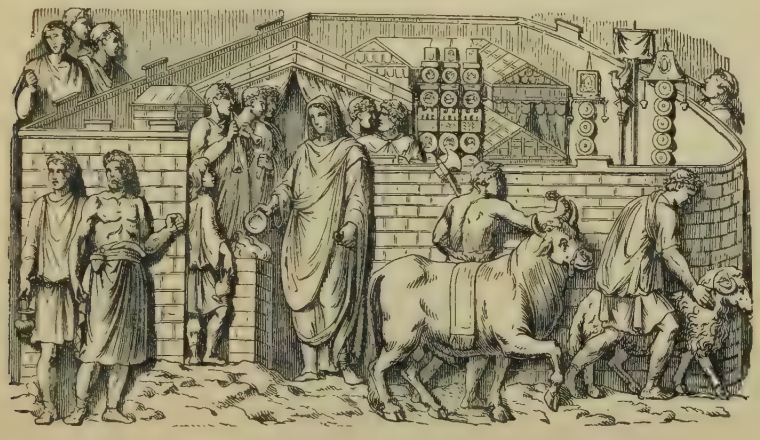

Fig. 286. Portion of Relief on Trajan's Column. Trajan Sacrificing.

the imperial tent, the *prætorium* (Fig. 286), near which are planted the standards of the cohorts. These standards are medallions of the emperor, with an eagle, a mural crown, and plaques for the images of the protecting deities of the corps. Other standards appear crowned by an eagle, or composed of rows of *paterœ:* besides, there is one equestrian banner. Before this camp Trajan, clad in the sacerdotal robes of the Pontifex Maximus, with toga over his head, and right arm bared, pours into the flames a libation from his *patera*, while in the other hand he holds the *lituus*. A long-haired *camillus*, standing with tunic girded short about the waist, and holding ready the vase of wine, looks up at the emperor-priest. The remaining participants are wreathed. One, with cheeks inflated, blows the double flute ; and four, probably the *haruspices*, or inspectors of the entrails, stand within. To the right are a strong-chested *victimarius*, with two knives in his pouch, a *camillus* with holy water, and another (not in the engraving) with incense ; while beyond are quiet participants in the rites. On the opposite side, six musicians, *bucinatores*, and *tubi-*

cines accompany the sacrifice; only one, however, appearing in the picture. To the emperor's left, we see the beasts for offering. A broad-backed *victimarius*, armed with his hatchet, leads the ox, decked with a wide band; and *camilli* (one only appearing in the cut) are busy with the other animals. Although in many types resembling figures in the sacrificial scenes from Augustus' altar, yet how tame the dealing with the animals here, when compared with those earlier reliefs! In the remaining scenes, we find camps being fortified, while Dacians look on; villages being sacked; hand-to-hand battles being fought; and a storm raging, indicated by Jupiter in the clouds, hurling thunderbolts at the enemy. Again, a spy is led before the emperor; Trajan inspects the forts, addresses the assembled army, or listens to the women with their children, who plead for their land. Again, Roman soldiers care for a wounded comrade, or push along the wagons bearing heavy catapults (Fig. 287), from which missiles are to be discharged; while Trajan, on the hill above, receives Dacian princes sent by their king. Trajan, the moving spirit, appears at least fifty times in these scenes, which are usually marked off by a tree, reaching from the bottom to the top of the relief. Sometimes the details show powerful rendering of minutiæ; yet these realistic records are prosaic and wearisome from their general lack of nobility of style and subject.

Fig. 287. Portion of Relief on Trajan's Column. Moving the Catapults.

Once, a nocturnal battle is poetically indicated by the presence of the goddess of Night with drapery on her head; and, in another place, the pleasant form of the goddess of Victory appears. She is surrounded by trophies of war, rests one foot on a helmet, and with the left arm poises on an altar at her side a shield, upon which she records the emperor's deeds.[1284] This figure is clearly taken from some great original with which the sculptor of the column was familiar, since it closely resembles the colossal Victory of Brescia (Fig. 288), — a work probably of the latter half of the first century A.D., and one of the most beautiful bronzes preserved from Roman times.[1285] This statue, in the Museo Patrio in Brescia, a more than life-size bronze (1.95 meters high), was found in 1826, in a pit to the west of the Temple of Vespasian in that city. With it were

Fig. 288. Colossal Bronze Statue of Victory. Brescia.

six bronze busts (five of Romans, and one of Julia, daughter of Titus), all of which seem at some time to have been carefully secreted. Nearly the whole surface of the beautiful Brescia statue shows oxidation; but that it once was gilded, like many of the busts, is shown by marks of gold still left on the right hand, and on the band around her head. All that was missing was the base, the helmet under her feet, and the *stilus* in her right hand.[1286] The right arm, and a part of the left wing, which were broken off, were readily re-adjusted, so that the statue gives us an excellent idea of the grace of a bronze work not tampered with by modern restoration. Her graceful *chiton* drops from her shoulder, and falls in beautiful lines about her form, which only in places has suffered lesions, and is exquisitely reflected through the folds. This figure is probably a variation on an older Aphrodite type, as appears from the pose frequently met with in figures of that goddess, the most familiar being the Venus of Melos; but especially is the resemblance to the Aphrodite type seen in the earnest and beautiful face.[1287] On this older type the master has skilfully varied, by draping her fully, putting into her hands the shield, upon which she writes, and by adjusting to her drapery the large wings, poising well the figure, thus transforming the goddess of love into a Victory. Close inspection reveals silver laurel-leaves inlaid in the band circling her gracefully bended head, and giving still deeper significance to the goddess recording triumph.

From Trajan's rich reign, when sculpture had so much life, reaching a height of realism scarcely equalled again, we pass on to consider the monuments of Hadrian's time (117–138 A.D.). Perhaps no Roman emperor was so generous a patron of the arts as this great successor of Trajan. He is said to have taken about with him an army of sculptors on all his expeditions. And the number of portraits of him, found throughout the vast extent of the Roman dominion, testify to the amount accomplished. Very costly materials were now employed, and great stress laid upon extreme finish and polish. There seems to have been a revulsion against the realistic triumphal scenes of the preceding reign, which are supplanted, for the most part, by a diligent copying of older works in an academic spirit. This spirit is evident in the statues of Hadrian's favorite, Antinous, a Bithynian youth, who was said to have lost his life for the emperor, in the Nile. After him a city was named; to him, throughout the empire, temples were built, and statues erected which bore the attributes of the gods, and were objects of worship. No less than nineteen statues of this beautiful youth exist, besides many busts.[1288] One celebrated relief (Fig. 289) in the Villa Albani, which alone was returned by Napoleon after his despoiling of that gallery, shows an attempt to idealize portrait-features, and also the elegance of the age: but all naturalistic details are smoothed away to empty regularity; the marble does not live, but is left cold and shiny. In this slightly bended head, surrounded by rich, curling locks

falling over the low forehead, in these downcast eyes, and full, luxurious lips, we see no noble self-control, no high-toned character. This is a surfeited nature, at one moment the prey of self-indulgence, at the next of moody fancies, and fully in keeping with the accounts of this spoiled imperial favorite.

As well illustrating the dangerously growing tendency of the time to emphasize the technique, and the use of most obdurate materials, may be mentioned the centaurs of the Capitol, in dark, hard marble, the work of Aristeas and Papias of Aphrodisias. Here we see brilliant polish, so that the folds are like a counterfeit of metal, as around the centaur's raised leg; and it must be

Fig. 289. Portrait of Antinous. Relief found in Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli. Villa Albani.

admitted that the sculptors of Hadrian's time in Rome spared no pains in their work. That the copying of old works increased immensely at this time, is evident, since even old Egyptian art was brought more than ever under contribution by this monarch, who seems to have had a most comprehensive taste.

With the Antonines (139 A.D., ff.) there are clear signs of the marked sinking of artistic power, especially evident in portraiture. The eyeballs begin to be rendered with a realistic roundness, which, in time, becomes most disagreeable, as we see it even in the bronze head of Marcus Aurelius (see Fig. 291), but especially in the marble heads of Septimius Severus (197–211 A.D.). The hair is no longer treated in free, bold masses, but with an attempt to give the individual locks, resulting in heavy marble conglomerates, often looking like honeycomb. The absurd headdress of ladies, piled up to a most unnatural

height, becomes in some cases a movable stone wig, to be put off and on as the fashion changed. This may be seen in busts now in the Capitoline Museum at Rome. The changing fashion of the hair, fully represented on coins, enables archæologists to establish the date of many monuments otherwise problematical. Ladies had formerly appeared as draped goddesses: now they affect the form of the nude Venus; but their portrait-faces are in strange and repulsive contrast to the traditional and ideal shape of the goddess.

Of public monuments, from the age of the Antonines, the pedestal of the granite column, put up by Marcus Aurelius and L. Verus in 161 A.D., to the memory of Antoninus Pius, still exists in the Giardino della Pigna, of the Vatican, showing the feeble attainments of the day in semi-ideal as well as in realis-

Fig. 290. Apotheosis of Antoninus Pius and Faustina the Elder. Relief from the Base of the Column of Antoninus. Vatican Gardens.

tic scenes. On three sides are funeral celebrations, most puerile in rendering; but on the fourth, in somewhat better work, doubtless because following an old type, is the apotheosis of the sainted emperor and his wife, the elder Faustina (Fig. 290). Roma, with hand raised in adoration, and Romulus and Remus nursing the wolf on her lowered shield, sits on one side; opposite to her, a youth, holding an obelisk, personifies the Campus Martius, and thus localizes the spot where the royal corpses were burned. In the air floats the colossal genius of Eternity, marked as such by his snake and ball, and bearing on his back the small images of Antoninus and of the veiled Faustina, accompanied by two eagles, the symbols of their upward-flying souls. Although, when explained, the scene is not lacking in a certain interest, still how cold and disagreeable the tremendous lines of the genius of Eternity, how little movement

in the outstretched form, and how lacking the whole in warm originality and artistic fire!

The reign of the good emperor Marcus Aurelius (161–180 A.D.) must have been favorable for the multiplication of sculptural works. But the reliefs on his column on the Piazza Colonna, illustrating his wars against the Marcomanni and neighboring tribes, are clearly but a coarse imitation of those of Trajan's Column. The healthy, agreeable realism of the earlier monument degenerates here into an approach to vulgarity; the relief which is higher is so thoroughly chronicle-like, that even stalls and the like are represented, while the spirited battles and marches of the former work give place to insupportably monotonous ones. One scene alone breaks the tedium, and that not by its beauty, but its associations. It is where the winged, bearded god, Jupiter Pluvius, with outstretched hands, pours down rain upon the thirsty Roman soldiery, as the story is, in answer to the prayer of a legion of Christian soldiery. A triumphal arch to Marcus Aurelius was torn down in 1662, by Pope Alexander VII., as it interfered with the horse-races in the Corso; but its reliefs are preserved in the Palazzo dei Conservatori. They are also, clearly, copies of the far nobler works on Trajan's arch. Here we see Marcus Aurelius offering to Jupiter, going in procession to the Capitol, freeing prisoners, and being received by Roma; but both the composition and execution fall far short of the picturesque, realistic older works.[1288a]

The equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius on the Capitol (Fig. 291) is clearly a portrait of the emperor and of a favorite battle-horse. Thanks to the prevalent belief that the horse belonged to the Christian Emperor Constantine, this bronze work has escaped destruction. Although a fine specimen of late Roman work, yet, compared with the four splendid steeds now in front of St. Mark's in Venice, which are probably from the time of Nero, how prosaic this horse and his harsh muscles, and how clear the prophecy of artistic decline!

During this time of the Antonines, there came into very general use a set of monuments, affording many attractive scenes, even though for the most part their execution is very mechanical. These are the sarcophagi, found in such numbers in Roman and other tombs. They seem, indeed, to have been kept in store, with a vacant space sometimes left for the addition of the features and inscription of the deceased who should occupy them. From the end of the republic to the time of Trajan, simple portrait-busts in a niche, alongside of each other, had formed the prevailing type for funeral monuments, possibly originating in the old wax masks of the ancestors. This simple, straightforward portraiture seems a true child of the Roman spirit, as admirably illustrated in that couple in the Vatican, called Cato and Porcia. When the custom of burial became common, in the second century A.D., this simple type was given up, for the most part, but the bust was frequently carved on the face of the sarcophagus, or the whole figure made to recline on its top. These sarcophagi were

also used in the Greek world, having been found in Athens, Lykia, Ephesos, Crete, and elsewhere; and it is illustrative of the nobler taste in Greece, that, though sarcophagi were probably not employed before the prevalence of the Roman dominion, the Greeks did not, like the Romans, sacrifice the beauty of

Fig. 291. Equestrian Statue of Marcus Aurelius. Capitol, Rome.

the architectural idea of the tomb, to an inordinate display of reliefs.[1289] The mouldings are more emphasized, and the sarcophagus itself is made to stand above ground by the roadside, a worthy successor of the tomb-chapel. Around it, most frequently, cupids twine garlands, or sport in childish grace, thoroughly subordinated, however, to the lines of the pronounced cornices. But, as was the case on Roman triumphal arches and columns, so on the sarcophagi of

Rome, and, as we have seen, also on those of Etruria, the sculpture runs riot, blotting out every line which could give framing and character to the composition. Sometimes around all four sides, but most frequently around but three, — one being set up against the wall of the grave-chamber, — run the exuberant reliefs; the subjects being taken from mythology, daily life, and war. We see prisoners led before the emperor, or a battle-scene raging between Romans and Gauls, apparently a bit transferred from some triumphal arch or column to the tomb. Such is the scene (Fig. 292) on the body of the sarcophagus,

Fig. 292. Sarcophagus. A Battle between Barbarians and Romans, and mourning or bound Prisoners. Capitol, Rome.

now in the Capitol at Rome, found in the field of Amendola, showing us a barbarian king killing himself, under the legs of his enemy's horse, as in a relief on Trajan's Column, while above, on the cover, are mourning and bound prisoners. A very few scenes from daily life, such as reaping, baking, manufacturing of oil, building, and maritime trade, or scenes from the games or the circus, appear on these resting-places of the dead.

By far the greater part of the subjects are from Greek mythology; for their instruction in which, the late sculptors, it is thought, had hand-books containing the purport of ancient epics and tragedy. It is noticeable, that Roman myth is most rarely represented, and, when so, it is usually in a thoroughly Greek garb. Among the most fruitful subjects are the stories of Adonis, the Amazons, Ares, Aphrodite, Eros, and other gods. Ares is frequently changed

to Mars, and Aphrodite to Rhea, who sometimes has the portrait-features of the deceased. Many are the scenes from Bacchic myth. The god is cared for in his childhood, he finds the sleeping Ariadne, or celebrates his Indian triumph, riding on a chariot drawn by elephants, preceded and followed by merry satyrs and mænads. Sometimes Selene finds the sleeping Endymion, or leaves him. Again, Core is carried off by Pluton. So the tragic story of Meleager or of Phaethon are frequently repeated, or we see Apollo and the Muses, while Marsyas is hung to the tree to be flayed. The fate of Niobe's family is frequently represented, as well as the stories of Alkestis and Hippolyte, Medea and Andromeda; scenes, no doubt, referring to the fleeting nature of life, and sometimes to re-union after death. Theban and Trojan myth also appear; from the latter, the Judgment of Paris, and Odysseus with the Sirens and the Kyclops, being very frequent. Favorite subjects are the labors of Heracles; and, for children's

Fig. 293. Relief on Sarcophagus. From the Villa Pamfili. Capitol, Rome.

sarcophagi, the merry play of winged Loves, who appear as workmen, as athletes, as gathering the grape and the olive, or, in the guise of gods, as wearing the attributes of Dionysos, Ares, Heracles, etc. Sometimes the story of Eros and Psyche is pictured in full detail, and very often cupids or nereids hold the medallion with the portrait of the deceased. For the artistic representation of these varied scenes, the sculptors seem to have followed traditional types, — sometimes those taken from old pictures, sometimes ideals furnished by celebrated statues and reliefs. They copied parts of friezes, pediments, and the like, grouping them to suit the occasion, and frequently repeated the same subject with slight variations. Thus, one of the most perfectly executed existing sarcophagi, that now in Vienna, and originally from Ephesos, represents an Amazon struggle, which is almost an exact copy of several figures on the frieze of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassos. The influence of the frieze of Pergamon is traceable also in many sarcophagi, the Heracles strangling a lion, and the forms of the giants being taken.

But the great importance of this world of minor art is, that it is the mirror for us of greater creations gone before, so that, through it, much of the past of sculpture, otherwise lost, may be traced. This appears in a most feebly exe-

cuted sarcophagus in the Capitol, which, besides, lets us into the philosophical ideas of the Neo-Platonists, but is unintelligible without explanatory comment (Fig. 293). On it we see, in mytho-allegorical form, the history of man. On the front, not represented in the cut, are the four elements, Vulcan, Ocean, Æolus, and Terra, and among them Amor and Psyche. Then follows (Fig. 293) Prometheus forming man, a stiff little image on his lap, into whom Athena puts the soul in the form of a butterfly. Her olive and owl accompany her, and the little living mortal stands at her feet. Above, we see two of the Fates, and beyond Athena the unhappy death-scene. Here the mortal lies dead; at his head sits Nemesis, recording his deeds; the genius of the grave leans over him, and the sombre shade stands in colossal size behind. The little butterfly-winged soul is led by Hermes to Hades; and beyond, curiously filling up the space, is the freeing of Prometheus by Heracles on Caucasos. These two figures clearly go back to a common original, probably a picture which also suggested the small group of a similar subject discovered in Pergamon (Fig. 240).

Fig. 294. Relief from the Arch of Constantine. The Emperor addresses the People.

Recurring to the historical monuments, we find that, in Rome, the decline after Commodus was very rapid. The oft-repeated portrait of Caracalla, the finest sample of which is in the Berlin Museum (Selections, Plate XX.), seems the last important production in this dark era; and in looking at its brutal features, rendered with fierce realism and power, we seem to feel that before its terrible gaze the last breath of gentleness and poetic life must have fled from Roman workshops.

The triumphal arch on the Forum, built to Septimius Severus and his sons, Caracalla and Geta, in honor of victories won over the Parthians, 201 B.C., shows great weakness of composition. Four large pictures, over which straggle feeble forms, seem set into the building; and under them a narrow strip, showing offerings and the like.

If we cast a glimpse at those parts of Constantine's arch, executed in his age, 312 A.D., we feel indeed, that the hand had lost its cunning (Fig. 284). The mighty current of artistic production is reduced to a mere muddy rivulet. Comparing the one scene (Fig. 294), where Constantine addresses the people,

with the fiery reliefs close by, from Trajan's arch, with their correct drawing, we realize this poverty of artistic power.

The tracing, step by step, this gradual decline of so great an art, is a painful task. Perhaps in no monument does this decadence appear more forcibly than in the colossal porphyry sarcophagus of St. Helena, the mother of Constantine, which, because she was a Christian saint, was brought from her mausoleum, the so-called Torre Pignattara, and now is in the Vatican. It was restored by order of Pius VI., and twenty-five stone-cutters required nine years to bring the obdurate material into its present shape. Here (Fig. 295) are the busts of the emperor and his mother, and a widely scattered battle-scene, in which the pose

Fig. 295. Colossal Sarcophagus of St. Helena, in red porphyry. Vatican.

of horses and warriors is fairly amusing, as we see them suspended in mid-air and straggling along the surface, while the unhappy enemy kneel, squat, or fall between them. Winged genii on the lid struggle with festoons; others sit at the corners, and a lion reclines on the top.

In Rome, the history of sculpture seems, from the time of Constantine, well-nigh extinct. But let us not imagine this to have been the case everywhere throughout the ancient world.[1290] Could we take up in detail its unwritten and scarcely heeded course in Gaul, in Germany, in Spain, and even in far-off Brittany, we should find, that, when Rome went down, art in the younger Western world still survived, and through the long night of darkness was waiting for a new and glorious dawn.

APPENDIX.

NOTES AND REFERENCES.

INDEX OF CITATIONS FROM GREEK AND LATIN WRITERS.

GENERAL INDEX.

TABLES OF MUSEUMS.

In the notes, many works are referred to in an abbreviated form, of which the fuller titles are as follows: —

Ann. d. Inst. — Annali dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica, Roma. From 1829, in progress.

Bull. d. Inst. — Bullettino dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica, Roma. From 1829, in progress.

Mon. d. Inst. — Monumenti dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica, Roma. From 1829, in progress.

Mitt. d. Athen. Inst. — Mittheilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts in Athen. From 1876, in progress.

Arch. Epig. Mitt. aus Oest. — Archaeologische-Epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich, Wien. From 1875, in progress.

Arch. Zeit. — Archaeologische Zeitung, Denkmäler und Forschungen, Berlin. From 1849, in progress.

C. I. G. — Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum, Berlin. From 1828.

Bull. de Corr. Hell. — Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique de l'École Français à Athènes, Paris. From 1876, in progress.

Brunn, Gesch. d. Griech. Künst. — Heinrich Brunn, Geschichte der Griechischen Künstler, vol. i., 1857: vol. ii., 1859.

Ross. Arch. Auf. — Ross, Archaeologische Aufsätze, Berlin, 1839.

Ant. Schriftq. — J. Overbeck, Die Antiken Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der bildenden Künsten bei den Griechen. Leipzig, 1868.

Gaz. Arch. — Gazette Archéologique, Paris. From 1880, in progress.

Revue Arch. — Revue Archéologique, Paris. From 1844, in progress.

Trans. of Soc. of Bib. Arch. — Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology, London. From 1872, in progress.

Sitz. Ber. d. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss. — Sitzungs-Berichte der Königlichen Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenchaften. Leipzig.

Abh. d. Kön. Bayr. Akad. d. Wiss. — Abhandlungen der Königlichen Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. München.

Sitz. Ber. d. Kön. Bayr. Akad. d. Wiss. — Sitzungs-Berichte der Königlichen Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. München.

Monats. Ber. d. Kön. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss. — Monats-Berichte der Königlichen Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin.

Abh. d. Kön. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss. — Abhandlung der Königlichen Preussischen Akademie zu Berlin.

Jour. of Hell. Stud. — Journal of Hellenic Studies, London. From 1880, in progress.

Paus. — Pausaniæ Descriptio Græciæ. Recognovit Ioh. Henr. Christ. Schubart, 2 vols., Lipsiæ (1853–54), 1875.

Plin. — C. Plini Secundi Naturalis Historiæ libri xxxvii. Recognovit L. Janus, 6 vols., Lipsiæ, 1854–65 (ed. C. Mayhoff, 1870–75).

In the spelling of Greek names throughout this work, the aim has been to give, as accurately as is consistent with the values of English letters, the ancient spelling and pronunciation; with, however, certain important exceptions. Perfect consistency in transliteration would have led, on the one hand, to grave inaccuracies, and, on the other, to absurdities. An endeavor has accordingly been made to strike the mean; and, while remaining sufficiently faithful to the original Greek, to pay due regard to the clear analogies of Englisn spelling. In the case of many proper names having well-established English forms, some of which are genuinely English, use has been made of the traditional form. This class of words includes: —

(a) Many geographical names: as, *Athens, Rhodes, Corinth, Cyprus, Pæstum, Tarentum, Ægina.*

(b) Many names of persons: (1) Mostly foreigners (i.e., non-Greek); as, *Cyrus, Horus.* (2) A few Greeks; as, *Æsop, Æschylos, Ptolemy, Lucian, Epaminondas.*

(c) A few names of objects; as, *Mausoleum.*

In the case, however, of most Greek names, especially of persons and of unfamiliar localities, when the current spelling more or less disguises or misrepresents the ancient pronunciation, transliteration has been so introduced as to indicate, at least approximately, this ancient pronunciation. At the same time, prevalent English usage has been followed as far as might be: thus, as the Greek κ has long been represented in English words by *c*, wherever the pronunciation of this *c* would be that of *k*, the familiar *c* has been retained, as in *Polycleitos*, etc.; when, however, *c* would not be pronounced as *k* (before *e, i, y*), *k* has been used, as in *Sikyon, Alkibiades.*

αι is given by *ai*, except sometimes when final, as in the suffix *idæ*, which is now English: thus, *Daidalos, Horai, Thespiai*, but *Peisistratidæ.*

ει is given by *ei;* ου, by *ou;* οι, by *oi;* ος, by *os;* ου, regularly by *u*,—as in *Heracleitos, Theseion, Dipoinos, Thukydides, Selinus.*

NOTES AND REFERENCES.

P. 4. [1]) Maspero, *Histoire ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient*, p. 2. Paris, 1875.

[2]) R. S. Poole, *The Cities of Egypt*, p. 5. "The rate of increase of the soil is about four inches and a half in a century."

P. 5. [3]) Herodotos, ii. 5. For accurate account of overflow, *vid.* Osburn, *The Monumental History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 9–14.

[4]) R. Hartmann's *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erd-kunde*, Berlin, 1872, vii. S. 437–537; and Bastian und Hartmann's *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, i. S. 23–45, S. 135–156, ii. S. 85–111. Maspero, op. c. p. 17. Lepsius, "Ueber die Annahme eines sogenannten prehistorischen Steinalters in Egypten," in *Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache*, 1870, S. 113.

[5]) Renan, *Histoire comparée des Langues Sémitiques*, 1. 2, § 4.

[6]) Bonomi, *Trans. of Soc. of Bib. Arch.* London, vol. iv. p. 251.

P. 6. [7]) Mariette, *Karnak, Étude topographique et archéologique*, p. 42.

[8]) *Records of the Past:* being English translations of the Assyrian and Egyptian monuments, published under the sanction of the Soc. of Bib. Arch., London, vol. ii. p. 70. "War of Rameses II. with the Kheta," by Professor E. L. Lushington.

[9]) Exod. i. 11. R. S. Poole, *Discoveries in Tell-el-Maschuta*, in the *Academy*, London, No. 564, pp. 6, 133, and No. 566, p. 176.

P. 7. [10]) Much of the architecture is most shabbily put together, as appears on columns where the outer coating is torn off; this feature being a great contrast to the careful workmanship in Greek buildings. *Vid.* Mariette, *Voyage dans la Haute Égypte*, p. 59.

[11]) Maspero, *Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie Égyptienne et Assyrienne*, tome i. p. 173.

[12]) Chabas, *Études sur l'Antiquité historique d'après les Sources Égyptiennes et les Monuments*, 2d ed., p. 323.

P. 8. [13]) Pharaoh born of Phtah. *Vid.* Naville, *Trans. of Soc. of Bib. Arch.* vii. p. 119.

[14]) F. Lenormant, *Les premières Civilizations*, tome i. p. 277. Instance of difference in size, kings before pylons and in courts, and the usual figures of gods in metal or stone.

[15]) F. Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire ancienne*, tome i. p. 485.

[16]) Mariette, *Catalogue général des Monuments d'Abydos decouvertes pendant les Fouilles de cette Ville*, Paris, 1880, p. 28.

[17]) *Records of the Past*, ii. p. 98. Insc. of Pianchi Mer-Amon.

[18]) Mariette, *Karnak*, p. 42.

P. 9. [19]) Maspero, *Bulletin hebdomadaire de l'Association scientifique de France*, No. 594; *Étude sur quelques Textes relatifs aux Funérailles*, Paris, 1880; "Histoire des Âmes dans l'Égypte ancienne," in *Revue Scientifique*, 1879, p. 817. P. LePage Renouf, *Trans. of Soc. of Bib. Arch.* vi. pp. 494–508.

[20]) P. LePage Renouf, *The Hibbert Lectures*, 1879, p. 128.

[21]) Pierret, *Le Dogme de la Résurrection*, p. 10.

[22]) Maspero, *Geschichte der Morgenländischen Völkern*, übersetzt v. R. Pietschmann, S. 88.

P. 10. [23]) This fact was kindly communicated to me by Dr. Samuel Birch.

[24]) Passalacqua, *Catalogue raisonné et historique des Antiquités découvertes en Égypte*, pp. 123, 151.

[25]) The hungry *eidolon* of the Greeks, and the dreaded shade of the Romans, also required, for future happiness, food and drink. Even as late as Demosthenes' time, neglect in feeding the dead was thought to bring disaster upon the whole city: *vid.* Fustel de Coulanges, *La Cité Antique*, p. 14 (Amer. ed., pp. 17, 21); and Perrot, *L'Éloquence politique et judiciare à Athènes*, pp. 359–364. The Chinaman of to-day, in response to this spirit common to all naïve peoples, puts dishes of savory viands on the graves of his deceased friends.

P. 10. [26]) Rhind, *Thebes, its Tombs and their Tenants*, chap. v.

[27]) P. Le Page Renouf, *The Hibbert Lectures*, 1879, p. 127.

[28]) Mariette, *Notice des principaux Monuments du Musée d'Antiquités Égyptiennes à Boulaq*, 3d ed. 1869, p. 25.

[29]) Mariette, *Revue Arch.* T. xix. 1869, pp. 1–22, and pp. 81–89; and *Les Mastaba de l'ancien Empire*, published by Maspero after the death of Mariette.

P. 11. [30]) Chabas, *Congrès provincial des Orientalistes Français, Compte-rendu de la première Session*, 1875.

[31]) Maspero, *Trans. of the Soc. of Bib. Arch.* vii. pp. 6–36; and *vid.* Note 19.

[32]) Such is one of the three tombs removed to Berlin by Lepsius, and put up in the Museum as it originally stood. It shows that the sculptor did not have time to complete his work.

P. 12. [33]) Mariette, *Notice des principaux Monuments à Boulaq*, 3d ed., p. 28.

[34]) Among these are Nos. 590–594 Salle de l'Ouest, and Nos. 772–776 Salle de l'Est, of the Museum at Boulaq.

[35]) Dümichen, *Resultate der auf Befehl S. Maj. des Königs Wilhelm I. v. Preussen im Sommer 1868 nach Aegypten entsendeten archaeologischen-photographischen Expedition*, S. iii. Taf. xi.

[36]) Dümichen, op. c. Taf. viii.–xv.

P. 13. [37]) Mariette, *Tombes de l'ancien Empire*, p. 17.

[38]) *Vid.* Note 31.

[39]) *Records of the Past*, xii. p. 123. This papyrus (i. 371 of Leyden) was found by Maspero in a Theban tomb. "To transmit the writ to Ament, the aggrieved husband probably read it first aloud, and then tied it to her statue." By this we are reminded of a curious custom existing in the Church of the Jesuit College at Rome, where St. Aloysius is buried. On his festival it is usual for the college-students to write letters to him, which are placed on his altar sealed, and afterwards burned unopened. *Vid.* Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, vol. ii. p. 111.

[40]) Miss Amelia B. Edwards in *Academy*, Feb. 18, 1882, where the pyramid of Meidoom is proved to be Snefroo's tomb.

[41]) De Rougé, *Recherches sur les Monuments que l'on peut attribuer aux six premières Dynasties de Manéthon*, p. 41.

P. 14. [42]) "Le Monument du Sphinx à Gizeh," par Compte du Barry de Merval: *Revue Archéologique*, nouv. ser., tome xxvi. pp. 237–255; and Mariette for history of the Great Sphinx, *Questions relatifs aux nouvelles Fouilles*.

P. 15. [43]) Maspero, *Hist. anc. des Peup. de l'Orient*, p. 29.

P. 15. [44]) Mariette, *Notice des principaux Monuments du Musée de Boulaq*, p. 120.

[45]) Maspero, op. c. p. 27.

[46]) Mariette, *Karnak*, p. 16.

[47]) Arundale, Bonomi, Birch, *Gallery of Antiquities selected from the British Museum*, p. 49. P. Le Page Renouf, *The Hibbert Lectures*, 1879, p. 237.

[48]) Compare Michelet, *L'Oiseau*, the chapter on Epuration.

P. 16. [49]) *Vid.* Note 47.

[50]) Mariette, *Notice des principaux Monuments du Boulaq*, p. 116.

[51]) Naville, *Trans. of Soc. of Bib. Arch.* iv. pp. 1–8.

P. 17. [52]) Maspero, *Gesch. d. Morg. Völkern*, über. v. R. Pietschmann, S. 50, Anm. 1. Naville, *Trans. of Soc. of Bib. Arch.* iv. p. 8, about King Ra in the tomb of Seti I.

P. 18. [53]) Soldi, *La Sculpture Égyptienne*, p. 48; and *Les Arts méconnus*, p. 408.

P. 19. [54]) Rhonés, *Promenades aux Musée de Saint-Germain*, p. 156. Chabas, *Études sur l'Antiquité historique*, etc., 2d ed., pp. 376, 396. Soldi, *Les Arts méconnus*, pp. 492, 494. Villiers Stuart found agates about tombs of very early dynasties at Meidoom: *vid.* his *Nile Gleanings*.

[55]) No monuments show color more brilliantly than do the statues in the Museum at Boolak.

P. 20. [56]) Maspero's divisions of Egyptian history are here followed: *vid.* Maspero, *Hist. des Anc. Peup.* etc., pp. 52, 53.

P. 21. [57]) F. Lenormant, *Les premières civilizations*, tome i. p. 195.

P. 22. [58]) Mariette, *Notice des principaux Monuments à Boulaq*, 2d ed., pp. 207–209. The hawk of Horus and ibis of Thoth, restored in this temple, were in wood; the statue of Isis was principally of gold and silver; and that of Horus was of wood with eyes of stone, p. 205.

[59]) Mariette, op. c. No. 994.

P. 23. [60]) Mariette, *Voyage dans la Haute Égypte*, p. 47.

P. 24. [61]) *Vid.* Note 58.

P. 26. [61a]) This dwarf is well illustrated by Rayct, *Monuments de l Art Antique*. Compare also Pleyte, *Chapitres Supplementaires du Livre des Morts;* and Miss Amelia B. Edwards, *Academy*, 1883, June 23, p. 441.

[62]) These statues are represented unitedly in Mariette's *Album du Musée de Boulaq*, pl. 20.

P. 27. [63]) M. de Longperier, *Compte-rendu de l'Acad. des Insc. 1875*, p. 375. This choice bronze is now owned by the Louvre. *Academy*, June 16, 1883.

P. 29. [64]) No. 35 North Vestibule, British Museum.

P. 30. [65]) Mariette, *Album du Musée de Boulaq*, Cairo, 1871, pl. 12.

P. 31. [66]) Rhoné, *L'Égypte à petites journées*, p. 64. Attempts to render a truer profile may be seen

in Mariette's *Voyage dans la Haute Égypte*, tome ii. pl. 52; and in Rosellini, *I Monumenti dell' Egitto e della Nubia*, tomo primo, No. cxliv.

P. 32. [67]) Sumptuous illustrations of all this are to be found in Prisse d'Avenne's *L'Histoire de l'Art Égyptienne*, Paris, 1879.

[68]) Maspero, *Moniteur Égyptien*, mars 15, 1881.

[69]) In *Ordnance Survey of Sinai*, by S. H. James, vol. iii., Dr. Samuel Birch treats of photograph No. 5 representing Khoofoo and Thoth.

P. 33. [70]) *Stèle* of Thothmes about restoration of Sphinx: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. Taf. 68; *vid.* Note 58.

[71]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 77. "Est autem sax naturali elaborata . rubrica facies monstri colitur."

P. 35. [72]) It is remarked by travellers, that the population in the vicinity of Lake Menzaleh, in Northern Egypt, has, until recently, been exempt from taxation, on the plea of being strangers in the land. This circumstance, in connection with the difference of their type from that of the rest of the Egyptians, has led some scholars to consider them descendants of the Hyksos strangers. *Vid.* Ebers, *L'Égypte*, T. i. p. 108 (Eng. ed.). The influence of the Asiatic Orient on Egypt in art is shown in v. Sybel's *Kritik des Aegyptischen Ornaments*, Marburg, 1883. By a comparison of the minor motives of decoration appearing in the New Theban empire with those of the older times, he shows that the Egyptians, by their great conquests, doubtless became acquainted with the more voluptuous forms of the Orient, and were greatly influenced by its metallo-plastic art.

P. 36. [73]) Mariette, *Abydos, Description des Fouilles executées sur l'Emplacement de cette Ville*, tome i. 1862, tome ii. 1880.

P. 37. [74]) Wilkinson, *The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*. New ed., corrected by S. Birch, vol. ii. p. 305.

[75]) R. Pietschmann, *Der Aegyptische Fetischdienst*, S. 155. Birch, *Archæological Journal*, No. 156. Maspero, *Recueil de Travaux*, tome ii. p. 12. The majority of the *shabti* date from the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (the seventh century B.C.); but a few, it is believed, mount up to as high an antiquity as the Twelfth Dynasty.

P. 39. [76]) Herodotos, ii. 149.

[77]) Mariette, *Karnak*, pp. 42–45.

P. 41. [78]) *Verzeichniss der Aegyptischen Alterthümer des Berliner Museums*, Nos. 8–10.

[79]) Mariette, *Revue Arch.*, tome vi. p. 299. A fine cast of this group is in the Berlin Museum.

P. 42. [80]) For more exact date of Rameses II., *vid.* R. S. Poole, *Academy*, March 13, 1883. Lauth, *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung*, Feb. 14, 1882, gives 1325 B.C., in the reign of Rameses III., as the only certain date in the Nineteenth Dynasty.

P. 43. [81]) Prisse d'Avennes, *Histoire de l'Art Égyptienne*, p. 417. The colossal red-granite fist of one of these statues is now in the British Museum.

P. 44. [82]) These later reliefs are fully illustrated in Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, 1833–1845. Rosellini, *I Monumenti dell' Egitto et de la Nubie*, 1832. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien nach den Zeichnungen der im 1842–1845 ausgeführten wissenschaftlichen Expeditionen erläutert*, Berlin, 1849.

P. 46. [83]) *Vid.* Miss Amelia B. Edwards, *Academy*, June 23, 1883.

P. 49. [84]) Mariette, *Catalogue général Abydos*, p. 28.

P. 52. [85]) Mariette, op. c. p. 2.

P. 53. [86]) Mariette, *Karnak*, p. 16. Nearly every Egyptian museum has some figures of this lion-headed goddess from Karnak.

[87]) Mariette, *Catalogue général Abydos*, p. 2.

[88]) Mariette, op. c. p. 3.

P. 56. [89]) This relief is most beautifully represented in Mariette's *Voyage dans la Haute Égypte*, tome i. pl. 23.

P. 58. [90]) Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, tome i. p. 630 (Eng. ed., *History of Egyptian Art*, vol. ii. p. 177).

P. 59. [91]) Maspero, "The *Stèle* C. 14 of the Louvre," *Trans. of Soc. of Bib. Arch.* v. pp. 555–562.

[92]) Brugsch, *Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache*, 1876, Sept. und Oct.

P. 60. [93]) Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Abtheilung iii. Taf. 100. My thanks for the explanation of the accompanying hieroglyphics, which are only partially represented in the cut, I owe to Dr. Ludwig Stern.

P. 61. [94]) *Vid.* Note 53.

P. 62. [95]) *Vid.* Note 74.

P. 65. [96]) Champollion, *Lettres écrites d'Égypte et de Nubie*, 2d ed., 1866, p. 41.

P. 66. [97]) Mariette, *Album du Musée de Boulaq*, pl. 10.

P. 67. [98]) Soldi, *La Sculpture Égyptienne*, p. 90. Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecs et Romains*, s. v. Canon.

[99]) Prisse d'Avennes, *Hist. de l'Art Égypt.* p. 251.

P. 71. [100]) The principal works on Mesopotamia and its art are Botta et Flandin, *Monuments de Ninivé*, Paris, 1849. Layard, *The Monuments of Nineveh*, 1849, London; *Nineveh and its Remains*, 1850, London; *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*, 1853, London. Place, *Ninivé et l'Assyrie*, avec essais de restauration, par F. Thomas, Paris, 1865. Loftus, *Travels and Researches in Chaldæa and Susiana* in 1849–1852, London, 1857. Fresnel, Thomas,

et Oppert, *Expédition Scientifique en Mesopotamie*, de 1851 à 1854, Paris, 1860. Rassam, *Trans. of Soc. of Bib. Arch.* vii. pp. 37–58. Ledrain, *Les Antiquités Chaldéennes du Louvre*, desc. de la coll. Sarzec, Paris, 1883.

P. 71. [101]) G. Rawlinson, *The Five Great Monarchies of the Eastern World*, vol. i. p. 7.

P. 72. [102]) Rev. A. H. Sayce, *Babylonian Literature*, p. 6.

[103]) Layard, *Recherches sur le Culte de Mithra*, pl. 62. 1, 2; 17. 2; 31. 5. *Discoveries in Nineveh*, etc., 1853, p. 343. King, *Antique Gems and Rings*, ii. pl. 3, 6. 1 Sam. v. 4. Furtwängler, *Die Bronze-funde aus Olympia, Abhandlung d. Kön. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1879, S. 96–99.

P. 73. [104]) G. Smith, *The Chaldæan Account of Genesis*, ed. by Rev. A. H. Sayce, 1880, p. 175.

[105]) Hommel, *Academy*, Feb. 25, 1882.

[106]) *Trans. of Soc. of Bib. Arch.* iv. p. 268.

[107]) For Assyrian idea of future life, see Sayce, *Babylonian Literature:* and Boscawen, "On the Assyrian Belief in the Immortality of the Soul," *Trans. of Soc. of Bib. Arch.* v. p. 565, where we are told that "reclining on couches," "drinking pure liquors," and "feeding on rich foods," are the pastimes of a future existence. Concerning Izdhubar Legends, told on Tigris, *vid.* G. Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 168.

[108]) Rev. A. H. Sayce, *Babylonian Literature*, p. 33.

P. 74. [109]) F. Lenormant, *Gaz. Arch.* tome ii. p. 131, tome iv. p. 22. Talbot, *Records of the Past*, v. p. 161, "War of Seven Evil Spirits against Heaven."

[110]) Soldi, *Revue Arch.*, nouv. ser., tome xxvii. p. 115.

[111]) Max Duncker, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, 3d ed. Bd. i. S. 272.

[112]) *Vid.* F. Lenormant, Zarpanit, *Gaz. Arch.* tome iv. p. 74, and Nanæa, tome ii. p. 12. Heuzey, Les Terres-cuites Babyloniennes, *Revue Arch.* Jan. 1880.

P. 75. [113]) De Sarzec's explorations noticed, *Revue Arch.* July and Nov. 1881, by Heuzey. *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, tome xxiv. p. 496, by Ménant. M. de Sarzec's report of his explorations is still in preparation.

P. 76. [114]) Oppert, *Revue Arch.* Nov. 1881, p. 271. M. Rassam, in 1883, sent some alabaster figures from Chaldæa to England, which are of great interest in further indicating an intercourse between Egypt and Mesopotamia at a very early date. Among these is a female figure with a lotos-blossom in each hand held to the breast, and another figure with hair dressed in the shape of an Egyptian wig. Very archaic cuneiform inscriptions in Accadian, on these figures, teach us that their age must be very great.

P. 76. [115]) Solomon, in like manner, seems to have been proud of the trees brought from afar for his temple.

P. 77. [116]) Similarly draped figures are seen in a painting of one of the tombs of the Twelfth Dynasty, at Beni-hassan, where strangers are evidently represented coming from a far-off land to an Egyptian Pharaoh. *Vid.* Prisse d'Avennes, *Histoire de l'Art Égypt.* pl. cix.

P. 79. [117]) One of these bronzes has been published by Pinches in the *American Art Review*, vol. i. p. 54.

P. 80. [118]) Layard, *The Monuments of Nineveh*, 1849, p. 120.

P. 81. [119]) "The Monument and Inscriptions on the Rocks at Nahr-el-Kelb," Boscawen, *Trans. of Soc. of Bib. Arch.* vii. p. 337.

P. 82. [120]) F. Lenormant, *Les Origines de l'histoire*, p. 109.

P. 84. [121]) All the Assyrian sculptures in the United States are mentioned and discussed by Rev. Selah Merrill, in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1875, April, p. 343.

P. 86. [122]) Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, 1850, p. 125.

[123]) Schrader, *Monatsbericht der König. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin*, Mai, 1881, S. 426: "Ladanum und Palme auf den Assyrischen Monumenten."

P. 88. [124]) A. Milchhöfer, *Die Anfänge der Kunst in Griechenland*, Leipzig, 1882, p. 86.

[125]) Semper, *Der Stil*, i. S. 348.

P. 89. [126]) Published by T. G. Pinches, *Trans. of Soc. of Bib. Arch.* viii. p. 85; and *American Art Review*, i. p. 54.

P. 90. [127]) Victor Place, *Ninivé et l'Assyrie*, Paris, 1865, tome i. p. 12.

P. 91. [128]) Babel means "gate of god," and not "confusion;" *vid.* F. Delitzsch, *Athenæum*, May 12, 1883, p. 604. In Mosul, the gate, even to the present, has preserved its significance; the governor of the city there hearing cases, and receiving foreign guests, as he did M. Place.

P. 93. [129]) F. Delitzsch, l. c. M. Place, after thoroughly examining this most interesting gate, took it to pieces to remove it to the Louvre. Place, *Ninivé*, etc., tome i. p. 172. Our picturesque illustration (Fig. 46) was produced by the combination of the architectural drawing, in Place, *Ninivé*, tome iii. pl. 11, and the natural perspective of two Khorsabad bulls in the British Museum.

P. 94. [130]) Place, *Ninivé*, etc., tome iii. pl. 31 *bis*.

[131]) Philostratus speaks of such carpets, and states that they were in time supplanted by metal reliefs; in Babylon they were to be seen side by side. From such patterns it was but a step to

the use of stone incrustations. Philostratus, *Apoll. Tyan.* i. 25, p. 15 (34 Olear., vol. i. p. 28 Kayser).

P. 97. [131a]) Illustrated in Place, *Ninivé*, etc., tome iii. pl. 57. 2.

P. 104. [132]) The only illustrations of this art were long Coste et Flandin, *Voyage en Perse;* and Texier, *Description de l'Arménie et de la Perse*, etc. A few casts are in the British Museum; but a vivid and accurate idea of the monuments at Persepolis may at last be gained from the heliotype reproductions published in Nöldeke's *Persepolis: Die Achæmenischen und Sassanidischen Denkmäler*, etc., phot. v. F. Stolze. 1882, 1883, Berlin.

P. 105. [133]) A small cut is to be seen of this imposing relief, in Coste et Flandin's *Voyages;* and it is reported that casts are being taken for the Berlin Museum. *Records of the Past*, vii. p. 85, Median version of the Behistan inscription.

P. 108. [134]) Semper, *Der Stil*, i. S. 272.

P. 111. [135]) Max Duncker, *Gesch. des Alterthums*, i. S. 339 (Eng. ed.).

[135a]) For a most interesting summary of what is known of ancient dyes, *vid.* "Alt und Neue Farbstoffe," by V. v. Müller, *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 1882, Beilagen 34, 35.

P. 112. [136]) Gen. xxiii. 16, xvii. 12, 27.

[137]) Movers, *Die Phönicier*, iii. S. 258, 268. Precious stones from Babylon, Ezek. xxvii. 16, 19.

[138]) *Odyssey*, xv. 454.

P. 113. [139]) Helbig, "Cenni sopra l'arte Fenicia." *Ann. d. Inst.* 1876, p. 13, and 1879, p. 5.

[140]) 1 Kings v. 6.

[141]) Renan, *Mission de Phœnicie*, Paris, 1864–1874; and *Musée Napoléon, choix des monuments antiques pour servir à l'histoire de l'art en Orient et Occident*, par A. de Longperier, pl. xvi., xvii.

[142]) Furtwängler, *Die Bronze-funde aus Olympia*, S. 47, and *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 334. Griffins, pub. Longperier, *Musée Nap.* pl. xviii.

P. 115. [143]) 1 Kings x. 18, xxii. 39.

[144]) Helbig, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1876, p. 45.

[145]) The objects found in the Regulini Galassi tomb are published, Grifi, *Monumenti di Cere Museo Gregoriano*, i. 11, 15–20, 62–67, 75–77, 82–85. Those in the Grotta d'Iside, Micali, *Monumenti inediti*, etc., Tav. 4, 5, 1, 2, 6–8; Braun, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1843, p. 350; *Bull. d. Inst.* 1844, p. 106. Tombs in Veio published, Garrucci, *Archeologia*, xli. (1867) i. p. 187, Tav. iii.–xiii. Tombs in Palæstrina, Braun, *Bull. d. Inst.* 1855, Tav. xlvi. Henzen, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1855, p. 74. Brunn, *Mon. d. Inst.* viii., xxviii.; *Ann. d. Inst.* 1867, pp. 407–421, Tav. d'agg. G, H. Helbig, *Bull. d. Inst.* 1876, pp. 117–331; *Mon. d. Inst.* x. Tav. xxxi.–xxxiii.; *Ann. d. Inst.* 1876, pp. 197–257; *Mon. d. Inst.* xi. 2; *Ann. d. Inst.* 1879, p. 6, Tav. d'agg. C. For Chiusi tombs, *vid.* Helbig, *Bull. d. Inst.* 1874, pp. 203–210. For Poggio alla Sala, Helbig, *Bull. d. Inst.* 1877, pp. 193–196; *Ann. d. Inst.* 1878, pp. 296–301, Tav. d'agg. Q, R. Sovana monuments, Helbig, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1876, p. 48. Salerno monuments, Helbig, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1876, p. 8; *Mon. d. Inst.* ix. Tav. xliv. 1.

P. 115. [146]) Besides the nineteen bowls found on European soil, may be noted the thirteen found at Nimroud; *vid.* Milchhöfer, *Anfänge*, etc., S. 147, Anm. 1. Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, 2d ser. pl. 57, 58. Clermont-Ganneau, *L'Imagerie Phœnicienne*, 1880, pl. i.–vi. Furtwängler, *Bronze-funde aus Olympia*, S. 56. Age of bowls, Helbig, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1876, p. 45.

P. 116. [147]) Concerning ivories, *vid. Das Kuppel-Grab bei Menidi*, by Lolling. At Spata, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* ii. S. 261, and plates; and *Bull. d. Corr. Hell.* ii. pl. xii. Furtwängler, *Die Bronze-funde*, etc., S. 54. Salzmann, *Nécropole de Camirus.*

[148]) *Estratto dalle Notizie degli Scavi nel mese di Aprile* 1882. "Le Necropoli antichissimi di Corneto-Tarquinia, nuova memoria di Gherardo Ghirardini," p. 74, about the Asiatic elements. Silver vase possibly imitated in Etruria, Inghirami, *Monumenti Etruschi di Chiusi*, iii. 20. Remarkable glazed terra-cotta wares, with reliefs, have recently been discovered on the Esquiline, and noticed in other parts of Italy, and must be the work of the Phœnicians: *vid.* Dressel, etc., *Bull. d. Inst.* 1882, p. 39; and *Ann. d. Inst.* 1882, pp. 5–58, Tav. d'agg. A–G; and *Mon. d. Inst.* xi. Tav. xxxvii.

P. 117. [149]) Helbig, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1877, p. 397; and *Mon. d. Inst.* x. Tav. xxxix *a.*

[150]) Duncker, *Gesch. des Alterthums*, ii. S. 43 (Eng. ed.).

P. 118. [150a]) *Vid.* the *Century Magazine*, Aug. 1882, p. 633, letter from Mr. Savage; as well as three communications to the *New-York Times* of March 12, 14, and 24, 1882, by the same scholar, who has had the best opportunity for studying this collection. *Vid.* also, *Monuments Antiques de Chypre, de Syrie, et d'Égypte*, by Georges Colonna-Ceccaldi, Paris, 1883, consisting of articles written before 1879 to the *Revue Archéologique*, and to other journals.

P. 120. [151]) *Vid.* Note 146.

[152]) Renan, *Rev. Arch.* 1879, p. 322.

P. 121. [153]) "Statue colossale découverte à Amathonte par al Sorlin-Dorigny," *Gaz. Arch.* 1879, p. 230, pl. xxxi.

[154]) Furtwängler, "Aus Delos," *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 333.

P. 123. [155]) A. Duncan Savage, *Handbook No. 3 of*

the Metropolitan Museum, "Sculptures of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities."

P. 123. [155a]) The subjection of Cypriote, like Phœnician, art, to every influence with which it came in contact, has long been recognized. Thus, the triumphant course of archaic Greek art, during the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., is most evident in the stone monuments of Cyprus, where, although conception and subjects remain Cypro-Phœnician, the artistic rendering imitates the Greek. In the sarcophagi, the Greek element is clearly battling with the Egyptian, and in the statues is gaining a control over the native element. *Conf.* Ceccaldi, *Rev. Arch.* 1875, p. 28; and Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 334, 335.

[156]) Papayamakis, *Gaz. Arch.* tome iii. p. 118; Æschylos, *Suppl.* 282. The great age of these Cypriote antiquities was propounded in *The Antiquities of Cyprus*, photographed by Stephen Thomson, introduction by Professor Sidney Colvin, London, 1873.

[157]) M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* vi. S. 194.

P. 124. [158]) Milchhöfer, *Die Anfänge der Kunst in Griechenland*, S. 108.

P. 125. [159]) E. Curtius, *Die Ionier und die Ionische Wanderungen*, S. 44.

[160]) Duncker, *Gesch. des Alter.* ii. S. 473: *vid.* Rev. A. H. Sayce, *Trans. of Soc. of Bib. Arch.* vii. p. 273.

[161]) George Smith, *History of Assyria*, p. 146.

P. 126. [162]) *Vid.* Perrot, Guillaume, et Delbet, *Exploration Archéologique de la Galatie et de la Bithynie*, Paris, 1872.

[163]) These are well illustrated by Ramsay in the *Jour. of Hell. Stud.* vol. iii., plates.

[164]) *Bull. d. Corr. Hell.* iii. p. 128, pl. iv., v.; "Notes sur des Bijoux d'Or trouvés en Lydie," par A. Dumont. *Conf.* most valuable notes by Professor Sayce, *Academy*, Aug. 25, 1883, p. 134.

[165]) Percy Gardner, *The Types of Greek Coins*, p. 4; and Barclay V. Head, in *Synopsis of the Contents of the British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals: A Guide to the principal Gold and Silver Coins of the Ancients*, with 70 plates, pl. i. 1, 2, 3, p. 4.

[166]) Rev. A. H. Sayce, *Trans. of the Soc. of Bib. Arch.* vii. pp. 248–293, "The Monuments of the Hittites;" pp. 294–308, "Cuneiform Inscription of Tarkondêmos."

[167]) Rev. A. H. Sayce, op. c. pp. 250, 261; and *Academy*, Aug. 25, 1883, p. 135.

[168]) Herodotos, i. 76.

P. 128. [169]) Rev. A. H. Sayce, op. c. p. 248.

[170]) Perrot, etc., *Exploration en Galatie*, etc., pl. 67.

P. 129. [171]) Herodotos, ii. 106.

P. 130. [172]) Bryant's translation of Il. xxiv. 610; Paus., viii. 2. 5–7, and i. 21. 3. Ramsay, *Jour. of Hell. Stud.* iii. p. 33, "Studies in Asia Minor," etc. E. Curtius und Hirschfeld, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Kleinasiens*, S. 83. B. Stark, *Nach der Griechischen Orient*, S. 250. This so-called Niobe is illustrated in the *London News*, Jan. 1880, from a drawing by Simpson.

P. 131. [173]) *Proc. of Soc. of Bib. Arch.* No. xx. Jan. 1881. The recent discovery of the cartouche of Rameses II. shows that the approximate date assigned to these monuments (the fourteenth century B.C.) by Professor Sayce is correct: *vid.* Sayce, "The Niobe of Sipylos," *Academy*, July 28, 1883, p. 68.

[174]) Rev. A. H. Sayce, *Trans. of Soc. of Bib. Arch.* vii. pp. 264, 265, 268, 269, 306.

[174a]) Sayce, op. c. p. 248, and Lushington, *Records of the Past*, ii. p. 65: "The War of Rameses II. with the Kheta."

P. 132. [175]) Ramsay, *Jour. of Hell. Stud.* iii. p. 33, and accompanying plates.

P. 138. [176]) Kuhn, *Herabkunft des Feuers*, Berlin, 1859; and *Zeitschrift für vergleichenden Sprachforschungen*, i. 455.

P. 139. [177]) Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Hausthiere in Ihrem Uebergang aus Asien nach Griechenland*, S. 21.

[178]) Milchhöfer, *Die Anfänge*, etc., p. 73.

[179]) Herodotos, ii. 52; and Milchhöfer, op. c. S. 144. Hesiod, *Op. et D.* 252, 253.

P. 140. [180]) Abel in *Pauly's Encyclopädie*, v. 1579.

[181]) The passages in the ancients concerning the Dactyli and Telchines are collected in *Antik. Schriftq.*, by J. Overbeck, Leipzig, 1868, Nos. 27–56.

[182]) Milchhöfer, *Die Anfänge*, etc., S. 133.

P. 141. [183]) Heinrich Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künstler*, Stuttgart, 1857, Bd. i. S. 14.

[184]) *Iliad*, xviii. 590, 591.

[185]) Paus., ii. 4. 5.

P. 142. [186]) For all the tombstones, *vid.* Schliemann's *Mykene*, Nos. 24, 140–142, 146–150. For papers on the Mykene antiquities, *vid.* Milchhöfer, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* i. S. 308–328. U. Köhler, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iii. S. 1–13. C. T. Newton, *Essays on Art and Archæology*, p. 246.

[187]) *Vid.* Capt. Steffen's report to the Arch. Ges. Berlin, of his survey of Mykene; *Philologische Wochenschrift*, 1882, No. 51; and Adler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1883, S. 99.

P. 143. [188]) Thiersch, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iv. S. 179.

P. 144. [189]) Stamakatis, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iii. S. 182.

[190]) *Das Kuppel-Grab bei Menidi*, herausg. v. dem Deutschen Archaeologischen Institut in Athen, 1880.

[191]) Schliemann, *Orchomenos*, p. 30; and L. v. Sybel, *Kritik des Aegyptischen Ornaments*, Marburg, 1883, S. 21, and 39 Anm. 6.

P. 144. [192]) Milchhöfer, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* ii. 261–276. Dumont, *Bull. d. Corr. Hell.* ii. p. 182, pl. xvi.-xviii., and Ἀθήναιον, vi. pl. 1–6.

[193]) *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* v. S. 143. Prof. v. Duhn kindly informs me by letter, that "similar graves have been discovered at Wolo (Iolkos, Thessaly), by Lolling, and on the island of Kephalonia, the latter important finds for the Ionian-island scenery of the Homeric poems."

[194]) Strabo, viii. p. 369. Paus. ii. 16. 6, and ix. 36. 4–8. Plutarch, in his essay *On the Dæmon of Socrates* (v.), tells of the opening of what purported to be the grave of Alcmene, near the Haliartos, and of the finding of great treasure.

[195]) *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* ii. S. 275, and iii. S. 12. Newton, *Essays on Art and Arch.* p. 246.

[196]) Benndorf, "Sepulcral-Masken und Gesichtshelme," published among the *Abh. der Wiener Akad. der Wiss.*

P. 145. [197]) Milchhöfer, *Die Museen Athens*, S. 88.

[198]) Schliemann, *Mykene*, Taf. 327, 328.

P. 146. [199]) The study of these vases (begun only about ten years since) has already made a literature of its own. *Vid.* Conze, "Zur Geschichte der Anfänge der Griech. Kunst," *Ber. d. Wiener Akad. der Wiss.* 1870, S. 505, 1873, S. 221. Hirschfeld, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1872, S. 131, and plates of Monumenti. Furtwängler, *Die Bronzefunde aus Olympia*, *Abh. der Berliner Akad.* 1879. For the publication of the Mykene style of vases, *vid.* Furtwängler und Loeschcke, *Mykenische Thongefässe.* A few from Thera (Santorin) are published by Dumont et Chaplain, *Les Céramiques de la Grèce propre*, Paris, 1881, pl. ii., iii.; and from Rhodes, by Salzmann, *Nécropole de Camirus.* Still others are published by B. Haussollier, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* ii. p. 228, iv. p. 127.

[200]) Furtwängler, *Die Bronze-funde*, etc., S. 7.

[201]) Milchhöfer, *Die Anfänge d. Kunst in Griechenland*, Leipzig, 1883.

[202]) Milchhöfer, op. c. S. 122. There is much to be hoped from Schliemann's proposed excavations on the island. May the great discoverer be as successful as at Mykene and Orchomenos!

P. 147. [203]) Milchhöfer, op. c. S. 40. The most noticeable feature in this art is its whole tendency to a lively naturalism, which is opposed to the conventionalizing spirit of oriental art.

P. 148. [204]) Milchhöfer, op. c. S. 55–64. *Conf.* Rossbach, *Arch. Zeit.* 1883, S. 169. Among the bronzes of the Cesnola collection of antiquities is a very curious and interesting vase-handle, consisting of a circular and two side pieces; the latter decorated with the very monsters carrying water, met with on the island gems. The monsters stand with all the conventional regularity and schematism of oriental art, facing each other; and each holds up a vase apparently of a shape such as must have once fitted into these very handles. The heads of the monsters are certainly those of lions, their wings of birds, and down the back runs the insect-like irregular ridge also seen in the gems. Around the circular top seem to be a row of bulls charging in rapid speed; but, opportunity not being furnished to study this rare monument more closely, nearer details cannot be given. To the pleasant realism and freshness of conception, in the majority of island gems, the ruling schematism of Oriental art is here contrasted. Concerning the later development of the centaur-form, *vid.* Sidney Colvin, "On Representations of Centaurs in Greek Vase-Painting," *Jour. of Hell. Stud.* vol. i. p. 107.

P. 148. [205]) Milchhöfer, op. c. S. 82, Fig. 53.

[206]) *Conf.* Note 176.

[207]) Salzmann, *Nécropole de Camirus*, pl. 29. Loeschcke, *Arch. Zeit.* 1881, S. 40.

P. 150. [203]) *Revue Arch.* xxviii. 1874, pl. 12. 1.

P. 152. [209]) *Memoires des Antiquités du Nord*, 1880, pl. 8. U. Köhler, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* vii. S. 241, Taf. 8; and Kumanudis, Ἀθήναιον, ix. p. 162, x. p. 309.

P. 153. [210]) Buchholz, *Die Homerische Realien*, ii. S. 204. The lighter tints may be electrum.

[211]) The armor and costumes of these warriors are quite different from those represented as worn by genuine Egyptians or Oriental peoples, on the monuments of the Nile or of Assyria, but have some points of resemblance to the costumes of warriors doubtless from the islands and neighboring lands. Wiedemann (*Die älteste Beziehungen zwischen Aegypten und Griechenland*, 1883, p. 6) thinks these peoples are Libyans, and not Ionians, as has hitherto been supposed.

[212]) *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* vii. Taf. viii. On the cover of this book is represented the sword with the lions running between mountains, and the spiral design from another sword.

P. 154. [213]) *Conf.* Note 187. Capt. Steffen's wonderfully fine maps of Mykene and the neighborhood are in process of publication.

[214]) Paus., ii. 16. 5.

P. 156. [215]) For the recent results of study upon the origin of Homeric poetry, *vid.* Bonitz, *Ueber den Ursprung der Homerischen Gedichten*, 4 Auf. 1875. (Amer. ed. trans. by L. R. Packard.)

[215a]) *Odyssey*, vii. 81, about Alkinoös' palace. Bryant's translation is used throughout, with incidental corrections.

[216]) *Odyssey*, vii. 81.

P. 157. [217]) *Iliad*, xviii. 468.

[218]) Welcker, *Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Aus-*

legung der Alten Kunst, i. S. 553. Brunn, *Abh. d. Kön. Bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* i. Cl. xi. Bd. iii. Abth.: "Die Kunst bei Homer und ihr Verhältniss zu den Anfängen d. Griech. Kunstgeschichte." Eugen Petersen, *Kritische Bemerkungen zur ältesten Gesch. d. Griech. Kunst:* "Programm des Gymnasiums zu Plön von 1871." Brunn, "Ueber den Parallelismus in der Composition Altgriechischer Kunstwerke," *N. Rhein. Museum*, v. S. 340. A. S. Murray, *History of Greek Sculpture*, p. 44.

P. 157. [219]) *Iliad*, xx. 268, 274. *Museo Gregoriano*, vol. i. pl. 18–20. One from Praeneste, *Mon. d. Inst.* viii. Tav. 26; and from Corneto, *Mon. d. Inst.* x. Tav. 10.

P. 159. [220]) *Iliad*, xviii. 468. On a small vase in the British Museum, the scene of the lion falling upon a steer seems actually represented in a type such as may have floated before the mind of the Homeric poet: *conf.* Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1883, S. 159.

[221]) Hesiod, *Scutum Herculis*, 139.

[222]) Milchhöfer, *Die Anfänge*, etc., S. 157. Loeschcke, *Arch. Zeit.* 1881, S. 44, shows that the subjects of this shield correspond with the subjects of red-clay vases in relief (red ware) found in Italy and the islands of the Ægean. *Vid.* also Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1883, S. 156, Taf. 10, where the striking resemblance between centaur combats on a very small vase purchased in Corinth, and the style of the Mykene swords, is drawn out.

P. 160. [223]) *Iliad*, vi. 295–302.

[224]) Herodotos, ii. 53.

P. 162. [225]) Milchhöfer, *Die Anfänge*, etc., S. 202.

[226]) *Arch. Zeit.* 1880, S. 195, and 1881, S. 234.

P. 163. [227]) Von Duhn, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1879, S. 119. Helbig, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1880, S. 223. Milchhöfer, *Die Anfänge der Kunst*, etc., S. 211.

[228]) Percy Gardner, *The Types of Greek Coins*, p. 2.

[229]) Barclay V. Head, *Coins of Lydia and Persia*, p. 11.

[230]) U. Köhler, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* vi. S. 5, about iron for coins, and early coinage of the Peloponnesos.

P. 164. [231]) Milchhöfer, *Die Anfänge*, etc., S. 155.

P. 165. [232]) Kekulé, *Ueber die Enstehung der Götterideale.* Coins afford the fullest means for the study of the development of these ideals: so for Aphrodite, *vid.* Imhoof-Blumer, *Choix*, pl. iv. 127–137; and for Apollo, Percy Gardner, *Sicilian Studies*, pl. iii. 19–26.

[233]) E. Curtius, "Die Altäre zu Olympia," *Abh. d. Kön. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1882, S. 37.

[234]) Carl Bötticher, *Baumcultus*, S. 57, 99, 212.

P. 166. [235]) Plin., *N. H.* viii. 21.

[236]) Furtwängler, *Die Bronze-funde aus Olympia*, S. 29.

P. 166. [237]) Furtwängler, op. c. S. 30.

P. 167. [238]) *Hom. Hymn*, i. 146 (to Delian Apollo).

[239]) Theopompos in Athenæus, vi. 30.

[240]) Furtwängler, op. c. S. 13.

[241]) Furtwängler, op. c. S. 60.

[242]) E. Curtius, "Archaischer Bronze-relief aus Olympia," *Abh. d. Kön. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1879, S. 12.

P. 168. [243]) Furtwängler, *Die Bronze-funde*, etc., S. 47; and *Arch. Zeit.* 1879, S. 181.

[244]) *Conf.* Note 242.

P. 169. [245]) Milchhöfer, *Die Anfänge d. Kunst*, etc., S. 86.

[246]) Paus., v. 16. 2. "Koré de Mantinée," Le Bas et Foucart, *Ins. du Peloponnèse*, n. 352 T. v. p. 213. Concerning wardrobe of Artemis of Brauronia, *C. I. G.*, No. 155; and the dress at Delos, Th. Homolle, "Comptes des Hieropes du Temple d'Apollon Delien," *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* vi. p. 105.

P. 170. [247]) Furtwängler, "Schüssel aus Ægina," *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 197, Taf. 9.

[248]) Milchhöfer, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iv. S. 71, Anm. 4.

[249]) Fränkel, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 265.

[250]) Paus., v. 17. 2, 18, 19. Dio Chrysostom, Orat. 11. 45 (p. 325, Reiske); *conf.* Herodotos, v. 92. 4. This chest, which has given rise to endless conjecture, is treated by J. Overbeck, *Abh. d. Kön. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.*, Phil.-hist. Cl. Bd. iv. S. 591; Schubart, Fleckeisen's *Jahrbuch für Philologie*, 1865, S. 639. Brunn illustrates one scene in *Nuove Memorie d. Inst.* p. 383, Tav. iv. 4; and Loeschcke, *Arch. Zeit.* 1876, S. 113, makes many valuable remarks upon the chest.

[250a]) The cover was probably decorated also: *vid.* Loeschcke, *Dorpat Programm*, 1880, S. 8. A most interesting comparison may be drawn between this casket and the painted terra-cotta sarcophagus recently discovered at Clazomenai, *Jour. of Hell. Stud.* iv. 1 and plates. The sarcophagus seems to be an imitation, in cheaper material, of costly utensils of wood, gold, and ivory, like the Kypselos chest, the masterpieces of the time, which have disappeared.

P. 171. [251]) The François-vase is published, *Mon. d. Inst.* iv. Tav. 54–58. Another old vase, similar in type and subject, is published, *Mon. d. Inst.* x. Tav. 45. On the gold leaves, Prof. v. Duhn is preparing a paper.

[252]) Herodotos, iv. 152.

P. 172. [253]) Strabo, viii. p. 353. Paus., v. 2. 3.

[254]) Plin., *N. H.*, xxxv. 151; *conf.* Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* i. S. 23.

[255]) "Ueber die Verwendung v. Terrakotten am Geison und Dache Griech. Bauwerke," v. Dörpfeld, Borrmann, Graeber, Siebold, S. 13. 41st

Programm zum Winckelmannsfeste der Arch. Ges. zu Berlin, 1881.

P. 172. [256]) Paus., x. 16. 1; *conf.* Furtwängler, *Die Bronze-funde*, etc., S. 65.

P. 175. [257]) The principles for this most important aid in determining the age and nationality of sculptures have been developed by Kirchhoff, *Studien zur Geschichte des Griechischen Alphabets*, Berlin (3d ed.), 1877; and *Hermes*, v. S. 48, "Zur Geschichte des Attischen Epigramms." The shapes of the letters of the alphabet, he shows, varied so greatly with age and country, that, from their peculiar formation and use, may with great certainty be derived the time when, and people by whom, works of art were executed. This science, although so young, can already show a wide literature.

[258]) Paus., vi. 18, 7.

P. 176. [259]) Barclay V. Head, *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. xv. p. 289.

P. 178. [260]) Paus., iii. 18. 9; 19. 1. Concerning old Ionian fancy and art, *vid.* v. Duhn, "Bemerkungen zur Würzburger Phineusschale." *Heidelberger Festschrift zur 36 Versammlung der Deutschen Philologen und Schulmänner in Karlsruhe*, 1882.

[261]) *Conf.* P. Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, pl. xii. 9, where a statue seems erected on a throne. Whether the rude helmeted object on a coin pictured in Barclay V. Head's *Guide to the Coins*, etc., pl. 43. 27, is a reflex of this Apollo, or of the Athena Chalkioicos by Gitiades, is uncertain.

P. 179. [262]) For a conjectural reconstruction of Bathycles' throne, *vid.* Brunn, *N. Rhein. Museum*, v. S. 325; and Ruhl, *Arch. Zeit.* 1854, No. 70.

[263]) Paus., iii. 18. 6.

[264]) C. T. Newton, *Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidæ*, vol. i. p. 97.

[265]) Paus., i. 26. 5, and vii. 5. 9; *conf.* Loeschcke, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iv. S. 294.

[266]) C. T. Newton, op. c. vol. i. pl. 75, 76. Text, vol. ii. part ii. pp. 503, 781.

P. 180. [267]) These figures are admirably illustrated in *Milet et la Golfe Latmique, Tralles Magnesie du Méandre, etc.; Fouilles arch. faites aux Frais d. MM. les Barons G. et E. de Rothschild*, par Olivier Rayet et Albert Thomas, pl. 25, 26.

[268]) Rayet et Thomas, op. c. pl. 21.

P. 181. [269]) Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* ii. S. 384.

[270]) Herodotos, i. 92. Newton, *Essays on Art and Arch.*, "Disc. at Ephesos," p. 210.

[271]) J. T. Woods, *Discoveries in Ephesos*, p. 259.

[272]) *Conf.* Note 255.

P. 182. [273]) *Papers of the Archæological Institute of America. Classical Series i.: Report of the Investigations at Assos*, by Joseph Thacher Clarke, p. 91.

P. 182. [274]) Semper, *Der Stil*, i. S. 434.

P. 185. [275]) *Conf.* Savelsberg, *Lykische Sprachdenkmäler.*

[276]) W. C. Perry, *Greek and Roman Sculpture*, p. 111.

[277]) Pub. *Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, by E. Curtius, Adler, and Hirschfeld, Bd. v. Taf. 25*b*.

[278]) Benndorf, "Vorläufiger Bericht über zwei Oesterreichische Archaeologische Expeditionen nach Klein-Asien." *Arch.-Epig. Mitt. aus Oest.* Jahrgang vi. Heft ii. S. 32.

P. 186. [279]) E. Curtius, *Arch. Zeit.* 1855, S. 1.

[280]) Conze, *Arch. Zeit.* 1869, S. 80.

[281]) Milchhöfer, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* v. S. 188; and *Arch. Zeit.* Jahrgang 39, S. 53.

[282]) *Conf.* H. Brunn, *Sitz. Ber. d. K. Bayr. Akad.* 1870, ii. S. 205.

P. 188. [283]) Ross, *Inselreisen*, Bd. i. S. 41, 50.

[284]) *Conf.* Klein, "Studien zur Griechischen Künstler Geschichte: Die Parisch-Attische Kunst." *Arch.-Epig. Mitt. aus Oest.* Bd. v. S. 1–25, und "Die Daedaliden," S. 84–104.

[285]) Paus., v. 10. 3.

P. 189. [286]) *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* iii. p. 99, pl. 1.

[287]) Furtwängler, "Aus Delos," *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 324.

P. 190. [288]) Paus., ix. 40. 3.

[289]) Jebb, *Jour. of Hell. Stud.* ii. p. 61.

[290]) Furtwängler, op. c. S. 323.

P. 191. [291]) Ross, *Inselreisen*, Bd. i. S. 39; and *Ann. d. Inst.* vol. 33, p. 80.

[292]) Ross, op. c. S. 33; and Tournefort, *Relation d'un Voyage du Levant*, i. p. 290.

[293]) Furtwängler, op. c. S. 331; and Stuart, *Antiquities of Athens*, iii. p. 127.

[224]) Furtwängler, op. c. S. 329; and Milchhöfer, *Anfänge d. Kunst*, etc., S. 93.

[295]) Fränkel, *Arch. Zeit.* 1879, p. 84.

[296]) Preller, *Griechische Mythologie* (2d ed.), i. 217. To support the theory that this figure holds an oil-bottle, *vid.* A. v. Sallet, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, ix. 1882, S. 138.

P. 192. [297]) Weber, Address before the Architekten Verein, Berlin, *National Zeitung*, March 28, 1882.

P. 193. [298]) Körte, "Die Antiken Sculpturen Bœotian's," *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iii. S. 316. This same motive is found repeated, but in freer forms, on a monument now in Naples, the provenience of which is unknown. *Conf. Ann. d. Inst.* 1861, Tav. E.

[299]) Loeschcke, *Mitt. des Athen. Inst.* iv. S. 295. Von Sybel, *Sculpturen zu Athen*, 1. Milchhöfer, *Museen Athens*, 4, 10; and *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iv. S. 71, Taf. vi. 2. Loeschcke, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iv. 304. Illustrated in full, Müller-Schöll, *Mitt. aus Griechenland*, Taf. 4. *Conf.* Ross, *Inselreisen*, i. 81.

P. 194. [300]) Homolle, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* iii. p. 108, 398, pl. i.–iii., and xiv., xv.

P. 195. [301]) Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 327.

[302]) Furtwängler, op. c. S. 328.

[303]) Hirschfeld, *Tituli Statuariorum Sculptorumque Græcorum*, Berlin, 1871, p. 30.

[304]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 11; and *Schol.* Aristoph. *Aves* 574 (ed. Dindorf).

[305]) Homolle, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* v. p. 272; and iii. p. 393.

[305a]) Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 324; *Arch. Zeit.* 1883, S. 91. It seems possible that Archermos' winged figure may be a winged Artemis, and not a Nike as the ancients declared.

P. 196. [306]) *Die Ausgrabungen v. Olympia*, Bd. iv. Taf. 27, A 2; and Percy Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, pl. iv. 20.

P. 197. [307]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 11–13. Paus., ix. 35. 6; iv. 30. 6. *Conf.* Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künstler*, Bd. i. S. 38.

[308]) Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 350, Taf. 15. *Conf.* Helbig, *Bull. d. Inst.* 1881, p. 194, and Note 227.

P. 198. [309]) "Le Heraion de Samos," par M. Girard, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* iv. pp. 383–394; and "A Visit to Samos," by J. Theodore Bent, *Academy*, June 9, 1883.

[310]) Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* i. S. 116.

[311]) For discussion of this question, *vid.* Thiersch, *Epochen*, S. 181. Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* i. S. 31, ii. S. 380. Urlichs, *N. Rhein. Museum*, x. S. 1. Bursian, Fleckeisen's *Jahrbb. für Philologie*, 1856, S. 509. Brunn, *Die Kunst bei Homer*, S. 29. *Conf.* Note 218. Overbeck, "Kunstgeschichtliche Miscellen," *Ber. des Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.* 1868, S. 68. Urlichs, *Abh. über die Anfänge d. Griech. Künst. Gesch.* Würzburg, 1871 and 1872. Klein, *Arch. Epig. Mitt. aus Oest.* vii. S. 160–184.

[312]) Paus., viii. 14. 8.

[313]) The processes described are those used at Barbedienne's in Paris, to whose politeness I owe the facts given in the text.

[314]) O. Jahn, *Ber. über die Verhand. d. Kön. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.* zu Leipzig, Bd. xix. Taf. v.

P. 199. [315]) Paus., x. 38. 6.

[316]) Diodoros Siculus, i. 98.

[317]) Benndorf, *Zeitschrift für d. Oest. Gymnasien*, 1873, S. 401.

[318]) Herodotos, i. 51. Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* i. S. 36.

[319]) Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesos*, p. 259.

P. 200. [320]) Girard, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* iv. p. 483.

[321]) C. Curtius, *Inschriften und Studien zur Gesch. v. Samos*, Lübeck, 1877.

P. 201. [322]) Paus., viii. 53. 8.

[323]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 10. Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* i. S. 43.

P. 201. [324]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 10. Paus., ii. 22. 5, 6.

P. 202. [325]) Klein, *Arch. Epig. Mitt. aus Oest.* v. S. 87.

[326]) Milchhöfer, "Bronzi Arcaici di Kreta," *Ann. d. Inst.* 1880, pp. 213–222; and *Anfänge d. Kunst*, etc., S. 169.

[327]) Paus., vi. 19. 14; v. 17. 1. Milchhöfer, op. c. S. 164.

[328]) Paus., iii. 17. 6; vi. 4. 4.

P. 203. [329]) Paus., ii. 32. 4; ix. 35. 3.

[330]) Homolle, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* vi. p. 105. For coins with this Delian colossus of Apollo, *vid.* Percy Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, pl. xv. 30. *Conf.* Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 332.

[331]) Paus., iii. 17. 2; and Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* i. S. 114. Concerning Athena Chal. on coins, *conf.* Note 261.

[332]) Paus., vi. 10. 5.

[333]) *Die Ausgrab. v. Olympia*, iv. Taf. 25. 1–4. Furtwängler, *Die Bronze-funde*, etc., S. 93. Milchhöfer, *Die Anfänge*, etc., S. 185.

P. 204. [334]) Furtwängler, op. c. S. 93.

[335]) Brunn, *Beschreibung d. Glyptothek des König Ludwigs*, No. 41; *Monumenti dell' Inst.* iv. Tav. 44. Conze, *Heroen und Götter-gestalten*, Taf. 57. 1. Milchhöfer, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iv. S. 71; and *Arch. Zeit.* 1881, S. 84. Fränkel, *Arch. Zeit.* 1879, S. 84. Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 57. Heydemann, *Zeitschrift für die bildenden Künste*, xviii. (1883) 33. 1.

[336]) Brunn, op. c. No. 41.

P. 205. [337]) Milchhöfer und Dressel, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* ii. S. 311; vi. S. 358. Milchhöfer, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 294. Furtwängler, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* vii. S. 163.

P. 206. [338]) Milchhöfer, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 294.

[339]) *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* ii. Taf. xxii.

[340]) *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* ii. Taf. xxiv.

P. 207. [341]) Furtwängler, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* vii. S. 163.

[342]) *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* vi. Taf. vii. Compare with this subject the countless fragments of terra-cotta found at Tarentum, representing this subject: *vid.* a few published by P. Wolters, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 304.

P. 208. [343]) *Ann. d. Inst.* 1861, Tav. d. agg. C. Loeschcke, *Dorpater Program*, 1879. Milchhöfer, *Die Anfänge*, etc., S. 186.

[344]) Brunn, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iv. S. 113, Taf. vi.

[345]) Julius, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iii. S. 17, Taf. 1. This warrior is published also in *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1877, p. 355. Inscription on pl. 13. 2.

P. 209. [346]) I owe thanks to Dr. Furtwängler for having drawn my attention to these interesting and as yet unpublished monuments.

[347]) Brunn, *Arch. Zeit.* 1876, S. 20, and accom-

panying plates. *Conf.* A. v. Sallet, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, ix. S. 141.

P. 210. [348]) Dörpfeld, Graeber, Borrmann, Siebold, "Ueber die Verwendung v. Terrakotten," etc., 41 *Winckelmann's Program Berlin*, S. 8. The people of Sikyon also built their own Treasury at Olympia, with Sikyon stone, prepared at home and taken in single ready blocks by sea to Olympia: *vid.* Dörpfeld, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* viii. S. 67–71.

[349]) *Ausgrabungen v. Olympia*, Bd. iv. Taf. 16, 17; *Arch. Zeit.* 1879, S. 40.

[350]) Paus., v. 17. 1.

P. 211. [351]) *Ausgrab. v. Olympia*, Bd. iii. Taf. 22.

[352]) Paus., vi. 19. 13. Treu, *Philologische Wochenschrift*, Aug. 5, 1882. Single fragments have been published in the *Ausgrabungen v. Olympia*, but the whole is to be seen only in the casts as arranged together in Berlin. These were so fragmentary that a photograph would have been of no service.

P. 212. [353]) Körte, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iii. S. 305; *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* v. Milchhöfer, *Die Museen Athen*, S. 4, 9; and *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iv. S. 74. Compare Fig. 99 (Apollo of Tenea) with p. 193 of present work.

[354]) Körte, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iii. S. 369, and accompanying plate. Robert, *Arch. Zeit.* 1875, S. 151. Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 58.

P. 213. [355]) Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, Taf. iv. S. 55, 58.

[356]) *Conf.* Loeschcke, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iv. S. 294, 305; and Furtwängler, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* v. S. 22.

[357]) Lolling, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iv. S. 254.

[358]) *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* i. S. 174; iv. S. 10, 170.

P. 214. [359]) Pausanias, i. 26. 5; and O. Jahn, *De Antiquissimis Minervæ Simulacris Atticis*, p. 5, Bonn, 1866.

[359a]) A large hole in the top of the helmet indicates that a tall, full plume of bronze was once attached.

P. 215. [360]) Furtwängler, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* vi. S. 177, Taf. vi. This same type has very recently been discovered on the Acropolis, in another copy, *Academy*, March, 1883.

[361]) Egyptian Collection, Berlin, Nos. 2515–2517, and 7433, 7505.

[362]) Loeschcke, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iv. S. 294.

[363]) Milchhöfer, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iv. S. 45.

P. 217. [364]) U. Köhler, "Ein Griechisches Gesetz über Todten Bestaltung," *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* i. S. 139. This relief has been published by E. Curtius, *Abh. d. K. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1873, S. 156.

[365]) Illustrated in color, Laborde, *Le Parthenon*, pl. vii. *Conf.* Kekulé, *Die Antiken Bildwerke im Theseion*, S. 362. Loeschcke, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iv. S. 36, 293.

P. 218. [366]) Loeschcke, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iv. S. 36, Taf. i., ii.

[367]) Loeschcke, op. c. S. 43; and *C. I. A.* iv. 373*e*.

P. 219. [368]) Loeschcke, op. c. S. 305.

[369]) Paus., vii. 4. 4; and v. 17. 1.

[370]) Overbeck, *Kunstmythologie*, iii. S. 12, Münztafel i.

[371]) Published by Furtwängler, *Die Sammlung Sabouroff, Kunstdenkmäler aus Griechland*, Taf. iii., iv.

[372]) Barclay V. Head on importance of Chalkis, *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. xv. p. 245. *Conf.* Milchhöfer, *Anfänge*, S. 209. About bronzes not Etruscan, Helbig, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1880, S. 223–255; v. Duhn, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1879, S. 119–157; and *Bull. d. Inst.* 1878, S. 152.

[373]) Furtwängler, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1879, S. 449, 450. These are illustrated in G. Micali, *Monumenti inediti a illustrazione della Storia degli Antichi Popoli Italiani*, Firenze, 1844, Tav. xvii. 3.

[374]) Paus., iii. 17. 6; and Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* i. 48.

P. 220. [375]) Preller, *Griechische Mythologie*, iii. ed. Bd. ii. S. 231.

[376]) Benndorf, *Die Metopen v. Selinunt*, Berlin, 1873, Taf. i. S. 43.

P. 222. [377]) Asios in Athen. xii. 30 (525). *Conf.* M. Duncker, *Gesch. des Alterthums*, v. S. 192.

P. 225. [378]) Paus., v. 21. Furtwängler, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* v. S. 30, 31. *Conf.* C. Petersen, *Das Gymnasium der Griechen*, 1858.

P. 226. [379]) *Ausgrab. v. Olympia*, v. Taf. 35, 36.

[380]) *Ausgrab. v. Olympia*, v. Taf. 28, 39; and *Olympia und Umgegend*, v. Kaupert, Dörpfeld, Curtius, und Adler, Berlin, 1882, S. 21, 29.

P. 227. [381]) Paus., v. 21. 2. Kaupert, Dörpfeld, etc., *Olympia und Umgegend*, S. 39.

[382]) This passage-way, proved to have been built in the latter half of the fourth century B. C., is arched over, being the oldest sample preserved to us of the use of the arch among the Greeks, and is consequently of the greatest importance in the history of architecture.

[383]) *Conf.* Note 378; and Hirschfeld, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 107.

P. 228. [384]) Statues put up long after victories won, Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* i. S. 69. The small size of many chariots is evident from the diminutive pedestal of Glaucon's chariot mentioned by Paus., vi. 16. 9. *Conf.* Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1881, S. 89.

[385]) E. Curtius, "Ueber den religiösen Character der Griechischen Münzen," *Monats-Bericht d. Berliner Akad. d. Wiss.* 1869, S. 464. C. T. Newton, *Essays on Art and Archæology*, London, 1880, p. 225.

P. 228. [386]) *Conf.* Kaupert, Curtius, *Olympia und Umgegend*, S. 36; and Blatt iii., map of the Temple of Hera.

[387]) Conze, Haüser, etc., *Archaeologische Untersuchungen auf Samothrake*, Bd. ii. Taf. vi., vii.

[388]) C. Bötticher, in his *Tektonik der Hellenen*, developed this idea of two kinds of temples. His theories are combated by E. Petersen, *Die Kunst des Pheidias*, 1873, S. 18; and by L. Julius, *Ueber die Agonal-Temple der Griechen*, Münich, 1874.

[389]) W. Dörpfeld, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, Ber. 40; and *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* vi. S. 383.

P. 229. [390]) Dörpfeld, "Untersuchungen am Parthenon," *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* vi. S. 395, with accompanying plates.

[391]) Homolle, "Comptes des Hieropes du Temple d'Apollon Delien," *Bull. d. Corr. Hell.* vi. p. 106.

P. 230. [392]) *Conf.* Note 255.

P. 232. [393]) Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1883, S. 343; *Ausg. v. Olympia*, Bd. iv. Taf. 27, A 2. Barclay V. Head, *A Guide, etc.*, pl. 12. 6.

[393a]) *Arch. Zeit.* 1879, S. 41.

P. 233. [394]) Illustrated by A. S. Murray, *History of Greek Sculpture*, pl. iv.

P. 235. [395]) Homolle, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* iii., pl. ii., iii., xiv., xv.

[396]) C. T. Newton, *A Guide to the Second Vase-Room of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities of the British Museum*, part ii. (1878), p. 67.

[397]) E. Curtius, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 188, Taf. 8, No. 2; *vid.* also Brunn, *Ber. d. Bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1883, S. 299.

P. 236. [398]) Rayet, *Monuments de l'Art Antique*, pl. iv., v., publishes these beautifully. *Conf.* Michaelis, *Arch. Zeit.* 1867, No. 217; and Miller, *Revue Arch.* 1865, pl. 25, p. 438.

P. 237. [399]) Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* Bd. i. S. 28.

P. 238. [400]) Von Duhn, *Bull. d. Inst.* 1878, p. 152.

[401]) Paus., vi. 9. 4.

[402]) *Arch. Zeit.* 1878, "Ins. aus Olympia," No. 186.

[403]) Paus., vi. 11. 2–5.

[404]) *Arch. Zeit.* 1879, S. 212.

[405]) Paus., vi. 11. 8.

[406]) Paus., v. 23. 1. Herodotos, ix. 81.

[407]) Paus., iii. 18. 7. Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* i. S. 85.

[408]) Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* xii. 10. 7.

[409]) Paus., viii. 42. 5.

P. 239. [410]) Paus., viii. 42. 5.

[411]) Paus., viii. 42. 5; v. 27. 8.

[412]) Paus., v. 25. 13.

[413]) *Iliad*, vii. 175; and Paus., v. 25. 10.

[414]) *Arch. Zeit.* 1879, S. 44.

[415]) Paus., x. 13. 5.

P. 239. [416]) *Vid. Expédition de la Morée*, iii. pl. 58. Clarac, *Musée du Sculpture*, pl. 815–821. Brunn, *Besch. d. Glyptothek d. Kön. Ludwigs*, S. 66. Martin Wagner, *Bericht über die Aeginetischen Bildwerke*, 1817.

P. 240. [417]) Prachow, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1873, pp. 140–162, with plates. K. Lange, *Sitz. Ber. d. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.* 1878, ii. Cl. S. 1, and plates; and *Arch. Zeit.* 1880, S. 120.

P. 241. [418]) Becker, *Charikles*, iii. S. 94 (Eng. ed. p. 383). C. Wachsmuth, *Das Alte Griechenland im Neuem*, S. 125.

P. 242. [419]) L. Julius, Fleckeisen's *Jahrbücher für Class. Philologie*, 1880, S. 1.

P. 245. [420]) Prachow, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1873, S. 150, 151.

[421]) No. 56 in the Glyptothek. A bronze curl is still to be seen on No. 69.

P. 246. [422]) An ivory eye found among the ruins, and now in the Münich Antiquarium, is thought by Lange to have belonged to the temple statue of Athena, which, like so many of that age, may have been in gold, ivory, and wood. Judging from the size of this eye, he believes that the statue must have been seated in the old style.

[423]) E. Curtius, *Griechische Geschichte*, Bd. ii.; and K. Lange, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* vii. S. 203.

P. 247. [424]) J. Overbeck, *Geschichte d. Griechischen Plastik*, iii. ed. Bd. i. S. 139.

P. 248. [425]) Engelmann, "Krieger aus Dodona," *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, Taf. 1.

[426]) Brunn, *Sitz. Ber. d. Kön. Bayr. Akad.* 1872, S. 529.

[427]) *Archaeologischer Anzeiger*, 1866, S. 256. A fine cast of this monument is in the Berlin Museum.

P. 249. [428]) Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* i. S. 63; and *Die Kunst bei Homer*, S. 49. Krüger, *Hist.-phil. Studien*, S. 156.

[429]) Paus., vii. 23. 4, about child-god; and iv. 33. 3, about Zeus Ithomaios. *Conf.* Percy Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, p. 141, pl. viii. 25 and xii. 47.

[430]) Paus., vii. 24. 4. *Schol.* Aristoph. *Ranæ*, 501 (ed. Dindorf).

[431]) *Anthol. Gr.* ii. 15, 35 (Jacobs).

P. 250. [432]) Paus., vi. 10. 7 (Chariot of Cleosthenes); vi. 14. 11 (Anochos); vi. 8. 6 (Timasitheos).

[433]) Paus., x. 10. 3.

[434]) *Arch. Zeit.* 1876, S. 47, 48, Taf. 47; 1878, S. 181; 1879, S. 44. The inscription translated reads as follows: "Atotos made it, the Argive, and Argeiadas son of Agelaidas the Argive;" *vid.* Klein, *Arch. Epig. Mitt. aus Oest.* vii. S. 62.

[435]) Paus., x. 1. 4. Herodotos, viii. 27. Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* i. 62.

[436]) Paus., v. 26 2. Herodotos, vii. 170. Diodoros Siculus, xi. 48. 66.

P. 250. [437]) *Arch. Zeit.* 1878, "Inschriften aus Olympia," No. 175.

P. 251. [438]) Paus., v. 27. 2, 3.

[439]) Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* i. S. 74, 80. Urlichs, *N. Rhein. Mus.* x. (1858), S. 8.

[440]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 75.

[441]) Plin., op. c. 75. *Anthologia Græca*, ii. 15, 35 (ed. Jacobs). Paus., vii. 18. 10; ix. 10. 2; ii. 10 5.

[442]) Percy Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, pl. xv. 15, 16. Temple statues in the full are usually found represented on coins of the Roman age, although a few are met with earlier; the custom of representing great works of art on coins having commenced early. So Attic coins have the Tyrant-Slayers. *Ann. d. Inst.* 1867, p. 307.

[443]) *Conf.* Fränkel, *Arch. Zeit.* 1876, S. 90. E. Petersen, *Arch. Zeit.* 1880, S. 22. O. Rayet, etc., *Milet et la Golfe Latmique*, pl. 28, well illustrates this bronze. It is also found in *Specimens of Antient Sculpture*, published by the Soc. of Dilettanti, i. p. 12.

P. 252. [444]) Cicero, *Brut.* 18. 70.

[445]) Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* i. S. 81.

[446]) Paus., x. 13. 7.

[447]) One such marble relief is in Dresden, and was once, doubtless, the decoration of some sacred utensil. On it, the very restrained forms of the gods form a great contrast to the luxurious ornamental framing of the scene, and show that this sculpture is the work of a time which imitated the old style, doubtless holding to it because such traditional forms must have been sacred and well suited for temple furniture. It is a noteworthy fact, that the majority of such archaistic reliefs formed the decoration of altars and standards for sacred utensils. The Dresden relief is engraved in J. Overbeck, *Gesch. d. Plastik*, iii. ed. Bd. i. S. 200.

[448]) Paus., ii. 31. 6, and 10. 1.

[449]) L. Julius, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iii. S. 15, and plate.

[450]) Hestia Giustiniani is published by W. C. Perry, *Greek and Roman Sculpture*, Fig. 68. For the Herculaneum figure, *conf.* Winckelmann, *Sendschreiben v. den Hercul. Entdeckung*, § ii. S. 143. A similar figure, of sterner form, has been found in Attica (Schöne, *Griechische Reliefs*), but is possibly an imported work from the Peloponnesos. *Conf.* Kekulé, *Bull. d. Inst.* 1868, S. 52, No. 15; and *Arch. Zeit.* 1873, S. 99, Taf. 10.

P. 253. [451]) Paus., v. 16. 3.

P. 254. [452]) Paus., v. 27. 1.

[453]) Account of discovery, etc., *Ausgrab. v. Olympia*, v. S. 121, Taf. 18, 19; *Funde v. Olympia*, Taf. xxii. Treu, in *Arch. Zeit.* 1880, S. 48. E. Curtius, *Arch. Zeit.* 1880, S. 111. Furtwängler, *Preussische Jahrbücher*, Bd. li. S. 382.

P. 255. [454]) Urlichs, *Verhandlungen d. 25 Versam. d. Philologen in Halle*, S. 70, "Bemerkungen über den Olympischen Temple," Würzburg, 1877.

[455]) Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1879, S. 44, 151.

[456]) Paus., v. 10. 4.

[457]) K. Purgold, "Ins. aus Olympia," No. 435; *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 180.

[458]) Loeschcke, "Pheidias' Tod und die Chronologie des Olym. Zeus," S. 43, in *Hist. Untersuch. Arnold Schäfer*, zum 25 jähr. Jubiläum seiner Akad. Wirksamkeit gewidmet, Bonn, 1882.

P. 256. [459]) *Conf.* A. Bötticher, *Olympia, das Fest und seine Stätte*, Berlin, 1883, Taf. 47, 48; and *Aus. v. Olympia*, Bd. i.–v.

[460]) Paus., v. 10. 6–9. Treu, *Philologische Wochenschrift*, Dec. 30, 1881; and *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 319.

P. 258. [461]) *Funde v. Olympia*, Taf. xxi.; and E. Curtius, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* i. S. 206; this metope is well illustrated.

P. 260. [462]) Brunn, "Die Sculpturen v. Olympia," *Sitz. Ber. d. Kön. Bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1877, Phil.-philos. Cl. Bd. i. Heft 1.

P. 261. [463]) Paus., v. 10. 6.

P. 262. [463a]) *Conf.* Note 463.

[464]) These sculptures without restoration may be seen illustrated in *Ausgrab. v. Olympia*, Bd. i.–v.; *Funde v. Olympia*, vi., vii. *Conf.* E. Curtius, *Verhand. d. phil. Versammlung zu Carlsruhe*, 1882; and Furtwängler, *Preuss. Jahrbüch.* li. S. 372.

P. 263. [465]) Treu, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 215, Taf. 12.

P. 264. [466]) Furtwängler, *Preuss. Jahrb.* li. S. 373.

P. 266. [467]) The sculptures of the West Pediment appear unrestored in the *Ausgrab. v. Olympia*, Bd. i.–v.

[468]) Paus., v. 10. 6.

P. 267. [469]) *Vid.* Conze, *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, ser. v.–viii.; and A. Gerhard, *Antike Vasenbilder*, 4, 18, 24, 29, 46, etc. E. Curtius, *Sitz. Ber. d. Kön. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1883, S. 785. In our cut, the strong archaic face has altogether too sweet an expression, and has lost greatly thereby.

P. 268. [470]) About this figure of a boy, there is some doubt, the fragments being very scarce.

P. 271. [471]) Schubring, *Arch. Zeit.* 1877, S. 59; *Ausgrab. v. Olympia*, Bd. i. Taf. 22.

[472]) Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* i. S. 234.

[473]) Paus., ix. 11. 6.

P. 272. [474]) *Conf.* Note 462.

[475]) Furtwängler, *Preuss. Jahrbücher*, li. S. 378.

[476]) Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* ii. S. 14. Prof. v. Duhn asks how the resemblances in style between the Elis coins of the fifth century B.C., and the Olympia sculptures, are to be explained.

P. 273. [477]) Paus., vii. 18. 10. This figure may possibly be reflected to us by a coin.

[478]) Paus., ix. 34. 3.

[479]) Paus, v. 24. 1.

[430]) Paus., ix. 25. 3.

[431]) Körte, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iii. S. 313, and plate; and Girard, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* ii. p. 558.

P. 274. [432]) Brunn, *Sitz. Ber. d. Kön. Bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1876, S. 328.

[483]) These are admirably represented together in Percy Gardner's *Types of Greek Coins*, pl. iii. The Eastern element appears in the Babylonian weight of the coinage.

P. 275. [434]) Heuzey, *Journal des Savants*, 1868, "L'Exaltation de la Fleur."

P. 276. [435]) W. P. Boissevan, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* vii. S. 77; *vid.* also viii. Taf. 2–4.

P. 277. [436]) *Arch. Zeit.* 1881, S. 181, "Ins. von Olympia," No. 401; *Arch. Zeit.* 1878, S. 127, "Ins. v. Olympia," No. 82.

[437]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 49.

[488]) Paus, vi. 4. 4.

[489]) *Vid.* Overbeck, *Die Antiken Schriftquellen*, etc., No. 499. P. Gardner, *Types*, etc., pl. v. 7, p. 120.

[490]) Paus., vi. 18. 1. P. Gardner, *Types*, etc., pl. ix. 35: on p. 167 is stated the age of this coin; for other agonistic coins, *vid.* p. 44.

[491]) Tatian, *C. Græc.* 53, p. 116 (ed. Worth).

[492]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 59.

[493]) Tatian, *C. Græc.* 54, p. 118. Dio Chrysostom, *Orat.* 37, T. ii. p. 106 (ed. Reiske).

[494]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 59, No. 9.

[495]) *Anthol. Græc.* iv. 180, 294 (Jacobs).

P. 278. [496]) For the whole subject of this myth, *vid.* Luigi Adriano Milano, *Il mito di Filotette nella Literatura classica e nel Arte figurata*, Firenze, 1879; and *Ann. d. Inst.* 1881, S. 249–281.

[497]) Astylos, Paus, vi. 13. 7; and Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 59. Dromeus, Paus., vi. 7. 10. Leontiscos, Paus., vi. 4. 2. Mnaseas, Paus. vi. 4. 4. Cratisthenes, Paus., vi. 18. 1. Protolaos, Paus., vi. 6. 1.

[498]) Paus., vi. 6. 4. *Arch. Zeit.* 1878, "Ins. v. Olympia," No. 82. However pleasant it might be to connect so agreeable a statue as the so-called Apollo Gouffier (Fig. 272) with this statue of Euthymos by Pythagoras, as is done by C. Waldstein, *Jour. of Hell. Stud.* i. pp. 168–201, and ii. 332, still it is impossible to do so with our present shadowy knowledge of the master's work.

[499]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 59.

[500]) Plin, l. c. says: "Hic primos nervos et venas expressit capillumque diligentius."

P. 279. [501]) *Bull. d. Inst.* 1830, p. 228.

[502]) Metapontum fragments, *vid.* Helbig, *Bull. d. Inst.* 1881, p. 202. Tarentum terra-cottas, Wolters, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 285. Locri terra-cottas, *Guide to the Second Vase-Room of the Brit. Mus.* p. 76, etc.

[503]) E. Curtius, "Die Canephore von Paestum," *Arch. Zeit.* 1880, S. 27, Taf. 6. The inscription is: Τὰθάνᾳ Φιλλὼ Χαρμυλίδα δεχάταν.

P. 281. [504]) F. Inghirami, *Monumenti Etruschi*, T. iii. ser. iii. Tav. ix. This figure has a short *chiton*, meander inlaid along the edge, and hair falling down the back.

[505]) Helbig, *Bull. d. Inst.* 1881, p. 194. The Cortona lamp is well illustrated in Micali, *Monumenti Inediti*, etc., Tav. 9, 10.

P. 282. [506]) Benndorf, *Die Metopen v. Selinunt*, Berlin, 1873, S. 50.

P. 284. [507]) Loeschcke, "Ueber Darstellungen der Athena Geburt," *Arch. Zeit.* 1876, S. 113. Vases with realism are a curious feature of this day: see those painted by Hieron or by Duris.

P. 285. [508]) Paus., i. 8. 5. Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 70. Valer. Maxim., ii. 10.

[509]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 72. Paus., i. 23. 1. Plutarch, *De Garrul.* 8.

P. 286. [509a]) Klein advances this theory.

[510]) For literature on the Tyrant-Slayers, and illustrations, *vid.* Paus., i. 8. 5; *Arch. Zeit.* 1859, Taf. 127; *Mon. d. Inst.* viii. 46; *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, ser. vii. 7. Head of Harmodios, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1874, Tav. G. *Conf. Arch. Zeit.* 1870, Taf. 24; *Mon. d. Inst.* x. Tav. 48; and E. Petersen, *Arch. Epig. Mitt. aus Oest.* iii. S. 77. Dütschke, *Antike Bildwerke Oberitaliens*, ii. S. 77. Petersen, *Hermes*, xv. S. 475.

P. 287. [511]) Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* i. S. 105.

[512]) Brunn, op. c. S. 103, 104; and Lucian, *Rhet. Præc.* 9.

[513]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 49.

[514]) Plin., op. c. 78. Pliny's statement is here confused with the Athena Hygieia by Pyrrhos: *vid.* Bursian, *Allg. Encyc. v. Ersch. und Gruber*, i. 82, 418, 493; and Klein, *Arch. Epig. Mitt. aus Oest.* vii. S. 72.

[515]) Loeschcke, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iv. S. 303, Taf. iii.; and Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 328.

[516]) Paus., i. 15. 1. J. Overbeck, *Ant. Schriftq.* Nos. 470–474.

P. 288. [517]) *Arch. Zeit.* 1869, S. 55, Taf. 22.

[518]) Milchhöfer, *Die Museen Athens*, S. 54. Kekulé, *Kunst Museum zu Bonn*, 35. Milchhöfer (*Arch. Zeit.* 1883, S. 180) shows that this figure belongs with another archaic fragment hitherto called Hermes, but also a charioteer, as well as with other minor pieces representing a seated figure, — all, doubtless, parts of an extensive frieze which must once have adorned an ancient temple, perhaps the old Parthenon, which was destroyed by fire. In this frieze, with its

chariots, seated figures, etc., we may, no doubt, find the archaic prototype upon which the masters of the Parthenon varied with such great success; and we can only hope that more of it may yet be discovered.

P. 288. [519]) Von Lützow, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1869, Tav. d. agg. I–K. Milchhöfer, *Die Museen Athens*, S. 5, 13. Fr. v. Duhn, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1879, p. 144. In the cut, Fig. 137, the beautifully grand details of nature have not been reproduced as well as could have been wished.

P. 289. [520]) Furtwängler, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* v, S. 39, and plates.

[521]) Paus., ix. 16. 1.

[522]) Strabo, vii. p. 319. Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 39.

P. 290. [523]) Paus., i. 3. 4. Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 36.

[524]) Paus., vi. 12. 1.

[525]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 71.

[526]) Klein, *Arch. Epig. Mitt. aus Oest.* Bd. v. S. 1–25, and S. 84–104, and vii. S. 160–184. Brunn, *Sitz. Ber. d. Kön. Bayr. Akad.* 1880, S. 450.

[527]) Paus., ii. 10. 3, and ix. 20. 4.

[528]) Paus., ix. 22. 1.

[528a]) His Tanagra Hermes was youthful and beardless, and this figure is elderly and bearded. *Ann. d. Inst.* 1879, p. 144.

[529]) Paus., v. 25. 5.

[530]) Paus., v. 26. 6. E. Curtius, *Arch. Zeit.* 1879, S. 97.

[531]) Paus., i. 23. 2.

[532]) Paus., x. 16. 4. Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 71. Lucian, *Imagg.* 4. 6; and *Dial. meretr.* 3. 2.

P. 291. [532a]) Lucian, *Imagg.* 4.

[533]) Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* xii. 10. 7. Cic., *Brut.* 18. 70. Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* i. S. 130.

[534]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 32. Petronius, *Sat.* 88.

[535]) Paus., ii. 30. 2.

[536]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 58.

[537]) Cic., *In Verres*, iv. 43, § 93.

[538]) Paus., ix. 30. 1.

[539]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 57, and Note 537. Strabo, xiv. p. 637.

[540]) Tatian, *Con. Græc.* 54, p. 117 (ed. Worth). Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 57. Paus., i. 23. 7; ix. 30. 1. *Conf.* Michaelis, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* ii. S. 85.

[541]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 57. About Lateran Marsyas, *vid.* Brunn, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1858, p. 374; and *Mon. d. Inst.* vi. Tav. 23. The Brit. Mus. bronze, *Arch. Zeit.* 1874, Tav. 8. *Conf.* G. Hirschfeld, "Athena und Marsyas," *Berliner Winckelmann's Program* for 1872. E. Petersen, *Arch. Zeit.* 1880, S. 22–26. Von Sybel, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* v. S. 342. *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, 1880, S. 216. A fine Marsyas head in Baracco Coll., *vid.* Matz und Duhn, *Antiken Bildwerke in Rom*, No. 451.

P. 292. [542]) Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* i. S. 145.

P. 293. [543]) Propertius, ii. 31. 7.

[544]) Petersen, *Arch. Zeit.* 1865, S. 91.

[545]) Paus., iii. 21. 1. *Anall.* iii. p. 218 *n.* 313 *a.* The importance of the foot-race is better understood when we remember that in antiquity rapid messengers took the place of post or telegraph. Thus one runner brought the news of the Marathon victory, running from Athens to Sparta, 1,140 *stadia* (about 131 miles), in two days. The runner who, when the Persians had defiled the holy flame after the battle of Plataiai, was sent to Delphi to procure pure fire, outran even the Marathon messenger, making the distance to and from Delphi (1,000 *stadia*) in one day; but, like Ladas, as he arrived he sank dead.

[546]) Paus., vi. 8. 4.

[547]) Paus., vi. 8. 5. Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 57.

[548]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 57. Quint., *Inst. Orat.* ii. 13. 8.

[548a]) Lucian, *Philopseud.* 18.

[549]) Welcker, *Alte Denkmäler*, i. S. 417.

P. 295. [550]) 135 Second Græco-Roman Room.

[551]) Brunn, "Tipo Statuario di Atleta," *Ann. d. Inst.* 1879, p. 202–222; *Mon. d. Inst.* xi. Tav. 7; *Besch. d. Glyptothek*, S. 165. *Conf.* Kekulé, *Ueber den Kopf des Praxitelischen Hermes*, Stuttgart, 1881, S. 8, who thinks the oil-dropping athlete to be of a later school than Myron's. Brunn, *Deutsche Rundschau*, 1881, S. 196, accepts this supposition, but adds, that this motive must be the work of a "*durchaus geistesverwandter Schüler*."

P. 296. [552]) Kekulé, *Arch. Zeit.* 1866, S. 209. There is one *replica* of this Discobolos in Duncombe Park, England: *vid.* Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles of Great Britain*, p. 295. In this statue, the great length of the body in proportion to the legs is most marked. The British Museum has recently purchased a copy originally in the Coll. Campana: *Arch. Zeit.* 1883, S. 185.

[553]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 58. Cicero, *Brut.* 18, 70. Petronius, *Sat.* 88. Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* 12. 10. 7. Ovid, *Ars Amator*, iii. 219. Statius, *Silv.* iv. 6. 25.

P. 299. [554]) Paus., v. 10. 1.

P. 300. [555]) Paus., x. 10. 1. E. Curtius, *Gelehrter Göttinger Anz.* 1861.

[556]) Lucian, *Imagg.* 4, 6. On the different extant Amazon types, *vid.* O. Jahn, *Ber. d. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.* 1850, S. 44. Michaelis, *Arch. Zeit.* 1862, S. 335. Klügmann, *N. Rhein. Museum*, 1866, S. 321. Conze, *Heroen und Göttergestalten*, S. 32. Klügmann, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1869, S. 272.

[556a]) *Conf.* R. Kekulé in *Comm. T. Mommseni.*

[557]) Paus., vii. 27. 2.

[558]) Paus., ix. 4. 1. Plutarch, *Aristides*, 20.

[559]) Paus., i. 28. 2; ix. 4. 1. Demosth., *De Falsa Legat.* xix. p. 428, § 272.

P. 301. [560]) Michaelis, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* ii. S. 87, shows that this statue was never called Promachos in antiquity.

[561]) Zosimos, 5. 6. 2. It is probable that Zosimos' Promachos is the Polias of the Erechtheion, shaped as a Promachos.

[562]) *Conf.* Note 458.

[563]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 49.

[564]) Paus., v. 15. 1. E. Curtius, "Die Altäre zu Olympia," *Abh. d. Kön. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1882, S. 6.

P. 302. [565]) A practical trial of this technique was made in 1857, by M. Quatremère de Quincy: *vid.* his *Le Jupitre Olympien.*

[566]) Dörpfeld, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, Ber. 46.

[567]) Murray, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* vii. S. 274. The front was a strong blue.

[568]) Lucian, *Jup. trag.* 25.

[569]) Suetonius, *Caligula*, 22, 57.

[570]) Strabo, viii. p. 353.

P. 303. [570a]) Percy Gardner, *Types*, etc., p. 186, pl. iii. 15, 16, 43.

[571]) Loeschcke, *Pheidias' Tod*, etc., S. 35. *Conf.* Furtwängler, *Preuss. Jahrbüch.* li. S. 381.

P. 304. [572]) *Iliad*, i. 528–530.

[573]) For different coins, *vid. Arch. Zeit.* xxxii. Taf. 9. J. Friedländer, *Berliner Blätter für Münz-, Siegel- und Wappenkunde*, iii. S. 24. J. Overbeck, *Sitz. Ber. des Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.* Philphilos. Cl. 1866, S. 173. Sallet, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, vii. S. 110. Friedländer, *Arch. Zeit.* 1876, S. 34. The Zeus on Philip of Macedon's coins, *vid.* Barclay V. Head, *A Guide*, etc., pl. vii. 29, and xxii. 18.

P. 305. [574]) J. Overbeck, *Atlas zur Kunst Mythologie*, Taf. ii. 1, 2. E. Petersen, *Die Künst bei Pheidias*, S. 386.

[575]) Strabo, viii. p. 354.

[576]) Dio Chrysostom, *Orat.* xii. (p. 401, Reiske).

[577]) *Anthol. Græc.* ii. 208. 48 (Jacobs).

P. 306. [578]) Lucian, *De Sacrif.* 11.

[579]) Quint., *Inst. Orat.* xii. 10. 9.

[580]) Cic., *Orat.* 2. 8.

[581]) Liv., xlv. 28. Plutarch, *Paul. Æmil.* 28.

[582]) Dio Chrysostom, *Orat.* xii. 51 (p. 400, Reiske).

P. 308. [583]) U. Köhler, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* v. S. 89–109.

[584]) Paus., i. 24. 5–7. Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 54, xxxvi. 18. Maximus Tyrius, *Diss.* xiv. p. 200.

[585]) Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, S. 44.

[586]) Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* i. S. 180.

[587]) K. Lange, "Athena Parthenos," *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* vi. S. 60, 61.

P. 310. [588]) For literature on this statuette, *vid.* K. Lange, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* vi. S. 56–94, Taf. i., ii.; *Mitt. d. Athen.*, etc., v. S. 370; Hauvette-Besnault, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1881, pp. 54–63. C. T. Newton, *Academy*, Feb. 12, 1883, p. 124. Michaelis, *Neuen Reich.* 1881, S. 353.

P. 311. [589]) Lange, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* vi. S. 82. Barclay V. Head, *A Guide*, etc., pl. lxi. 14, 15.

P. 312. [590]) Plutarch, *Pericles*, 31.

P. 315. [591]) *Vid.* Schöne, *Griechische Reliefs in Athenischen Sammlungen*, Taf. xii.

[592]) Paus., i. 28. 2. Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 54. Hübner, *Nuove Memorie dell' Inst.* p. 34. Lucian, *Imagg.* 4.

[593]) Tzetz., *Chil.* viii. 353.

P. 316. [594]) Paus., vi. 25. 1.

[595]) Paus., i. 14. 7. Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 15.

[596]) Paus., i. 24. 8; ix. 10. 2.

[597]) Preller, *Arch. Zeit.* No. 40, S. 261, about the *Cleiduchos*. Paus., vi. 4, 5, for Athlete.

[598]) Matz und Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke in Rom*: No. 989 contains a full account of the history and vicissitudes of these statues.

[599]) About enchasing, *vid.* O. Jahn, *Sitz. Ber. d. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.* 1850, ii. S. 129. Plin., xxxv. 54. According to some of the Christian Fathers, he painted pictures, strangely enough, on the island of Arados, off the coast of Phœnicia, which were contemplated by the Apostle Peter: *vid.* Rathgeber, *Allgemeine Encycl.* iii. 3, S. 193.

[600]) *Conf.* L. Schmidt, *Ethik der Alten Griechen*, i. S. 140.

P. 317. [600a]) Plutarch, *Pericles*, 31.

[600b]) E. Curtius, "Pheidias' Tod und Philochoros," *Arch. Zeit.* 1877, S. 134. Loeschcke, *conf.* Note 458. Furtwängler, *Preuss. Jahrbüch.* li. S. 381. The older literature is given by Sauppe, *Nachrichten d. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, 1867, No. 7; *vid.* E. Petersen, *Arch. Zeit.* 1867, S. 22.

P. 318. [601]) Compare Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 17, with Paus., i. 3. 5, where Pliny ascribes a statue to Agoracritos, and Pausanias the very same to Pheidias.

[602]) Paus., ix. 34. 1. Strabo, ix. 411.

[603]) Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* i. S. 240. A part of the head of this statue is in the British Museum. *Vid.* Six, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1882, p. 89; and P. Gardner, *Types*, etc., pl. x. 27.

[604]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 17.

[605]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxv. 54.

[606]) Plin., l. c.; and Paus., vi. 26. 3.

[607]) Strabo, viii. 334.

[608]) Paus., v. 20. 1.

P. 319. [609]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 87.

[610]) Paus., i. 40. 4.

[611]) Paus., x. 9. 8.

[612]) Paus., ii. 27. 2.

[612a]) This coin has recently been shown to be older than Pheidias (Brunn, *Arch. Misc.* S. 4; Klein, *Arch. Epig. Mitt. aus Oest.* S. vii. 70), and hence

cannot be dependent upon Pheidias' statue in any way.

P. 320. [613]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 16. Paus., i. 19. 2. Lucian, *Imagg.* 4.

[614]) E. Pottier et S. Reinach, "Fouilles dans la Nécropole de Myrina," *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* vi. pp. 557–580, pl. xviii.; *conf.* Note 1180.

P. 321. [615]) *Conf.* Note 593.

[616]) Paus., ii. 30. 2. E. Petersen, "Die drei-gestaltige Hekate," *Arch. Epig. Mitt. aus Oest.* Bd. v. S. 1.

[617]) Cic., *De Natur. Deor.* i. 30. Valer. Maxim., viii. 11, ext. 3.

[618]) Paus., i. 8. 5; i. 20. 3.

[619]) Paus., ix. 11. 4. Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 72.

P. 322. [620]) Paus., x. 19. 3. Welcker, *Alte Denkmäler*, i. S. 151. Eurip., *Ion.* 184.

[621]) Paus., v. 22. 2, 3. No fragments of this monument have been found.

[622]) Paus., i. 23. 7. Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 79.

[623]) Pliny, l. c.: "Lycius Myronis discipolus fuit, qui fecit dignum præceptore puerum sufflantem languidos ignis."

P. 323. [624]) Plin., *N. H.* l. c.

[625]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 81. Plutarch, *Pericles*, 13. This is the reading hitherto accepted. Klein, however, *Arch. Epig. Mitt. aus Oest.* vii. 72, makes it very probable that no Styppax existed as artist, but that he was dedicator of Lykios' *puer sufflans languidos ignis* Hence any statue by this Cypriote will no longer have to be sought for.

[626]) Michaelis, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* i. S. 284.

[627]) *Conf.* Note 1200.

[628]) Ross, *Arch. Aufsätze*, i. S. 168.

[629]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 76. Paus., i. 23. 3; and A. Michaelis, op. c. S. 284.

P. 324. [629a]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 74.

[630]) *Vid. Ancient Marbles of the British Museum*, vol. ii. p. 32. *Arch. Zeit.* 1860, S. 40; and 1868, Taf. 2. S. 2.

[631]) Paus., i. 23. 8. Aristophanes, *Aves*, 1128. Ross, *Arch. Aufsätze*, i. S. 194. Klein, *Arch. Epig. Mitt. aus Oest.* 1880, S. 1.

P. 325. [632]) Paus., i. 40. 3, and 44. 4. *Conf.* Wieseler, *Denkmäler d. Alten Künst.* ii. No. 174*b*.

[633]) Paus., ix. 30. 1.

[634]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 82.

[635]) Plin., op. c. 32.

[636]) Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* i. S. 268.

[637]) Paus., i. 26. 6.

[638]) Paus., ix. 2. 7. Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 92.

[639]) J. Overbeck, *Antik. Schriftq.* Nos. 893–896. That he invented the borer, as is reported, cannot be true; since signs of the working of this tool are found on works as old as the Æginetan marbles, which were executed, no doubt, long before his time.

P. 325. [640]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 76. Lucian, *Philopseud.* 18. 20.

[641]) Benndorf, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* vii. S. 47. Other inscriptions mentioning Demetrios' name, and found on the Acropolis, are published by R. Schöne, *Hermes*, v. 309; Hirschfeld, *Arch. Zeit.* 1872, Taf. 60. 5; U. Köhler, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* v. S. 318, this latter showing by its style that Demetrios lived during the early half of the fourth century B.C.

[641a]) Lucian, l. c.

[642]) Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* xii. 10. 9.

[643]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 88.

[644]) Paus., vi. 6. 1. Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 88. Ross, *Arch. Aufsätze*, i. S. 189. Overbeck, *Antik. Schriftq.* Nos. 922–928; and scattered through the *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.*, and *Bull. d. Corr. Hell.*

P. 327. [645]) For discussion of age of Parthenon, *vid.* Wilamowitz, *Philologische Untersuchungen*, i. S. 68. Matz und Schöne, *Göttinger Gelehrter Anzeiger*, 1871, S. 1936. Loeschcke, *Pheidias' Tod*, etc., S. 41, 46.

P. 328. [646]) Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, 1871, S. 12.

[647]) Michaelis, op. c. S. 46.

P. 329. [648]) Among the Greeks of Elgin's time, the belief prevailed, that the statues were mutilated living bodies, petrified by the enchantment of magicians who would continue to have power over them as long as the Turks ruled in Greece. The spirits within these marbles, called the *Arabim*, were often heard to moan and bewail their condition. During the transport to the sea-shore, the Greek carriers in charge of one of the cases refused to go farther, declaring that they heard the *Arabim* crying out for its fellow-spirits still detained in bondage on the Acropolis. Even on board ship, it would seem as though the *Arabim* were still busy: one ship sank, off of the island of Cerigo, with its precious cargo, which was only rescued after three years time. *Vid.* Hobhouse, *Journey*, i. p. 348; and Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, S. 79. For opinions upon marbles, *vid.* Payne Knight, in *Specimens of Ant. Sculpture*, i. 1809, p. xxxix.

[649]) How widely scattered, may appear from the fact that one little arm is in private possession near Heidelberg, where it is so jealously guarded that it will doubtless long remain separated from its mates safely sheltered in the British Museum. All friends of art may, moreover, well be thankful for this shelter; for, had the marbles been left on the Acropolis, little would have been preserved to us. The Greeks, although envious of the British lion, who jealously guards his treasures, are not able properly to care for the relics of ancient art still left in their land. But little more than ten years ago,

a distinguished German architect, while pursuing his studies on the Acropolis, not infrequently saw the Athenian boys throwing stones, the heads and arms of the figures of the frieze still adorning the shattered walls of the Parthenon serving as targets.

P. 329. [650]) Carrey's and many other early drawings of the marbles are collected in Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, Atlas. C. Waldstein reported to the Society of Hellenic Studies, April 19, 1883, the finding of a manuscript book, date 1678, in the library of Sir Thomas Phillips, at Cheltenham, containing two views of Athens, with the Parthenon still entire: *vid. Acad.* April 28, 1883. Michaelis, *Arch. Zeit.* 1883, S. 367, Taf. 16, publishes a hitherto unheeded original drawing of the Parthenon, by Cyriacus from Ancona.

[651]) *Conf.* Loeschcke, *Pheidias' Tod*, S. 46; and *C. I. A.* iv. 297*a*.

P. 332. [652]) Furtwängler, *Preuss. Jahrbüch.* li. S. 377.

P. 334. [653]) Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, S. 21. The *regulæ* are below; above runs a Lesbic *kymation* of red and white leaves on a blue ground; above this a rich meander-border, the pattern of which is still clear; and then above all is a Doric blue-red *kymation*.

[653a]) Originals and casts make up 122 meters of the frieze. The fragment formerly in Carlsruhe is now in London.

[654]) For literature and inscriptions concerning Panathenaic festival, *vid.* Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, Anhang. ii. S. 318. Specimens of Panathenaic prize-vases still exist, and are most fully represented in the British Museum: *conf.* J. de Witte, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1877, S. 294, and *Mon. d. Inst.* x. Tav. 42–48*h*. It seems probable, that on the usual yearly festival Athena's old *peplos* was only repaired, but that every fifth year a new and brilliant one was brought to her.

P. 335. [655]) Flasch, *Zum Parthenon Frieze*, S. 83, Würzburg, 1877. A. S. Murray, *Revue Arch.* 1879, Sept., p. 139, pl. 21.

[656]) Friedrich's *Bausteine*, i. S. 167. Brunn, *Sitz. Ber. d. Bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1874, ii. S. 44.

[657]) Flasch, op. c. S. 105. Milchhöfer, *Die Museen Athens*, S. 17, about Attic tombstone with priest and knife. The majority of archæologists accept the *peplos* theory, in opposition to Flasch.

P. 336. [658]) *Conf.* Note 366.

P. 337. [659]) Flasch, op. c. S. 27.

[659a]) Opinions differ as to these names: Prof. v. Duhn calls those which Flasch named Hermes and Apollo, the Dioscuri; Demeter the one with a torch, and Hermes the one holding his knee. *Iliad*, xviii. 414, and ii. 599.

P. 338. [660]) For the twenty-nine different opinions about these figures of the east frieze, see Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, S. 262, 263; and C. T. Newton, *A Guide to the Sculptures of the Parthenon*, 1880, Table C.

P. 345. [661]) Xenophon, *De Re equest.* i. 11.

[662]) *A Description of the Ancient Marbles of the British Museum*, part viii. p. 103.

P. 346. [663]) In Michaelis' *Parthenon*, Taf. ix.–xiv., are illustrated in outline the slabs of the whole frieze, in the original order, as far as it has been possible to ascertain it by aid of Carrey's drawings. Casts of all parts which are not in England are put up with the marbles in the Elgin Room, and thus the beautiful frieze is becoming more complete to our eyes.

[664]) E. Petersen, *Arch. Zeit.* 1877, S. 136.

P. 349. [665]) Paus., i. 24. 5.

P. 350. [665a]) *Homeric Hymn*, 28, v. 6–16, Shelley's translation.

[666]) *Conf.* R. Schneider, "Die Geburt der Athena," *Abhand. des Arch.-Epig. Seminars d. Universität in Wien*, 1880, who publishes the Madrid *puteal* in full, Taf. i. S. 32.

P. 351. [667]) C. T. Newton, *A Guide to the Sculptures of the Parthenon*, 1880, Table A.

[668]) *A Description of the Ancient Marbles of the Brit. Mus.* vi. 12. Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, Taf. 6. 18. *Conf. Goethe, Werke*, l. 109. L. Caldesi, *Photographs of Ancient Marbles, Bronzes, and Terra-cottas in the Brit. Mus.* 1873, No. 15.

P. 353. [669]) Brunn, *Sitz. Ber. d. Kön. Bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1874, ii. S. 3–50.

P. 354. [670]) Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, S. 86.

[671]) *Conf.* Note 669.

P. 357. [672]) J. Overbeck, *Ber. der Kön. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.* 1879, Nov., S. 72.

[673]) Stephani, *Compte-rendu de la Commission Impériale Archéologique de St. Petersburg*, 1872, pp. 5–142. Opposed by E. Petersen, *Arch. Zeit.* 1876, S. 115. Robert, *Hermes*, 1881, S. 81. E. R. Gardner, *Jour. of Hell. Stud.* iii. p. 244.

P. 359. [674]) Matz, *Göttinger Gelehr. Anzeiger*, 1871, S. 1948. Michaelis, *Arch. Zeit.* 1872, S. 115. Brunn, *Sitz. Ber. d. Kön. Bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1874, ii. S. 24. C. T. Newton, *A Guide to the Sculptures of the Parthenon*, p. 15.

P. 361. [675]) C. T. Newton, *History of Discoveries in Halicarnassus*, etc., vol. ii. part i. p. 254.

P. 363. [676]) Oppermann, *Leben Rietschls*, S. 227.

P. 365. [677]) The discussion, concerning the identity of the existing temple with the one built by Kimon, is summed up in a dissertation by August Schutz, *De Theseo*, Breslau, 1874. By many it is still considered impossible to bring into accordance with Pausanias' statements the situation of the temple now called Theseion. The one he mentions must have been situate so as to face more towards the east.

P. 365. [678]) L. Julius, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1878, S. 203.

[679]) The Theseion metopes are published, *Mon. d. Inst.* x. Taf. 43, 44, 58, 59; and Stuart's *Antiquities of Athens*, vol. iii. chap. i. pl. 11–14.

P. 366. [680]) The two friezes of this temple are published, Stuart's *Antiquities of Athens*, vol. iii. pl. 4 and 18, 19, where, however, the order of the east frieze is incorrect: *conf.* J. Overbeck, *Gesch. d. Griech. Plastik*, iii. ed. vol. i. fig. 77.

[681]) K. O. Müller, *Kunst-Archaeologische Werke*, Bd. 4, "Die erhobenen Arbeiten am Friese des Pronaos von Theseus Temple, Athen," Berlin, 1873.

P. 368. [682]) Brunn, *Sitz. Ber. d. Kön. Bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1874, ii. pl. i. S. 61.

[683]) *Conf.* Note 681.

[684]) Stephani, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1843, pp. 286–327.

P. 369. [685]) Illustrated in R. Schöne, *Griechische Reliefs aus Athen. Samm.* Taf. i.–iv. S. 6: *conf.* v. Sybel, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* v. S. 288.

[686]) *Corpus Ins. Gr.* N. 161. About the Erechtheion, L. Julius, *Ueber das Erechtheion*, München, 1878; and Borrmann, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* vi. S. 372.

P. 371. [687]) Viollet-le-Duc, *Entretiens sur l'Arch.* i. p. 293.

[688]) Paus., v. 26. 6.

[689]) E. Curtius, "Die Cultus-Stätte der Athena Nike," *Arch. Zeit.* 1879, p. 97. Benndorf, *Festschrift über das Cultusbild der Athena Nike*, Wien, 1879.

[690]) G. Wheler, *A Journey into Greece*, 1682, p. 308.

[691]) *A Description of the Ancient Marbles of the Brit. Mus.* ix. pl. 7–10. Ross, *Der Temple der Nike Apteros*, pl. xi. I–K and xii. O–G.

P. 372. [692]) Ross, *Der Temple der Athena Nike*, Berlin, 1839. Prestel, *Du Temple de l' Athena Nike*, Mainz, 1873.

[693]) R. Bohn, *Die Propyläen der Akropolis zu Athen*, Stuttgart, 1883. Robert, *Philologische Untersuchungen*, i. S. 173. Borrmann and Dörpfeld have taken up this interesting question again, but not yet made public the result of their studies.

[694]) This frieze is fully illustrated by Ross, *Der Temple der Nike Apteros*, Berlin, 1839.

P. 373. [695]) Herodotos, ix. 31.

P. 375. [696]) These are all published, together with an effort at restoration by Kekulé and Otto, *Die Reliefs an der Balustrade der Athena Nike.*

P. 376. [697]) *Vid. Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum*, "The Seleucid Kings of Syria," pl. i., ii.

P. 377. [698]) Brunn, *Beschreibung d. Glyptothek*, No. 136.

P. 378. [699]) Were the street too narrow, judging from a passage in Euripides' *Phœnicians*, then the image was simply painted on the wall.

P. 378. [700]) Paus., i. 21; and P. Girard, *L'Asklépeion d'Athènes*, 1882, Paris.

[701]) *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* vi. p. 424; and *conf.* Note 700.

[702]) *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* i. 1877, pl. ix.

P. 379. [703]) *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* ii. p. 92.

[704]) Fr. v. Duhn, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* ii. S. 214, 212. *Arch. Zeit.* 1878, S. 169. Many Asklepios reliefs are published well in *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* ii. pl. vii.–ix.

[705]) Fr. v. Duhn, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* ii. S. 217, Anm. 1.

P. 380. [706]) Milchhöfer, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* v. S. 206.

P. 381. [707]) Foucart, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* ii. p. 37, pl. x. On one relief of this class, in which appear Athena, Heracles, and a seated man, there is inscribed above the latter "*Demos.*" A relief in which Athena's head is bowed is published, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* ii. pl. xii.

P. 382. [708]) Furtwängler, *Die Sammlung Sabouroff*, etc., Taf. vi.

P. 383. [709]) Milchhöfer, "Gemalte Grabstelen," *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* v. S. 173. This theory is combated by Furtwängler (*Coll. Sab.*), who thinks the vases would have been too fragile to put in the open air on the top of the tomb.

[710]) Aristophanes, *Eccles.* 1108.

P. 384. [711]) Dionysios Halicarn., *De Isocrate*, 3, pp. 541, 542 (Reiske). Lucian, *Somm.* 8. Vitruv., iii. præfat. 2. Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 55.

P. 385. [712]) Pliny, op. c. 55.

[713]) Cicero, *Brut.* 86, 296. Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* v. 12, 21.

[714]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 56. Lucian, *De Saltat.* 75.

[715]) Plin., op. c. 56: "Proprium eius est uno crure et insisterent signa excogitasse, quadrata, tamen esse ea tradit Varro et pæne ad exemplum."

[716]) Friedrichs, "Der Doryphoros des Polyklet," *Berliner Winckelmann's Program*, 1863. E. Petersen, *Arch. Zeit.* 1864, S. 130; and Friedrichs, *Arch. Zeit.* 1864, S. 149. Michaelis, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1878, p. 1. Milchhöfer, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iv. S. 153. Brunn, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1879, p. 219. Well illustrated, O. Rayet, *Monuments de l'Art Antique*, iii. pl. 1.

[717]) These are collected by Michaelis, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1878, S. 5.

P. 386. [718]) Furtwängler, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iii. S. 287.

P. 388. [719]) Pan, *vid.* Chabouillet, *Cat. gén. des Camées de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, p. 505, N. 3007; and Hermes, *Gazette Arch.* 1876, pl. 16. In the Metropolitan Museum at New York, among the bronzes from Cyprus, is a small statuette of this type, but of poor execution. The hair especially is interesting as resembling the treatment of hair in the Naples bronze copy of the Doryphoros head. The hands bear

no attributes, but have holes, indicating that the spear may have been lost.

P. 388. [719a]) Furtwängler, *Die Sammlung Sabouroff*, etc., will publish this rare bronze.

[720]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 55.

P. 389. [721]) Purgold, "Ins. aus Olympia," No. 436, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 190. Paus., vi. 7. 10.

[722]) Plin., l. c.

[723]) Cic., *In Verres*, iv. 3, 5.

[724]) Plin., l. c.

[725]) Plin., l. c.

P. 390. [726]) Plin., l. c. Cic., *De Orat.* ii. 16, 70.

[727]) Plin. op. c. 53.

[728]) Klügmann, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1869, S. 272. *N. Rhein. Mus.* xxi. S. 321. Conze, *Heroen und Göttergestalten*, 32.

[729]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 56.

P. 391. [730]) Paus., ii. 17. 1–6. Thuk., iv. 133.

[731]) Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* i. S. 213.

[732]) Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, pl. viii. 13, 15, p. 138.

P. 392. [733]) Brunn, *Bull. d. Inst.* 1846, p. 126; *Ann. d. Inst.* 1864, p. 297; *Mon. d. Inst.* viii. 1. Kekulé, *Hebe*, 64.

[734]) Paus., ii. 27. 5.

P. 393. [735]) Strabo, viii. p. 372. O. Jahn, *Sitz. Ber. d. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.* 1850, ii. S. 129.

[736]) Plutarch, *Quæst. Conviv.* ii. 3. 2; *Arch. Zeit.* 1864, S. 273, 278.

[737]) Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* i. S. 219. Vitruvius, iii. 1, 2.

[738]) Quintilian, xii. 10. 7, 8.

[739]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 57.

P. 394. [740]) These are mentioned by name, Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 50. Paus., x. 9. 10; vi. 13. 7; v. 17. 3.

[741]) Brunn, "Zur Künstler Gesch.," *Sitz. Ber. der Kön. Bayr. Akad.* 1880, S. 466.

[742]) Paus., ii. 17. 5, and 22. 7. Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 80. Tatian, *C. Græc.* 51, p. 113.

P. 395. [743]) Paus., vi. 9. 3, and 6. 1. "Ins. aus Olympia," No. 129, *Arch. Zeit.* 1878.

[744]) Paus., vi. 1. 3, and 8. 4.

[745]) Paus., iii. 18. 8.

[746]) Loeschcke, *Arch. Zeit.* 1878, S. 10.

[747]) Paus., vi. 6. 2; 7. 10; 9. 2; 13. 6; and "Ins. aus Olympia," No. 128, *Arch. Zeit.* 1878, S. 83, and Nos. 286, 327; and S. 46 of *Arch. Zeit.* 1879.

[748]) Paus., viii. 31. 4. See coins of Megalopolis, *Bull. d. Inst.* 1846, p. 53. Paus., ii. 20. 1; iii. 18. 8.

[749]) Paus., ii. 22. 7.

[750]) Paus., ii. 24. 6.

[751]) Paus., vi. 2. 8; x. 9. 6.

[752]) *Arch. Zeit.* 1879, "Ins. aus Olympia," Nos. 221, 222, and probably 287.

[753]) *C. I. G.* 2984.

P. 395. [754]) Stark, *Sitz. Ber. d. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.* 1860, S. 77.

[755]) Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* i. S. 286.

P. 396. [756]) Paus., ii. 17. 3.

[757]) *Bull. d. Inst.* 1854, p. xiii. Fleckeisen's *Jahrb. für Phil.* Bd. 77, S. 109.

[758]) Engraved, *The Century Magazine*, April, 1882, p. 833, New York.

[759]) Furtwängler, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iii. S. 289.

[760]) Milchhöfer, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iv. S. 175, and plates.

P. 397. [761]) Paus., x. 9. 6–8. Paus., vi. 6. 1; v. 26. 6; v. 25. 7; 6. 3; 3. 9.

[762]) Paus., viii. 41. 7.

P. 398. [763]) Cockerell, *The Temples of Jupiter Panhellenius at Ægina, and Apollo Epicurius at Bassæ near Phigalia in Arcadia*, pl. 11, 12, London, 1860. *Exploration Scientifique de la Morée*, T. ii. pl. 28, 29. Stackelberg, *Der Apollon Temple von Bassæ.*

[764]) Ivanoff, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1865, p. 29. K. Lange, *Sitz. Ber. d. Kön. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.* 1880, S. 60. Illustrations of all the slabs, Overbeck, *Gesch. d. Griech. Plastik*, iii. ed. Bd. i.

P. 401. [765]) Paus., vi. 20. 14; i. 24. 3; v. 24. 5.

[766]) Paus., x. 9. 7. Plutarch, *Lysander*, 1. Paus., iii. 17. 4, and 11. 3. 5.

P. 402. [767]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 68.

[768]) Paus., v. 26. 1. Discovery of the Nike, *Arch. Zeit.* 1875, S. 178. Inscription, *Ausgrabungen v. Olympia*, i. Taf. 22.

P. 403. [769]) Schubring, *Arch. Zeit.* 1877, S. 59.

[770]) J. Overbeck, *Gesch. d. Griech. Plastik*, iii. Auf. Bd. i.

[771]) Paus., iv. 36. 6.

[772]) Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 361.

P. 404. [773]) To Prof. Curtius and Herr Grüttner I owe great thanks for the generous privileges granted in having the Nike photographed. Concerning coins with wreath, *vid.* Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, pl. ii. 19, iii. 14, viii. 3, iv. 30.

[774]) Coin with *tænia*, Gardner, op. c. pl. iii. 42; with olive-bough, pl. i. 23; and with palm, viii. 4.

[775]) One bronze now in the Berlin Museum was discovered in Cæsarea, in Cappadokia. Terracottas are in the British Museum, and marble repetitions on Delos. Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 339.

P. 405. [776]) Th. Homolle, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* iii. pl. x.–xii.

[777]) Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 335, and S. 345: *conf. Arch. Zeit.* 1872, Taf. 57.

P. 406. [778]) *Iliad*, xx. 223.

P. 407. [779]) Furtwängler, op. c. S. 338.

[780]) Furtwängler, op. c. S. 363.

[780a]) *Conf.* Reginald Stuart Poole concerning the

influence of the later Ionian painters on sculpture and coins, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1864.

P. 408. [781]) Lykian monuments are treated of in the following: Sir Charles Fellows, *Lycia, Asia Minor*. Michaelis, "Il Monumento delle Nereidi," *Ann. d. Inst.* 1874, pp. 216–235; 1875, pp 68–187. Benndorf, *Arch. Epig. Mitt. aus Oest.* vi. Heft ii.: "Vorläufiger Bericht über zwei Oesterreichische Archaeologischen Expeditionen nach Klein-Asien."

[782]) Savelsberg, *Lykische Sprachdenkmäler*, part ii. p. 190; and Michaelis, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1875, p. 138, Note 221.

[783]) Michaelis, op. c. p. 166.

[784]) Sir Charles Fellows, *The Ionic Trophy-Monument*, p. 6.

[785]) Falkener, *Museum of Classical Antiquities*, i. p. 272.

P. 409. [786]) Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 360.

[787]) This Xanthos monument is illustrated, Michaelis, *Mon. d. Inst.* x. Tav. 11–18; and *Ann. d. Inst.* Tav. d. agg. D–G.

[788]) Michaelis, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1875, pp. 76–79. Gibson, *Mus. of Class. Antiq.* i. p. 138. Fellows, *Ionic Trophy-Monument*, p. 8. It is a most interesting fact, that these same shield-cloths are found painted on the terra-cotta sarcophagus recently discovered in Clazomenai in Asia Minor: *vid. Jour. of Hell. Stud.* iv. 1, and plates.

P. 410. [789]) Fellows, *Lycia*, pp. 207, 112 and *Arch. Epig. Mitt. aus Oest.* vi. Taf. vii., viii.

[790]) Fellows, *Lycia*, p. 142.

P. 411. [791]) Theopompos, *Fr.*, iii. Michaelis, op. c. p. 170.

[792]) Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, pp. 359, 360.

[793]) Such battle-scenes occur on the crest of Pajafa's tomb in the British Museum, and on a tomb still in Telmessos, the base of which is being washed away by the ocean. Fellows, *Lycia*, p. 112.

P. 412. [793a]) Fellows, *Lycia*, p. 116, and frontispiece.

[794]) Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 359. Michaelis, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1875, p. 118.

[795]) Furtwängler, op. c. S. 347.

[796]) Falkener, *Mus. of Class. Antiq.* i. p. 272.

P. 413. [797]) Euripides, *Andr.* 1267; *Iphig. Tauris*, 274.

[798]) Fellows, *Ionic Trophy-Monument*, p. 26.

[799]) Urlichs, *Verhand. der 19 Versammlung d. Deutschen Philologen in Braunschweig*, 1860, S. 63. The exceedingly agile and lithe character of these statues makes it impossible, as was imagined by Gibson (*Mus. of Class. Ant.* i. p. 140) that they represent Ionian cities. In such case they would have had a firmer and more steady character. Besides, the attributes are not, as is known from coins, those which he imagined accompanied the different Ionian cities he named.

P. 415. [800]) Nägelsbach, *Nachhomerische Theologie*, S. 407. Petersen, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1860, p. 399. Pindar (ed. Bergk), *Oly.* 2, 28.

[801]) J. A. Schönborn, *Mus. of Class. Antiq.* i. p. 41. Benndorf, *Arch. Epig. Mitt. aus Oest.* vi. Heft ii.

P. 416. [802]) Stephani, *Compte-rendu de la Com. Imp. Arch.* 1861, p. 63. Benndorf, op. c. S. 50.

P. 417. [803]) *Odyssey*, Book xx. 248.

P. 420. [804]) Benndorf, op. c. p. 57.

[805]) Paus., ix. 4. 1.

P. 421. [806]) Benndorf, op. c. pl. vii., viii.

P. 422. [807]) Paus., i. 18. 1.

[808]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 60. Paus., vi. 19. 6.

[809]) Percy Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, pl. i. 13–36.

[810]) Siefert, *Acragas*, S. 31.

P. 428. [811]) Thukydides, ii. 53; iii. 82, 83.

[812]) U. Köhler, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* v. S. 268, "Attische Schatzurkunde aus dem Ende des vierten Jahrhundert." Such witnesses so many centuries mute, but at last allowed to speak, dash to pieces, with the sure aim of truth, the cant of critics about this age.

P. 429. [813]) Isaios, *De Dicæog. Hered.* § 44.

P. 431. [814]) E. Curtius, *Griechische Geschichte*, iii. Auf. Berlin, 1874, Bd. iii. S. 489. For a comparison of Athenian and Scythian remains, showing the influence of Attica, *vid. Recueil d'Antiquités de la Scythie*, Atlas publié par la Commission Impériale Archéologique, St. Petersburg, 1866; liv. i. pl. iv., xii., compared with pl. xxxiv. and xxxv.

P. 432. [815]) Leopold Schmidt, *Ethik der Alten Griechen*, Berlin, 1882, i. Bd. S. 205–208.

[816]) Plutarch, *Phocion*, 19.

P. 433. [817]) Paus., i. 1. 3.

[818]) Paus., viii. 30. 10.

[819]) Paus., ix. 30. 1.

[820]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 87.

[821]) Paus., ix. 16. 2; and i. 8. 3. Brunn, "Ueber die sogenannte Leucothea in der Glyptothek S. M. Kön. Ludwig I.," *Abh. der Kön. Bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1867.

[822]) U. Köhler, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* v. S. 363. Including one replica in Dresden, there are now three reproductions of this babe known.

P. 434. [823]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 87.

P. 435. [824]) Paus., viii. 30. 10; ix. 16. 2.

[825]) Paus., vii. 25. 9; vii. 26. 3.

[826]) Dio Chrysostom, *Orat.* 37. 40 (vol. ii. p. 122, Reiske; vol. ii. p. 304, Dind.).

P. 436. [827]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 50. Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* i. S. 336.

[828]) Urlichs, *Skopas' Leben und Werke*, S. 48, Greifswald, 1863.

P. 436. [829]) W. Klein, *Arch. Epig. Mitt. aus Oest.* vi., "Studien zur Griech. Künstler Gesch.," i., "Die Parisch-Attische Schule," S. 1–25.

[830]) Brunn, *Sitz. Ber. d. Kön. Bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1880, S. 454.

P. 437. [831]) Athen. xiii. p. 591. Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* i.

[832]) The unsatisfactory phototype of Praxiteles' Hermes Group (Selections, pl. viii.) is owing to unpardonable negligence on the part of the Athenian photographer Romaïdis.

[833]) Paus., v. 17. 3. The first publication of this great discovery was by G. Treu, *Hermes mit dem Dionysos-Knaben*, ein Original Arbeit des Praxiteles, Berlin, 1878. Many fragments were discovered later: *conf. Arch. Zeit.* Jahrgang 38, S. 44, about finding the foot.

P. 438. [834]) These are collected by A. H. Smith, *Jour. of Hell. Stud.* iii. p. 81.

[835]) Fr. v. Duhn, *Karlsruher Zeitung*, *Lit. Beilage*, 1881, Mai 15.

P. 440. [836]) A peculiar light must have fallen on the Hermes face, to bring out a predominating element of sadness, and indeed of *Welt-schmerz*, when thoughts of such feelings were suggested for the paper by C. Waldstein, "Praxiteles and the Hermes with the Dionysos child, from the Heraion at Olympia," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, vol. xii. part ii. p. 435.

P. 442. [837]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 69, and xxxvi. 20.

[838]) R. Kekulé, *Ueber den Kopf des Praxitelischen Hermes*, pl. i.

P. 443. [839]) Brunn, Der Hermes des Praxiteles, *Deutsche Rundschau*, 1882, Mai, S. 188.

P. 444. [840]) Paus., viii. 9. 1.

[841]) Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* i. S. 351.

P. 446. [842]) Paus., vi. 26. 1.

P. 447. [843]) Paus., i. 2. 4. Cicero, *In Verres*, iv. 60. 134.

[844]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 23.

[845]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 69.

[846]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 23.

[847]) Paus., i. 23. 7.

[848]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 23.

[849]) Paus., i. 20. 1.

P. 448. [850]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 69.

[851]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 23. Stark, *Arch. Zeit.* 1866, S. 240.

[852]) Paus., i. 43. 5.

[853]) The Roman replicas are enumerated, Matz und Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke*, Nos. 419–423; and nearly every museum of any size, outside of Rome, owns one or more copies of this subject.

P. 449. [854]) Brunn, *Deutsche Rundschau*, 1882, Mai, S. 188. This torso is so very fragmentary that only a sight and feeling of the marble itself, or of a cast, can give any adequate idea of its exquisite beauty and superiority. Hence no attempt was made at reproduction in the flat, where its excellence would be but feebly felt.

P. 449. [855]) Isocrates, *De Pace*, p. 183.

[856]) Paus., i. 40. 3; 44. 2; 43. 6.

[857]) Paus., ix. 27. 3.

P. 450. [858]) Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* i. S. 341.

[859]) The Eros of the Vatican is illustrated in Bouillon, *Musée des Antiq.* i. 152. *Conf.* Stark, *Sitz. Ber. der Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.* 1866, S. 155. *Vid.* Furtwängler, *Bull. d. Inst.* 1877, S. 151, about a replica now in the new Capitoline Museum, restored as an Apollo.

[860]) Furtwängler, *Eros in der Vasenmalerei.*

[861]) Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* i. S. 336.

[862]) Paus., ix. 39. 4; and Welcker, *Alte Denkmäler*, i. S. 206. Paus., ix. 2. 7.

[863]) Paus., x. 37. 1.

[864]) Paus., x. 15. 1. Plutarch, *De Pyth. Or.* 15.

[865]) Paus., ii. 21. 10.

[866]) Plin., *N. H.* vii. 127, and xxxvi. 20.

P. 451. [867]) Lucian, *Amores*, 13, 14; *Imagg.* 6. 23.

[868]) J. Overbeck, *Die Antik. Schriftquellen*, No. 1236–1240.

[869]) Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* i. S. 340.

[870]) *Odyssey*, viii. 364. F. Lenormant, *Gazette Arch.* vol. ii. p. 10, points out a curious historical coincidence which may possibly, in part, explain the representation of this nude goddess for Cnidos in Asia Minor. Praxiteles' Aphrodite, he thinks, may have been executed in connection with the spread of the worship of Anaitis, the nude Babylonian goddess, in Asia Minor; there being a coincidence of date between the decree of Artaxerxes Mnemon, ordering the worship of this Anaitis, and the probable date of Praxiteles' Aphrodite. The treaty of Antalkidas had put Cnidos under Persian power, hence the influence of the decree would have been felt there.

P. 452. [871]) *Conf.* Bernouilli, *Aphrodite*, S. 206. Von Lützow, *Münchener Antiken*, 41. Michaelis, *Arch. Zeit.* 1876, S. 145, Taf. 12.

[872]) Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* i. 340.

P. 453. [873]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 22. *Anthol. Gr.* iii. 133. 94 (Jacobs). For coin, see Bursian, *Index Schol.* Jena, 1873.

[874]) Furtwängler, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* v. S. 38. Flasch, *Arch. Zeit.* 1878, Taf. 16.

[875]) Strabo, xiv. p. 641.

[876]) Vitruv., vii. præf. 13.

[877]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 28; *Anthol. Gr.* iv, 181, 298 (Jacobs).

[878]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 70. Martial, xiv. 172.

[879]) Welcker, *Alte Denkmäler*, i. S. 406. Friedrichs, *Bausteine*, i. S. 264.

P. 453. [880]) Plin., xxxiv. 69.

P. 454. [881]) Callistratos, *Stat.* 3, and 8 (pp. 424, 431, Kayser).

[882]) *Anall.* ii. p. 383, n. 4; iii. p. 218, n. 315. Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 69. Urlichs, *Observat. d. Arte Praxit.* p. 14. Jahn, *Arch. Zeit.* 1850, S. 152.

[883]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 70.

[884]) Callistratos, *Stat.* 11 (p. 434, Kayser). Paus., i. 2. 3.

[885]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 69.

[886]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxv. 133.

P. 455. [887]) Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* i. S. 319.

[888]) Paus., vi. 25. 1. Urlichs, *Skopas' Leben und Werke*, S. 5.

[889]) Paus., viii. 45, 4. Welcker, *Alte Denkmäler*, i. S. 199. Urlichs, *Skopas*, S. 18. Stark, *Philologus*, xxi. S. 419. Milchhöfer, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* v. S. 52, 133.

P. 456. [890]) Very inadequate illustrations of these marbles have as yet appeared (*vid.* Treu, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* vi. Taf. xiv., xv.), and as yet no cast or photographs have been allowed.

P. 457. [891]) Paus., viii. 28. 1; ii. 22. 7; ii. 10. 1.

[892]) Urlichs, *Skopas*, S. 44.

[893]) Paus., ix. 10. 2; ix. 17. 1; i. 43. 6. Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 25. *Archaeologische Untersuchungen auf Samothrake*, v. Conze, Haüser, Niemann, and Benndorf, Bd. i., ii.

[894]) Clem. Alexandr., *Protrept.* 4, p. 42 (Potter). *Schol.* Æschin. *c. Tim.* 188, p. 747 (ed. Reiske). Paus., i. 28. 6. Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* i. 320, 322.

[895]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 25. *Anthol. Gr.* iv. 165, 233 (Planud. iv. 192); *Anthol. Gr.* i. 74, 75 (81) (Jacobs). Callistrat., *Stat.* 2 (p. 422 Kayser).

[896]) Euripides, *Bacch.* 135–170, 240.

P. 458. [897]) That small statuette (Perry, W. C., *Greek and Roman Sculp.* Figs. 161–162), the only representation, as was supposed, of Scopas' Mænad in the round, has been proved to be a modern fraud, being of biscuit-porcelain, a material never found among ancient remains, but a very favorite one with modern artists.

[898]) Propertius, ii. 31. 15.

[899]) For Augustus' Actium Apollo, *vid.* Barclay V. Head, *A Guide to the Select Coins*, etc., pl. 69. 35.

[900]) Menander Rhet., *Rhet. Græc.* iii. p. 445 (ed. Spengel). Strabo, xiii. p. 604. Concerning the discovery of the Smintheion, *vid. Antiquities of Ionia*, published by the Soc. of Dilettanti, part iv. p. 40.

[901]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 22.

P. 459. [902]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 26. Welcker, *Alte Denkmäler*, i. S. 204.

[902a]) Brunn, *Beschreibung d. Glyp.* No. 115. Many archæologists do not go as far as Brunn in tracing this frieze to Scopas: *vid.* P. Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, p. 199. Certainly the exceedingly retouched condition of the surface makes it very difficult to judge conclusively of the original excellence of this graceful composition.

P. 459. [903]) Strabo, xiv. p. 640. *Conf.* Th. Schreiber, *Der Apollo Pythoctonos.*

P. 460. [904]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 26.

[905]) Sig. Brizio, in the *Bulletino della Commissione Arch. Communale di Roma*, advocated this latter theory.

[906]) Pseudo-Plato, *Epist.* 13 B, 61 A.

[907]) Plutarch, *Vita Decem Orat.* (*Isocrates*), 27.

[908]) Paus., v. 20. 9.

[909]) Treu, *Arch. Zeit.* 1878, S. 34, 77.

[910]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 64. Plutarch, *Alex.* 40.

P. 461. [911]) Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* i. S. 389.

[912]) Brunn, op. c. S. 390.

[913]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 79.

[914]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 79. Paus., i. 24. 4. For the coins, *vid.* O. Jahn, *Nuove Memorie d. Inst.* p. 22, Tav. i. n. 12. Paus., i. 1. 3.

[915]) Paus., i. 3. 4. Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 79. Pseudo-Plato, *Epist.* 13, p. 361.

[916]) Vitruvius, ii. 8. 11. C. T. Newton, *Disc. at Halicarnassus*, etc., vol. ii. part ii. pp. 270, 311. The owner of a part of the platform where the ruins of this temple were discovered told Prof. Newton that he had heard his father speak of a large edifice with columns, as standing on the site within the century. This was destroyed in order to export the marble for building-material to Rhodes. C. T. Newton, op. c. p. 317.

[917]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 79.

[918]) O. Jahn, *Archaeologische Beiträge*, S. 18.

P. 462. [919]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 73.

[920]) Paus., i. 40. 6.

[921]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 42; xxxvi. 22. Cedrenus, *Ann.* p. 536 (Bonn). Clem. Alex., *Protrept.* 4, p. 41 (Potter).

[922]) Clem. Alex., *Protrept.* 4, 8, p. 42 (ed. Potter). Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* i. S. 385.

P. 463. [923]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 32. Propertius, ii. 31. 15.

[924]) Paus., ii. 32. 4. Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 91.

[925]) Bernhard Stark, "König Mausolos und das Mausoleum von Halikarnassos," *Eos*, Bd. i. pp. 345–400, Würzburg, 1864; and *Vorträge*, Heidelberg, 1882. According to a treatise ascribed to Aristotle (Pseudo-Arist. *Œcon.* ii. p. 1348, 4–35, Bekker), which dates from soon after the great Aristotle, Mausolos collected wealth by such paltry means that they became notorious. Thus, on the long hair of his new Lykian subjects he levied a tax; he laid claim to all fruit hanging over the wall along the roadsides; besides using money set aside for building fortifications, giving as an excuse that

the gods did not favor the fortification of the city. In some cases he took back gifts of his own bestowal.

P. 463. [926]) Vitruvius, ii. 8. 10–12. C. T. Newton, *Hist. of Disc. at Halicarnassus*, etc., vol. ii. p. 265. To this brilliant capital, besides the architects and sculptors necessary for its erection, were attracted also literary celebrities; Eudoxos the physician, lawgiver, and mathematician, from Cnidos, and Æschines the orator, from Athens, both having spent much time there.

P. 464. [927]) According to story, she was inconsolable at his loss, and drank of his ashes that she herself might be his tomb.

[928]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 30. 31. Vitruv., vii. *Præfat.* 12. To these four men, Vitruvius, but probably with little ground, adds the name of Praxiteles.

[929]) Gellius, x. 18. 5.

P. 465. [930]) Plin., l. c. Lucian, *Dial. Mort.* 24. 1.

[931]) Stark, *Vorträge*, S. 201. How exquisite some of the wood-work left by the knights, *vid.* Newton, *Disc. at Halic.*, etc., vol. i. pl. 37.

[932]) Guichard, *Funérailles et Manières diverses d'ensevelir*, liv. iii. chap. v. p. 379, Lyons, 1581. The translation is from C. T. Newton, *Hist. of Disc. at Halic.*, etc., vol. ii. p. 75.

P. 466. [933]) Pullan, in C. T. Newton's *Hist. of Disc. at Halic.*, etc., vol. ii. chaps. iii.–viii., London, 1862. Fergusson, *History of Architecture*, i. p. 248, London, 1865. Cockerell, *Arch. Zeit.* 1847, Taf. 12. Ch. Petersen, *Mausoleum*, Hamburg, 1866.

[934]) Newton, *Hist. of Disc. at Halic.*, etc., vol. ii. p. 110.

P. 467. [935]) The lion is found in names occurring in inscriptions found at Mylasa: *vid.* Boeckh, *C. I.* n. 2693, 2736, 284. In Carian myth, *vid.* Herodotos, i. 84.

[936]) C. T. Newton, *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant*, London, 1865, vol. ii. p. 136, pl. 17. Lions built into the walls of Budrun Castle, Newton, op. c. vol. i. p. 335.

P. 468. [937]) Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1881, S. 306, "Miscellen."

[938]) To the sixteen slabs of the Amazon frieze which are known to have come from the site of the Mausoleum, a relief found in a private palace in Genoa was long added, because of similarity in style and subject: its narrower mouldings and a wider sculptured surface, however, led Prof. Brunn to believe that it could never have been a part of the Amazon frieze of the Mausoleum (*Sitz. Ber. d. Kön. Bayr. Akad.* Phil.-philos. Cl. 1882, Bd. ii. S. 133). Prof. Newton, however, in placing the Mausoleum marbles in their new and spacious quarters, has had most careful observations made, and measurements taken, which show that the narrower mouldings are caused by modern restoration, which, in order to smooth down broken, jagged edges, and make the slab suitable for the decoration of an Italian palace, carved away the wide part of the moulding, and smoothed off the background.

P. 469. [939]) C. T. Newton, *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant*, vol. ii. p. 131.

P. 470. [940]) Brunn, op. c. These reliefs are published in the *Mon. d. Inst.* v. Taf. 18–21; and by Colnaghi, 13 Pall Mall, London, in photographs. Brunn's *first* series (Leochares) includes those slabs in the *Mon. d. Inst.*, marked iii., iv., vii.–xi.; but of these, iii., ix., and x. have narrow mouldings, and iv., vii., viii., and xi., wide ones. His *second* series (Timotheos) includes i., ii., xii., xiii., all of which have narrow mouldings. The *third* series (Bryaxis) includes the three last slabs found by Prof. Newton, and one photograph (No. 26), all of which have narrow mouldings. The *fourth* series (Scopas) comprises v., and pl. 1 (or photo. 25) and pl. 5 of Newton's *Travels;* of these v. is narrow. The difference in the width of the mouldings amounts to fully one-fourth of an inch, which would be most apparent were the slabs placed alongside of each other.

P. 471. [941]) It is owing to Prof. Newton's kindness and courtesy that I have been enabled to obtain the above facts.

[942]) Von Sacken, *Die Antiken Sculpturen d. K. K. Münz- und Antiken Cabinets Wien*, Taf. ii., iii.

[943]) *Vid.* C. T. Newton, *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant*, vol. ii. pl. 16, p. 132.

P. 473. [944]) C. T. Newton, op. c. plates 8, 9, pp. 111, 114. Artemisia, *vid.* pl. 10, p. 116.

[945]) Lucian, *Dial. Mort.* 24. 1.

P. 475. [946]) For the Niobe-myth and its literature, *vid.* B. Stark, *Niobe und die Niobiden*, S. 26.

P. 476. [947]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 28. Stark, op. c. S. 332.

[948]) Plin., op. c. and xii. 53; *Dio Cassius*, xlix. 22.

[949]) Milchhöfer, *42 Berliner, Winckelmann's Program Die Befreiung des Prometheus*, S. 34. Urlichs, *Skopas*, S. 155.

[950]) Dütschke, *Antike Bildwerke Nord-Italiens*, Bd. iii. S. 136.

P. 477. [951]) The head, although antique, does not belong on the better of these replicas; and the right arm is altogether restored, according to Dütschke's examination of the marbles.

[951a]) Brunn, *Beschreib. d. Glyp.* S. 169, No. 141. Von Lützow, *Münchener Antiken*, No. 14.

P 478. [952]) That beautiful fallen figure of the Münich Glyptothek, called usually Ilioneus, has sometimes been reckoned as one of Niobe's sons; but the utter lack of drapery about this cele-

brated torso makes it improbable that such is the case, all the certain Niobe sons having drapery.

P. 478. [953]) A. S. Murray, *Academy*, 1877, No. 273, p. 100; and Heydemann, *Sitz. Ber. d. Kön. Sächs. Gesell. d. Wiss.* 1877, S. 70, with accompanying plates.

P. 479. [953a]) Heydemann, op. c.

[954]) In the great Niobe at Florence (according to Dütschke's examination) are restored nose, part of upper lip, lower lip, left fore-arm and drapery, right arm in parts, and places in the drapery. In the daughter in her protection are restored right arm, probably the whole of the left arm and shoulder-blade, left foot, and a part of the lower part of the left thigh, places in hair as well as nose and lips. This Niobe is engraved Stark, *Niobe und die Niobiden*, Taf. x. The Brocklesby Park head, *vid. Specimens of Ant. Sculp.* sc. 37.

P. 480. [955]) One son (*c.* of our plate) has no leg and foot behind the knee upon which he has fallen, and consequently the statue seems intended to stand close up against a background. Many of the other statues present, moreover, agreeable lines, only when viewed from one single point.

P. 481. [956]) The peculiar and realistic garb of the barbarian pedagogue; the expression of so much grief; the site whence the original came, far-off Kilikia, which was first Hellenized under the Seleukidæ; and the doubt among the ancients as to the authorship of the group, — have roused the query whether the Niobe group in statuary may not have been a creation of the Hellenistic age. Milchhöfer, *Die Befreiung des Prometheus*, S. 34. Further discoveries and comparisons will, no doubt, aid in solving this important and revolutionary problem.

[957]) Many are collected in Overbeck's *Antik. Schriftq.* Nos. 1383–1392; but many others are constantly coming to light, and will be found in Hirschfeld, *Tituli Sculptorum*, etc.

[958]) Plato's portrait mentioned, Diog. Laert., iii. 25; *vid.* Braun, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1839, p. 213. Silanion self-taught, Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 51.

[959]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 81. Plutarch, *Thes.* 4. About Iocaste, *vid.* Plutarch, *De Aud. Poët.* 3. 30; and *Quæst. conviv.* v. 1. 2.

P. 482. [960]) Cic., *In Verres*, iv. 57, 12. 5. Tatian, *C. Gr.* 52, p. 114 (ed. Worth).

[961]) A marble head in Florence, bearing an ancient inscription "Plato," was long thought to be the only genuine portrait of the great philosopher; but its plainness is hardly in keeping with the noble, manly beauty, reported to have been Plato's. A bended head in bronze, in Naples, and wearing a band about the forehead, although having most resemblance to the archaistic Dionysos heads, has also been called Plato. A small seated statue, said to be at present in England, and bearing on the chair the name "Plato," is thought by many not to represent the great philosopher, but the poet of comedy of the same name. Thus we are still left in the dark as to the features of the great Plato. *Vid.* Braun, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1839, S. 204; and *Mon. d. Inst.* iii. Tav. vii. Heydemann, *Jenaer Literatur-Zeitung*, 1879, Artikel 419. Schuster, *Erhaltene Portraits der Griechischen Philosophen*, Leipzig, 1876.

P. 482. [962]) Paus., vi. 4. 5; vi. 14. 4, 11. Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 82.

[963]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 81. O. Jahn, *Abhand. d. Kön. Säch. Ges. d. Wiss.* viii. S. 718.

[963a]) Apollodoros was called "the insane," ὁ μανικός, while he was still with Socrates. Both Xenophon (*Apol.* 28) and Plato (*Symp.* 173 D, where the expression ὁ μανικός is used) speak of him as a man of excitable temper.

[964]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxv. 128.

[965]) Lucian, *Imagg.* 7. Quintilian, *Inst. Or.* xii. 10, 12.

[966]) Paus., i. 3. 4.

[967]) Dio Chrysost., *Orat.* 37, 43 (vol. ii. p. 124, Reiske; vol. ii. p. 305, Dind.).

[968]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 77.

P. 483. [969]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 77. *Conf.* Th. Schreiber, *Apollo Pythoctonos*, Leipzig, 1879, S. 70, 80.

[970]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 77.

[971]) Plin., l. c.

[972]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxv. 128.

[973]) Plin., l. c.

[974]) Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* i. S. 314.

P. 484. [975]) L. Julius, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* i. S. 269, Taf. 13.

P. 485. [976]) Milchhöfer, *Die Museen Athens*, S. 63. Paus., i. 22. 1.

[977]) Wilamowitz, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1882, No. 1376.

P. 488. [978]) For the inscription of this monument, *vid. C. I.* No. 221; *conf.* Friedrichs, *Bausteine*, S. 277. Illustration of frieze, *Description of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum*, published by the Trustees of the Brit. Mus. 1812–1861, vol. ix. pl. 23–30.

P. 489. [979]) U. Köhler, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iii. S. 104, 229.

[980]) *Vid. Antike Bildwerke des Lateranischen Museums*, beschrieben v. Benndorf und Schöne, No. 237. Welcker, *Alte Denkmäler*, i. 5, S. 455; *Mon. d. Inst.* iv. 27. Krüger, *Arch. Zeit.* 1871, S. 64.

[981]) Fr. v. Duhn, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* ii. S. 220. Matz, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1879, S. 99. Lange, *Arch. Zeit.* 1883.

P. 490. [982]) Furtwängler, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1877, pp. 229, 249, 447.

[982a]) The Austrian Akademie der Wissenschaften, under Conze's guidance, is preparing to publish *all* these Attic tombstones. The task, a herculean one, is well under way; and any information which may be communicated with regard to fragments in unknown private possession is most thankfully received by Director A. Conze of the Berlin Museum.

P. 491. [983]) *Lehrbuch der Griechischen Privatalterthümer*, v. Karl F. Hermann, ii. ed., Heidelberg, 1870, S. 313–336.

[984]) C. Wachsmuth, *Das Alte Griechenland im Neuen.*

[985]) Benndorf, *Griechische und Sicilianische Vasenbilder*, Taf. i. S. 1.

[986]) Benndorf, op. c. Taf. xxxiii.

P. 492. [987]) Benndorf, op. c. Taf. xxv.

[987a]) O. Rayet, *Monuments des Arts Antiques*, i., contains a representation in terra-cotta of the deceased being borne to the grave on a bier drawn by horses.

[988]) A. Conze, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1867, p. 183.

P. 493. [989]) "Fouilles dans la Nécropole de Myrina," par E. Pottier et S. Reinach, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* vi. p. 406. In these virgin tombs in Asia Minor have been found very many small veiled figures, winged and sad-appearing, which it is probable represent the *eidolon*. Others of a merrier type may represent Eros, the god of love. In one grave there were found, with sirens, thirty or forty of these little winged beings. A scene representing a repast at which one of these little winged figures is present was also found at Myrina. In some tombs have been found only *wings*, and nothing more, as though to help the soul in its flight. Concerning the subjects represented in the figurines, *vid.* Biardot, *Explication du Symbolisme des Terres-cuites Grecques de Destination funéraire, et les Terres-cuites dans leurs Rapports avec les Mystères de Bacchus;* Heuzey, *Monuments Grecs*, 1873, '74, '76; and *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, Sept. 1875. Lüders, *Bull. d. Inst.* 1874, Mai. Rayet, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, April, June, July, 1875; Aug. and Sept. 1874. Froehner, *Terres-cuites d'Asie Mineure.*

[990]) E. Curtius, *Attische Studien*, i. 19.

P. 494. [991]) *Conf.* Note 984.

[992]) Milchhöfer, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* v. S. 173.

P. 496. [993]) *The Century Magazine*, New York, vol. xxiii. p. 843. Milchhöfer, *Die Museen Athens*, S. 9.

P. 501. [994]) Ravaisson, "Le Monument de Myrrhine, et les Bas-reliefs funéraires des Grecs," *Rev. Arch.* 1876, Paris.

P. 504. [995]) Pervanoglu, *Das Familien-Mahl auf Altgriechischen Grabstelen.* Michaelis, *Arch. Zeit.* 1875, S. 48. Ravaisson, *Gaz. Arch.* i. pp. 21, 41. Dumont, *Revue Arch.* 1869, p. 243. Friedrichs, *Bausteine*, i. 385–389. Wolters, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 303.

P. 505. [996]) Fränkel, *Arch. Zeit.* 1874, S. 118.

P. 506. [997]) *Vid.* Note 704.

P. 507. [998]) Well executed by Dujardin, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* iii. pl. 11, 12, for an article by Dumont, pp. 559–569.

P. 508. [999]) Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* i. 283.

[1000]) Paus., v. 17. 4, and 21. 3. *Arch. Zeit.* 1879, "Insc. auf Olympia," No. 290.

[1001]) Brunn, *Sitz. Ber. d. Kön. Bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1880, S. 473.

P. 509. [1002]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 61.

[1003]) Plin., l. c.

[1004]) Varro, *De Ling. Lat.* ix. 18 (ed. Müller). Cicero, *Brut.* 86, 296.

[1005]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 65. Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* i. p. 337.

[1006]) Plin. l. c.

[1007]) Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* xii. 10. 9. Propertius, iii. 9. 9.

[1008]) Paus., vi. 1. 4, 5. Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 51.

[1009]) Lysippos, "γέρων," *Annal.* iii. p. 45, n. 35. Athenaios, *Deipn.* xi. p. 784.

[1010]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 37. Confronted with the long list of Lysippos' works, and with the accounts of the extensive patronage he enjoyed, the story told by a late writer, that Lysippos died in great want on account of the painstaking labor that he bestowed upon a single statue, sounds fabulous in the extreme.

P. 510. [1011]) Paus., ii. 9. 6; 20. 3; i. 43. 6.

[1012]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 40. Strabo, vi. 278.

[1013]) Lucian, *Jup. trag.* 9. K. Lange, *Ueber das Motiv des aufgestützten Fusses in der Antiken Kunst und dessen Statuarische Verwendung durch Lysippos*, Leipzig, 1879. Poseidon with raised foot: *vid.* Overbeck, *Kunstmythologie*, Bd. iii. S. 279, Nos. 1–4. On coins · *vid.* Barclay V. Head, *A Guide*, etc., pl. 45. 22, and 31. 16; the latter a coin of Demetrios Poliorketes, on which Poseidon holds in one hand a fish, and with the other rests on a trident with a beaded handle. A fine Poseidon head, *vid.* J. Overbeck, Atlas to *Kunstmythologie*, Taf. xi. 11. 22. *Conf.* Kekulé, *Hebe*, 60.

P. 511. [1014]) E. Curtius, "Darstellungen des Kairos," *Arch. Zeit.* 1875, S. 1, and accompanying plates. Benndorf, *Arch. Zeit.* 1863, S. 81.

[1015]) Overbeck, *Antik. Schriftq.* Nos. 1463–1467. Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* i. S. 361.

P. 512. [1016]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 63.

[1017]) Paus., ix. 30. 1. Lucian, *Jup. trag.* 12. Plin., op. c. 64. Paus., ix. 27. 3.

[1018]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 40. Strabo, vi. p. 278.

Plutarch, *Fab. Maxim.* 22. Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* i. 362. Stephani, *Der Ausruhende Herakles*, S. 134, St. Petersburg, 1854. Nicetas Choniat., *De Signis Con.* 5 (p. 860, ed. Bonn).

P. 513. [1019]) Lippert, *Dact.* 285–287, ii. 231. Suppl. 334–336.

[1020]) Paus., ii. 9. 7.

[1021]) *Anthol. Gr.* ii. 255. 4 (Jacobs).

[1022]) Martial, ix. 44. Statius, *Silv.* iv. 6. In the Journal of Hell. Studies, Mr. A. S. Murray publishes a small marble statuette found at Koyunjik on the Tigris, by a sculptor Diogenes. If this seated Heracles has any thing to do with the celebrated grand Epitrapezios, it certainly must have lost all the grandeur of the original. About Heracles by Lysippos, *vid.* further Michaelis, *Bull. d. Inst.* 1860, p. 122. Bursian, Fleckeisen's *Jahrbüch.* lxxxvii. S. 101.

[1023]) Strabo, x. p. 459. Bursian, *N. Rhein. Museum*, xvi. S. 438.

[1024]) *Anthol. Gr.* iv. 16. 35 (Jacobs).

P. 514. [1025]) *Ann. d. Inst.* xii. 1840, p. 94. Æsop head, *Mon. d. Inst.* iii. Taf. 14; and Jahn, *Archaeologische Beiträge*, S. 434.

[1026]) Diog. Laërt. ii. 43. Tatian, *C. Graec.* 52, p. 113.

[1027]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 63. Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* i. S. 363. Stark, "Zwei Alexanderköpfe der Sammlung Erbach und des Brit. Mus.," *Festschrift dem Kais. Deutschen Archaeologischen Inst. zu Rom, zur 50 jähr. Stiftungsfeier*, 21 April, 1879.

[1028]) Plutarch, *De Alex. M. Virtut. aut Fort.* ii. 2. The translation is Goldwin Smith's.

P. 515. [1029]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 64. Arrian, *Anab.* i. 16. 4.

P. 516. [1030]) *Conf.* Note 1013, K. Lange, p. 54.

[1031]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 64. Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* i. S. 274.

[1032]) Paus., vi. 1. 4; and *Arch. Zeit.* 1879, "Ins. aus Olym.," No. 288. Paus., vi. 5. 1; 17. 3; 2. 1.

[1033]) Plin, *N. H.* xxxiv. 62.

[1034]) *Ann. d. Inst.* 1850, p. 223. *Monumenti*, v. Tav. 13. Kekulé, *Die Gruppe des Menelaos*, S. 34.

P. 518. [1035]) Strabo, xiii. p. 590. Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 64. *Anthol. Gr.* ii. 50. 14 (Jacobs).

[1036]) Loeschcke, *Arch. Zeit.* 1878, S. 10.

[1037]) Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* i. S. 403. Plin., *N. H.* xxxv. 153.

[1038]) Perkins, *Du Moulage en Plâtre chez les Anciens*, and *American Art Review*, vol. i. p. 213. 1880, supports the usually received theory about the use of plaster. Story, *International Review*, Nov.–Dec. 1879, takes the opposite view.

[1039]) Mr. A. S. Murray, *Academy*, 1879, Dec. 30, writes: "This head of half life size was cast in three pieces, with clearly cut joints, which have been afterwards fitted together by a band of liquid plaster underneath. One of the joints is concealed by means of a wreath around the head, which has been afterwards modelled by the hand. Similarly the arms have been cast in two separate moulds, the one giving the upper, the other the under side of the arm. The joints are very carefully concealed. The hair is painted black, the lips and eyelids red, while the pupils are indicated, thus giving the whole a very realistic appearance. From the excellent modelling of the head and arms, they appear to belong to the third century B.C., and would represent the skill of the period in casting in plaster." That plaster casts were used in ancient Rome as they are at present, for purposes of cheap decoration, is also a well-known fact: Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte Roms*, Bd. iii. S. 138, 569.

P. 519. [1040]) *Arch. Zeit.* 1872, S. 35.

P. 520. [1040a]) *Vid.* Milchhöfer's remarks in his report upon the antiquities of the Peloponessos, in the *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* ii. S. 311.

P. 521. [1041]) Paus., iv. 31. 6, 7, 10.

[1042]) Paus., viii. 31, 1, 5.

[1043]) Paus., vii. 23. 5. *Conf.* Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* i. S. 287–291.

[1044]) Paus., iv. 31. 6, 7.

[1045]) The use of gold and ivory for figures of the gods seems to have ceased in this century, the only probable exception having been Scopas' Apollo Smintheus. Leochares, however, used this material in representing the ruling house of Macedonia.

P. 522. [1046]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 86.

[1047]) Paus., vi. 1. 6.

[1048]) *Arch. Zeit.* 1879, "Ins. aus Olympia," No. 301. Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1880, S. 152.

[1049]) *Ann. d. Inst.* 1848, p. 48. The inscription is further discussed, Loeschcke, *Arch. Zeit.* 1878, S. 12; and Brunn, *Sitz. Ber. d. Kön. Bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1880, S. 471.

[1050]) Paus., x. 10. 4; x. 26. 7.

[1051]) G. Körte, "Die Antiken Sculpturen aus Böotien," *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iii. S. 301, and iv. S. 268.

P. 523. [1052]) Vischer, *Erinnerungen aus Griechenland*, S. 590. Reports about the finding of the tomb are given, *Revue Archéologique*, Sept. 1880.

[1053]) Paus., ix. 40. 10.

[1054]) Mahaffy, *Rambles and Studies in Greece*, p. 255.

[1055]) Curtius und Kaupert, *Atlas v. Athen*, pl. iv.–viii.

P. 524. [1055a]) Many casts of these tombstones have recently been added to the Berlin Museum, and the relationship to Attica becomes most evident

by the possibility of thus studying Attic tombstones alongside of these Bœotian monuments.

P. 524. [1055b]) Prof. Newton made most astonishing discoveries at Halicarnassos, of figurines packed away in the subterranean part of a temple. C. T. Newton, *Hist. of Disc. at Halicarnassos*, etc., ii. part i. pp. 325–332; and *Ibid.* i. pl. xlvi.

P. 525. [1056]) Asia Minor discoveries, *vid. Bull. de Corr. Hell.* vi. pp. 197, 388, Note 989. Kekulé, *Griechische Thonfiguren aus Tanagra*, Stuttgart, 1878, with 17 plates. Wachsmuth, *Das Alte Griechenland im Neuen*, S. 119.

P. 526. [1057]) *Conf.* Furtwängler, *Die Sammlung Sabouroff*, 1882, etc. A colored marble statuette was found in Cyprus, and published in the *Archaeologische Zeitung*.

P. 527. [1058]) The discovery at Myrina of a terra-cotta of the so-called Venus Genetrix (see Note 614), and also of one of the famous Venus Accroupie, seem to show that the influence of statuary was great upon this humbler art, since one, at least, of these figurines may be traced with certainty back to a type developed in the fifth century B. C. How much these humble figures, which became known to the Romans when Cæsar restored Corinth, influenced in turn the sculptors of that late day, we do not yet know, since a systematic study of all the figurines has not yet been made, although richest material for it is already at hand.

P. 528. [1059]) P. O. Brönsted, *The Bronzes of Siris*, pub. by the Dilettanti Soc. 1836.

P. 530. [1060]) *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iii. S. 101; and Homolle, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* on Delos.

[1061]) J. Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, i. Bd. S. 88; and Letronne, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1829, p. 341.

P. 531. [1062]) C. T. Newton, *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant*, vol. ii. pp. 171–177, describes the finding of this Demeter.

P. 532. [1063]) Brunn, *Trans. of Roy. Soc. of Literature*, series ii. vol. ii. p. 171.

P. 533. [1064]) Newton, op. c. pl. 23.

P. 534. [1065]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 95. "Columnæ . . . cælatæ una a Scopa," is the old reading.

P. 535. [1066]) J. Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesos*, London, 1877, p. 147; Restoration of Temple, opp. p. 264. *Arch. Zeit.* 1872, S. 72.

[1067]) Robert, "Thanatos," *39 Program z. Winckelmannsfeste d. Arch. Ges. in Berlin*, 1879, S. 36.

P. 536. [1068]) It is most characteristic of the development of the beautifully humane by the Greeks, that the ideal of Thanatos, or Death, who in the early poets was a fearful and rapacious being, in time came to be a kind and gentle one, careful of those intrusted to his charge, as may be seen on vases of the age of Praxiteles and of his fellows, where Death most tenderly handles the dead, and is aided by his younger brother, the beardless, winged Hypnos, or Sleep. *Robert*, op. c. pl. i. p. 36.

P. 537. [1069]) C. T. Newton, in the *Portfolio*, July, 1874.

[1070]) Fergusson, *Trans. of Royal Institute of British Architects*, 1877, p. 65.

P. 542. [1071]) For a vivid picture of the early part of this age, *vid.* Joh. Gust. Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, ii. ed. Gotha, 1878, 6 vols.

P. 543. [1072]) Droysen, op. c. Bd. iii. Anhang.

[1073]) *Vid.* Wolfgang Helbig, *Untersuchungen über die Campanischen Wandmalerei*, Leipzig, 1878.

P. 544. [1073a]) Stephani, *Compte-rendu de la Commission Arch. Impériale de St. Petersburg*, 1869, p. 6, planches i.–iii.

[1074]) Diodoros Siculus, xvii. 114. Plutarch, *Alex. Magn.* 72.

P. 545. [1075]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 52.

[1076]) Köhler, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* vii. S. 159.

P. 546. [1077]) Hirschfeld, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 125.

[1078]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 24.

[1079]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 51. Tatian, *C. Græc.* 52, p. 114 (ed. Worth).

[1080]) Ross, *Arch. Aufsätze*, S. 173. Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* i. S. 391.

[1081]) *Bull. d. Inst.* 1862, p. 163.

P. 547. [1082]) Plutarch (*pseudo*), *Vita Decem Orat.* (*Lycurg.*), 38. *Arch. Zeit.* 1850, S. 175. Paus., i. 8. 4; ix. 12. 4.

[1083]) Tatian, *C. Gr.* 52, p. 114 (ed. Worth). Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 87.

[1084]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 24.

[1085]) Plin., l. c.; and Welcker, *Alte Denkmäler*, i. S. 317. Replicas of the satyr and nymph are mentioned by Th. Schreiber, *Die Antiken Bildwerke der Villa Ludovisi*, No. 54; and illustrated by Clarac in his *Musée du Sculpture*, Nos. 667 and 1545 A.

[1086]) Plutarch, *Demosthenes*, 30. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, p. 417. Vatican statue, *vid.* Visconti, *Iconographie Grecque*, pl. 29, 1. 2.

P. 548. [1087]) O. Jahn, *Hermes*, iii. S. 317–334.

P. 549. [1088]) The newly discovered arm is probably of a second and exactly corresponding statue: *vid.* Michaelis, op. c. p. 243.

[1089]) Gerhard, *Antike Bildwerke*, pl. 94. 2; and Clarac, op. c. No. 442, 807.

[1090]) *Ancient Marbles of the Brit. Mus.* ix. pl. i. Stuart and Revett, *Antiquities of Athens*, vol. ii. chap. iv. pl. 3. Kugler, *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*, S. 185.

P. 551. [1091]) *Conf.* Note 1209; and Petersen, "Die drei gestaltige Hekate," *Arch. Epig. Mitt. aus Oest.* 1880, Bd. v. S. 8, about girdle.

[1092]) Adler, "Die Stoa des Attalos II." (in Athens), *Zeitschrift für Bauwesen*, 1875, S. 17, and 1882.

P. 551. [1093]) Stuart and Revett, op. c. vol. i. chap. 3.

[1094]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 66, 51. 87. Paus., vi. 12. 5; vi. 16. 5.

[1095]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 73.

[1096]) K. F. Hermann, *Lehrbuch der gottesdienstlichen Alterthümer der Griechen*, ii. Auf. bearbeitet v. B. Stark, Heidelberg, 1870, p. 115.

P. 552. [1097]) *Iliad*, i. 450, and *Iliad*, viii. 347. The history of this bronze statue is given by Friedländer, *Arch. Zeit.* 1865, 121.

P. 553 [1098]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 66.

[1099]) Plin., op. c. 67.

[1100]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 83. Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* i. S. 441; *Jahrbuch der Königlichen Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Bd. iii. "Ausgrabungen zu Pergamon, Die Einzelfunde," von Conze, S. 82.

[1101]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 80.

P. 554. [1102]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 34; xxxiv. 78; and Brunn, op. c. Bd. i. S. 412. Paus., vi. 2. 6.

[1103]) Joh. Malal., *Chronogr.* xi. p. 276 (ed. Bonn). Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, pl. xv. 32. Michaelis, *Arch. Zeit.* 1866, S. 255.

[1104]) Hirschfeld, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 125, 126.

[1105]) Hirschfeld, op. c. S. 107. Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* i. S. 540.

[1106]) Treu, *Ausgrabungen z. Olympia*, Bd. v. Taf. 21, 22, S. 14.

P. 555. [1107]) Gurlitt, "Krieger Relief aus Kleitor," *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* Bd. vi. S. 154, and plate.

P. 556. [1108]) Milchhöfer made the discovery about the inscription: *vid. Arch. Zeit.* 1881, S. 155.

[1109]) Polybios, xxii. 13, and xxxviii. 9. 13.

P. 557. [1110]) Conze, Hauser, Benndorf, Niemann, *Archaeologische Untersuchungen auf Samothrake*, Bd. i., ii., 1880.

[1111]) Conze, etc., *Arch. Unter. auf Samothrake*, Bd. ii. S. 107, 109.

[1112]) Conze, etc., *Arch. Unter. auf Samothrake*, Bd. ii. Taf. xxxv.–xlii.

[1113]) Förster, *Der Raub und Rückkehr der Persephone*, 1874, S. 253.

P. 558. [1114]) Fröhner, *Notice de la Sculpture Antique du Musée du Louvre*, i. p. 434, No. 476.

P. 559. [1115]) A trial restoration by Zumbusch, made in small size, previous to the discovery of some of the fragments, and following in general the indications given by the coin, represents the goddess as holding the trumpet with one hand to her mouth to sound out notes of victory, while in the other, lowered, she carries a trophy-standard. But this restoration has something halting in the attitude of the laden left arm, which seems to lame the grand speed of the figure; and it is hoped that with the aid of the new fragments, and experimenting on a live model, a more satisfactory movement for it will be found.

P. 560. [1116]) Cavadias, *Bull. d. Inst.* 1879, p. 4.

P 561. [1117]) Thus, the recently discovered magnificent fragment of a draped female figure in bronze from Kyzicos, and now in the Berlin Museum, is so like the drapery in the Pergamon frieze, only translated into bronze, that it seems the product of the same tendency, and, doubtless, school of art.

P. 562. [1118]) Köhler, "Die Gründung der Konigreich Pergamon," in the *Historischen Zeitschrift*, v. Sybel, 1882, Heft i. S. 1–15. For details of history, *conf.* Urlichs, *Pergamon, Geschichte und Kunst*, Leipzig, 1883.

P. 563. [1119]) Polybios, xxiii. 18. Marquardt, *Kyzicos*, S. 149.

[1120]) *Jahrbüch. d. Kön. Preuss. Kunst-Sammlungen*, Bd. iii. S. 84.

[1121]) Mommsen, *Geschichte Roms*, Bd. i. S. 687 (American ed.).

[1122]) Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, i. S. 636. For prices paid for pictures, *vid.* Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* Bd. ii.

P. 564. [1123]) Paus., x. 19. 5.

[1124]) Diodoros Sicul. v. 28.

[1125]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxviii. 84.

[1126]) Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* i. S. 443.

[1127]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 90.

P. 565. [1128]) *Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen zu Pergamon.* Vorläufiger Bericht von Conze, Humann, Bohn, Stiller, Lolling, Raschdorf, 1880, S. 80.

[1129]) Conze, *Jahrbüch. d. K. Preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, Bd. iii. S. 82.

P. 566. [1130]) Conze, *Monatsbericht der K. Akad. d. Wiss.* zu Berlin, 1881, S. 871.

[1131]) Bohn, "Der Tempel der Athena Polias," *Abhand. d. K. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1881; and *Jahrbuch der K. Preuss. Kunst-Sammlungen*, Bd. iii. S. 67.

[1132]) *Conf.* Schreiber, *Die Antiken Bildwerke der Villa Ludovisi*, S. 12.

[1133]) Kinkel, *Mosaik zur Kunstgeschichte*, S. 80.

P. 568. [1134]) Nibby, *Effemeridi Litterarie di Roma*, Aprile, 1821. Brunn, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1870, p. 292, and *Bull. d. Inst.* 1871, p. 28.

P. 569. [1135]) Belger, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 163.

P. 570. [1136]) Milchhöfer, *Die Befreiung Prometheus, 42 Berliner Winckelmann's Program*, S. 29.

[1137]) Paus., i. 25. 2.

P. 571. [1138]) Milchhöfer, op. c. S. 26, Note 57.

[1139]) C. Bötticher, *Bericht über Untersuchungen auf der Akropolis*, 1862: *vid.* also Michaelis, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* ii. S. 5.

[1140]) Brunn, "I doni di Attalo," *Ann. d. Inst.* 1870, pp. 293–323. *Mon. d. Inst.* ix. Tav 19–21. *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* i. Taf. 7. Klügmann, *Arch. Zeit.* 1875, S. 35.

P. 572. [1141]) Milchhöfer, op. c. S. 28.

P. 573. [1142]) *Vid.* Conze, *Monatsbericht d. Kön. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin*, 1881, S. 875.

P. 574. [1143]) *Conf.* Note 1130.

[1144]) Paus., v. 13. 8. Ampelius, *Liber memorialis*, ch. 8· "Pergamo ara marmorea magna alta pedes quadraginta cum maximis figuris; continet autem Gigantomachiam."

[1145]) *Jahrbüch. des K. Preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, Bd. iii. Berlin, 1882. Conze, "Ausgrabungen zu Pergamon," S. 83.

P. 575. [1146]) *Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen zu Pergamon.* Vorläufiger Bericht von Conze, Humann, Bohn, Stiller, Lolling, Raschdorf, Berlin, 1880, S. 10–34.

[1147]) Bohn, *Die Ergebnisse*, etc., S. 37–46, Taf. ii.

P. 576. [1148]) Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 344.

[1149]) Preller, *Griechische Mythologie*, iii. ed. Bd. i. S. 57. *Conf.* Fr. Koepp, *De gigantomachiæ in poesis artisque monumentis usu.* Doctor Dissertation, Bonn, 1883.

P. 578. [1150]) I take pleasure in acknowledging my indebtedness for the latest information about the arrangement of the frieze, to Signore Freres, the Italian sculptor, whose quick eye and artistic sense has brought together more than two-thirds of the frieze preserved to us; and who, from most unsightly fragments, is constantly bringing to light new and certain combinations.

[1151]) *Vid.* plate in *Ergebnisse*, etc.

P. 579. [1151a]) By reason of the poor light upon the giants, it was impossible to obtain a good photograph of this group for the engraver; and in the crowded hall it was impracticable to keep up a scaffolding long enough for a draughtsman to do the subject justice.

P. 582. [1152]) Roscher, *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung*, 1880, Beilage, S. 4571, has tried to bring this figure into connection with a recorded fact, that Eumenes' enemies once attacked his navy with vases full of snakes, which, when hurled, broke, letting loose their terrible contents.

[1153]) Belger, *Arch. Zeit.* 1883, S. 85.

P. 588. [1154]) It caused no little amazement to Signore Freres and his assistants, while cleaning the small frieze, to find, that, even in parts left roughly blocked out, there were no signs whatever of the points (*puntelli*) so indispensable to modern workmen in marble.

P. 589. [1155]) Kekulé, *Zur Deutung und Zeitbestimmung des Laokoon*, Stuttgart, 1883, Taf. i., has these figures in most significant and speaking juxtaposition.

P. 590. [1156]) Milchhöfer, op. c. S. 19.

[1157]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 34. *Conf.* A. S. Murray, *Academy*, July 28, 1883, p. 68, who calls attention to Pliny's misunderstanding of the import of Rhodian inscriptions.

P. 591. [1158]) Conze, *Jahrbüch. d. Kön. Preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, Bd. i. S. 180.

P. 592. [1159]) Engraved in *The Century Magazine*, Nov. 1882.

[1160]) Milchhöfer, *Die Befreiung Prometheus* cited above, Note 1136.

P. 593. [1161]) Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1881, S. 307.

P. 594. [1162]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 34. It is an interesting fact, that the older name of Tralles was Seleukia: *vid. Arch. Zeit.* 1882, p. 116.

[1163]) The main restorations are the whole upper part of Dirke, from the navel upward; the head, arms, and legs of Amphion, with the exception of his hands and feet; the legs of the bull with his hind hoofs; the head and both arms of Zethos, his whole right leg, and all of the left one with the exception of the foot; the whole of the dog, with the exception of his paws; parts of the arms of the mountain god; and a part of Amphion's lyre: *vid.* Kinkel, *Mosaik zur Kunstgeschichte*, Berlin, 1876, S. 29, where all the restorations are given in full.

P. 595. [1164]) The representations of the myth of Dirke were collected by O. Jahn, *Arch. Zeit.* 1853, and added to by Dilthey, *Arch. Zeit.* 1878, S. 43.

P. 596. [1165]) Overbeck, "Ueber die Künstler Inschrift und das Datum der Aphrodite-statue von Melos," *Sitz. Ber. der Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.* 1881, S. 92.

[1166]) *Vid.* Veit Valentin, in Von Lützow's *Zeitschrift für die bildenden Künste*, 1875, x. *Kunstchronik*, No. 17.

[1167]) *Vid.* De Longperier's letter printed in Friedrichs, *Bausteine*, Bd. i. S. 334.

P. 597. [1168]) Göler v. Ravensburg, *Die Venus v. Milo*, Heidelberg, 1879, S. 21; and Ravaisson, *La Venus de Milo.*

P. 598. [1169]) Reproduced in heliotype in Von Lützow's *Zeitschrift für die bildenden Künste*, 1880, S. 166, and engraved in the American Art Review, 1880.

[1170]) Benndorf, *Arch. Epig. Mitt. aus Oest.* 1880, Bd. iv. S. 66.

P. 599. [1171]) For conjectural restorations, *vid.* Wittig, in Von Lützow's *Zeitschrift für die bildenden Künste*, 1870, S. 353, 384. Tarral, in Göler v. Ravensburg, op. c. Taf. 4. Preuner, *Arch. Zeit.* 1872, S. 109. Hasse, *Die Venus v. Milo*, Breslau, 1882, Taf. 1–4, from the anatomy of the chest and arms, concludes that the goddess must be arranging her hair. Quatremère de Quincy, *Sur le Statue antique de Vénus découverte dans l'Ile de Milo 1820*, groups the figure with Ares. Stillman, in *The Century Magazine*, 1881, believes the statue to represent a Nike writing on her shield.

[1172]) Overbeck, *Gesch. d. Griech. Plastik*, iii. ed. Bd. ii. S. 336–340.

P. 600. [1173]) Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* i. Bd. S. 415. The ancient literature concerning Chares' colossus is collected in Overbeck's *Schriftquellen*, Nos. 1539–1555.

[1174]) Constantin. Porphyr., *De Admin. imper.* 20. Lüders, *Der Koloss von Rhodos.*

[1175]) Newton, *Travels and Disc. in the Levant*, vol. i. p. 335.

P. 601. [1176]) Benndorf, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* i. S. 47.

[1177]) One of these is a Belgian work, Guillaume Caoursin, *De Obsidione Rhodiorum*, Ulm, fol. 1496, also published by Fluch, Strassburg, 1513. The other is *Septem orbis miraculae*, etc., in aeneas tabulas ab Antonio Tempesta Florentino relata, a Justo Rychio Gaudense versibus celebrata: Romae anno CIↃ IↃC iix.

[1178]) Ross, "Ueber die Inschriften von Rhodos," *N. Rhein. Museum*, Neue Folge, iv. S. 161; and Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* i. S. 459.

[1179]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 140. Brunn, op. c. i. 464.

[1180]) The older literature on the Laocoön group is given in *Lessing's Laokoon*, herausgegeben und erläutert v. Blümner, ii. ed. Berlin, 1880, S. 722. The following is the main part of the later literature: Hirschfeld, *Zeitschrift für Oest. Gymnasien*, 1882, S. 172; and *Philologische Wochenschrift*, 1882, S. 1015. Welcker, *Alte Denkmäler*, i. S. 323. Mau, *Annali dell' Inst.* 1875, p. 273, 326, Tav. d. agg. O. Blümner, *Jahrbücher für Philologie*, 1881, S. 17. *Vid.* Note 1185: Robert, "Bild und Lied," S. 4. 192. Conze, *Arch. Zeit.* 1881, S. 69. Mau, *Geschichte der Wandmalerei in Pompeii*, S. 425. Brunn, *Arch. Zeit.* 1879, S. 167. Wolff, *Arch. Zeit.* 1864, S. 200. Milchhöfer, *Die Befreiung Prometheus, 42 Berliner Winckelmann's Program*, S. 30, 38. Kekulé, *Zur Bedeutung und Zeitbestimmung des Laokoons*, 1883. A. S. Murray, *Academy*, 1883, July 28, pp. 67, 68. Hübner, *Nord und Süd*, 1879, S. 360. No inscription was found with the statue, probably because Romans left the heavy pedestals behind: *vid.* Hirschfeld, *Tituli statuariorum sculptorumque Græcorum*, Berlin, 1871, p. 9.

[1181]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 37. Nec deinde multo plurium fama est, quondam claritati, etc.: *vid.* Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* i. S. 475. Kekulé, op. c. S. 10; and A. S. Murray, l. c.

[1182]) Brunn, op. c. Bd. i. S. 470.

[1183]) Kekulé, op. c. S. 24.

P. 603. [1184]) Blümner, *Lessing's Laokoon*, ii. ed. S. 704, sums up all the repetitions.

[1185]) The Greek poets, Arctinos, Bacchylides, Sophocles, and Euphorion, and the Roman writers Virgil (*Æneid*, ii. 201) and Hyginus, treated the Laocoön myth: *vid.* critical discussion, Robert, "Bild und Lied," in Heft v. of Wilamowitz-Möllendorf und Kiessling's *Philologische Untersuchungen*, Berlin, 1881, S. 194; and also Kekulé, op. c. S. 29.

P. 605. [1186]) Brunn, *Arch. Zeit.* 1879, S. 167; and *Deutsche Rundschau*, 1881, S. 204.

[1187]) About *de consilii sententia, vid.* Kekulé, op. c. S. 15, but most satisfactorily explained by A. S. Murray, *Academy*, July 28, 1883, pp. 67, 68.

P. 606. [1188]) Kekulé, op. c. S. 39.

[1189]) Paus., vi. 12. 2.

[1190]) Athenaios, v. p. 206 D (40).

P. 607. [1191]) Theocrit. *Id.* xv. 110.

[1192]) Athenaios, v. p. 196 A (25). C. Bötticher, *Tektonik der Hellenen*, i. Bd. Exkurs. 6, S. 68.

P. 608. [1193]) Athenaios, v. 194 C (22).

[1194]) "Bericht über eine Reise in Kurdistân," von Dr. Otto Puchstein, *Sitz. Ber. d. Kön. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin*, 11 Jan. 1883, S. 10.

P. 609. [1195]) Puchstein, op. c. S. 21.

[1195a]) *Vid.* E. Curtius, "Die Griechische Kunst in Indien," *Arch. Zeit.* 1876, S. 90, Taf. 11, and five wood engravings.

[1195b]) Fergusson and Burgess, *The Cave-Temples of India*, London, 1880; and Rajendrálá Mitra, *The Antiquities of Orissa*, Calcutta, vol. i. 1875, and vol. ii. 1880.

P. 610. [1196]) Helbig, *Untersuchungen über die Campanischen Wandmalerei*, Leipzig, 1878, sets forth many hitherto unnoticed features of this age.

P. 611. [1197]) Furtwängler, *Der Dornauszieher*, etc., S. 68, in the *Virchow-Holzendorffsche Sammlung*, Heft 245, 246.

P. 612. [1198]) Brunn, "Zur Künstler Geschichte," *Sitz. Ber. d. Kön. Bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1880, S. 485. Plin., *N. H.* xxxv. 84. Concerning Boëthos' second statue, *vid.* Paus., v. 17. 4. O. Jahn, *Ber. d. Kön. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.* 1848, ii. S. 48.

[1199]) Furtwängler, op. c.

[1200]) *Vid. Mon. d. Inst.* x. Taf. 2. Robert, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1876, p. 126, Tav. d. agg. N, O. *Arch. Zeit.* 1879, Tav. 2, 3, is given the British-Museum figure. The Rothschild bronze appears, *Gaz. Arch.* 1882, pl. 9–11. *Conf.* also *Arch. Epig. Mitt. aus Oest.* v. Taf. vi. Furtwängler, *Der Dornauszieher*, etc.; und "Der Satyr aus Pergamon," *Berliner Winckelmann's Program*, 1881, S. 11. The discussion about the bronze boy of the Capitol has been very lively. Many archæologists have believed it to be the work of a late archaistic school; but, even if this be granted, we must with Furtwängler believe that the type from which a late master could abstract so archaic a figure was not the realistic one of the British Museum and Rothschild statues, but that he must have gone back to an older original, upon which the realistic statues are a variation in the spirit of a later time.

P. 614. [1201]) *Vid.* the investigations by Dütschke.

Antike Bildwerke Nord Italiens, Bd. i.–iii. No. 547.

P. 614. [1202]) Furtwängler, *Eros in der Vasenmalerei.*

[1203]) Furtwängler, *Berliner Winckelmann's Program*, 1881.

P. 616. [1204]) Conze, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1861, p. 331, Tav. d. agg. N. Brunn, *Beschreibung der Glyptothek*, No. 309.

P. 617. [1205]) Von Lützow, *Verhandlung der 21 Philologen Versammlung zu Augsburg*, 1871. Brunn, op. c. No. 95. It is well said by the latter, that were this a human being, and not one of a lower level, the representation of such a subject would be too repulsive altogether.

[1206]) Stark, *Sitz. Ber. d. Kön. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.* 1860, S. 79. *Vid.* also Bernouilli, *Aphrodite*, S. 331; and Chanot, *Gaz. Arch.* 1878, p. 68. In the Villa Ludovisi is such a crouching Aphrodite, with the addition of a Cupid holding a towel. This type of the crouching Aphrodite has been discovered at Myrina in an admirably preserved terra-cotta: *vid. Bull. de Corr. Hell.* vi. pl. xvii.

[1207]) Furtwängler, *Der Dornauszieher*, etc., S. 71, Anm. 87; and *Ann. d. Inst.* 1878, p. 96. Concerning the group called Menelaos and Patrocles, *vid.* Donner, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1870, p. 75; Matz und Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke*, No. 965; and Nachtrag, i., xvii. Lange, *Bull. d. Inst.* 1882, p. 74.

P. 618. [1208]) Tredelenburg, "Due Sarcophaghi con rappresentazioni delle Muse," *Ann. d. Inst.* 1871, Tav. d. agg. D, E; and *Arch. Zeit.* 1876, S. 85. *Vid.* also Milchhöfer, *Die Befreiung Prometheus*, S. 21. For the Ludovisi Medusa, *vid.* Dilthey, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1871, p. 212; and *Arch. Zeit.* 1869, p. 94.

P. 620. [1209]) Prof. v. Duhn kindly informs me that the beautiful head illustrated in Fig. 252 is owned not by a Greek, but by a German, Count Fels of Corfu. The Munich head is discussed by Brunn, *Besch. d. Glyp.* No. 89. Friedrichs, *Berlin's Antike Bildwerke*, i. "Die Gypsabgüsse im Neuem Museum," 1868, No. 687. The Ceres statuette is in the Vatican: *vid.* Friedrichs, op. c. No. 686; and Kekulé, *Kunst-Museum zu Bonn*, No. 325. In studying coins, we find that this peculiar manner of dressing the hair is not at all usual before the third century B.C.: *vid.* Barclay V. Head, *A Guide to the Principal Gold and Silver Coins of the Ancients*, 1881, pl. 46, 25. From the coins of Arsinoë Philadelphus, we see that it was a favorite mode of dressing the hair in her day (281 B.C.). *Vid.* Reginald Stuart Poole, *The Coins of the Lagidæ*, pl. viii.

P. 621. [1209a]) Two hands were originally seen with the fragmentary head, but only one arrived at the British Museum. When the head appeared in Rome, it was rattling about in a box, without any packing, and no one knew whence it came. Engelmann, *Arch. Zeit.* 1878, Taf. 20, has published this work. *Vid.* also *Arch. Zeit.* 1883, S. 30, Note; and Newton, *Essays on Art and Archæology*, p. 400.

P. 621. [1210]) Feuerbach, *Der Vaticanische Apollon.* O. Jahn, *Aus der Alterthumswissenschaft, Populäre Aufsätze*, 1868, S. 265. Welcker, *Arch. Zeit.* 1862, S. 331. Kekulé, *Arch. Zeit.* 1862, S. 379. About the restorations of the Apollo Belvedere, *vid.* Thode, *Die Antiken in den Stechen Marcantons*, Leipzig, 1882, Taf. 2.

P. 623. [1211]) Stephani, *Apollo Boëdromios*, Bronze Statue in Besitz Seiner Erlaucht des Grafen Sergei Stroganoff, St. Petersburg, 1860. For Steinhaüser head, *vid.* Kekulé, *Arch. Zeit.* 1878, S. 8, Taf. 2; and *Ann. d. Inst.* 1867, S. 39; also *Das Akad. Kunstmuseum zu Bonn*, S. 78. Brunn, *Verhandlung der Philologenversammlung zu Würzburg*, 1868, S. 90. Wieseler, *Der Apollo Stroganoff und der Apollo Belvedere*, Göttingen, 1861; and Epilog über den Apollo Stroganoff und den Apollo Belvedere, *Philologus*, Bd. xxi.

P. 625. [1212]) *Iliad*, xv. 229.

P. 626. [1213]) Paus., x. 15. 2; 16. 4; 18. 7; 23. 8; vii. 20. 6.

[1214]) C. Bötticher, *Verzeichniss der Abgüsse Ant. Bildwerke in Berlin*, 1872, S. 320.

[1215]) Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 247.

[1216]) Kieseritzky, *Arch. Zeit.* 1883, S. 27, Taf. 5. A small repetition of the same motive as the Apollo Belvedere is in Viterbo, Helbig, *Bull. d. Inst.* 1881, S. 259.

P. 627. [1217]) Von Duhn, "Di due donne sedente esposte nel Museo Torlonia," *Ann. d. Inst.* 1879, pp. 176–200; and *Mon. d. Inst.* vol. xi. Tav. xi. The Livia of the same museum is published, Tav. xii., and brings out well the changed spirit of the times. Concerning the usual decoration of *spina*, *vid.* Zangemeister, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1870, pp. 232–260.

P. 628. [1217a]) *History of the Recent Discoveries at Cyrene*, by Capt. R. Murdock Smith, and Commander E. A. Porcher, London, 1864, p. 42, pl. 66. This head is thought by Prof. v. Duhn to be somewhat older than the Olympia athlete.

P. 629. [1218]) *Conf.* Tischbein, *Homer nach Antiken.* Friedrichs, *Bausteine*, Nos. 507, 508. On coins, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, V. 1878, Taf. i. 3, 294.

[1219]) Hippocrates, *vid.* Brunn, *Besch. d. Glyp.* No. 155. Aristotle, *vid.* Visconti, *Iconographie Grecque*, I. 20; and Matz und Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke in Rom*, 1164, with Nachtrag, S. xviii. Anacreon, *vid. Mon. d. Inst.* vi. Tav. 25. Brunn, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1859, p. 55. Jahn, *Abhandlung der Kön. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.* 1861,

S. 726. For portraits of Euripides, *vid.* Krüger, *Arch. Zeit.* 1870, S. 2, and 1881, S. 6.

P. 633. [1219a]) Helbig, *Die Italiker in der Po-ebene.*

[1220]) *Estratto dalle Notizie degli Scavi del Mese di Aprile*, 1882, "La Necropoli antichissima di Corneto-Tarquinia," Nuova Memoria di Gherardo Ghirardini, Roma, 1882, p. 76. Concerning the very early art of the Italian peoples, a mine of information is contained in *Bulletino di Paletnologia*, already numbering eight volumes, and edited by L. Pigorini and Chiervi: *vid.* also Genthe, *Etruskische Tauschhandel*, Frankfurt, 1874; and Wiberg, *Der Einfluss der klassischen Völker auf dem Norden durch den Handel.*

[1221]) Von Duhn, *Zur Geschichte Campaniens*, S. 2.

[1222]) Zanoni, *Gli Scavi della Certosa di Bologna*, 1879, Fasc. vi. *Conf.* Cordenons, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1882, pp. 99–115, Tav. d. agg. R. "Necropoli preromana di Este."

P. 634. [1222a]) Dennis, *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, 1881, vol. i. p. liii.

[1223]) This will be seen by comparing the pictures from these tombs in the *Mon. d. Inst.* with photographs from Pisa. Prof. v. Duhn first called my attention to this strange coincidence.

P. 635. [1224]) Furtwängler, *Die Bronze v. Olympia*, S. 74; and also Helbig, *Bull. d. Inst.* 1881, p. 264.

[1225]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxv. 152.

P. 636. [1226]) Furtwängler, op. c. S. 75: *vid.* also Milchhöfer, *Die Anfänge*, etc., S. 209.

[1227]) Furtwängler, op. c. S. 74. Athenaios, 15, p. 700*c*; and Soph., *Ai.* 17.

[1228]) Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* i. S. 529.

[1229]) *Ann. d. Inst.* 1862, p. 274; and *Mon. d. Inst.* vi., vii., Tav. lxxii. Concerning wooden temples, *vid.* Gamurrini, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1882, p. 147.

P. 637. [1230]) This old stele is published by Inghirami, *Monumenti Etruschi*, serie vi. Tav. A. Winged lions were found at the entrance to the round chamber at Poggio Gajella. Dennis, op. c. vol. ii. p. 352; *vid.* also *Bull. d. Inst.* 1849, p. 9; and *Ann. d. Inst.* 1832, p. 273.

[1230a]) Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 346, Taf. 15.

P. 638. [1231]) *Conf.* Note 145. Very recently, on the Esquiline, have been found fragments of a hitherto unnoticed glazed ware, doubtless traceable to the Phœnicians, and also met with in Etruscan graves: *vid.* Dressel, *Ann. d. Inst.* pp. 5–58, and Tav. d. agg. A–G; and *Mon. d. Inst.* vol. xi. Tav. 37.

[1231a]) Very many of these figures are met with in the Etruscan collections of Italy; and the British Museum has some very good specimens of this shocking abnormity in art.

[1232]) Brunn, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1861, p. 361.

P. 640. [1233]) Brunn, op. c.

P. 641. [1234]) Brunn, *I Relievi delle urne Etrusche*, vol. i. Tav. i.–xvi. 1870, has collected these different types, showing conclusively the thoroughly mechanical mode of working prevalent in Etruria.

P. 642. [1235]) Gozzadini, *Intorno agli scavi archeologici fatti dal Sig. A. Veli presso Bologna*, "Di un antica Necropoli a Marzabotto nel Bolognese," i. and ii. 1865–70.

P. 643. [1235a]) *Vid.* Micali, *Monumenti Inediti*, Tav. 9, 10. *Conf.* remarks made by v. Duhn on a Phineus-vase at Würzburg, *Heidelberger Festschrift zu 36 Versammlung Deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner in Carlsruhe*, 1882, S. 109–124.

P. 644. [1236]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxv. 154. Helbig, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1865, S. 265–268.

[1237]) Marquardt und Mommsen, *Handbuch der Romischen Alterthümer*, Bd. vii. J. Marquardt, *Das Privat Leben der Römer*, i. S. 239.

P. 645. [1238]) Friedländer, "Der Luxus der Todtenbestattung im alten Rom," *Deutsche Rundschau*, 1880.

[1239]) Marquardt, op. c. i. S. 344.

[1240]) L. Friedländer, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms in der Zeit von Augustus bis zum Ausgang der Antoninen*, v. ed. Leipzig, Bd. iii. S. 200.

[1241]) For an account of these Roman plunderings of Greek lands, *vid.* Völkel, *Ueber die Wegführung der alten Kunstwerke aus den eroberten Ländern nach Rom*, 1798. F. C. Petersen, *Einleitung in das Studium d. Archaeologie*, S. 28, translated from the Danish of Friedrichsen, 1829. Urlichs, "Griechische Statuen im republicanischen Rom," *13 Program des Wagnerischen Instituts zu Würzburg*, 1880. For a vivid account of the gorgeous triumphs of the Romans, *vid.* Donaldson, *Architectura Numismatika*, or "Architectural Medals of Classical Antiquity," London, 1859, p. 205.

P. 649. [1242]) In Friedländer, op. c. Bd. iii. S. 156–281, are collected the majority of the facts which give us the picture of this age, and the Latin sources whence derived, with exact citations.

P. 652. [1242a]) The most vivid picture of an ancient villa is given by a villa in Herculaneum, where papyrus-books were found: *vid.* Di Petra e Comparetti, *La Villa di Pisoni*, Torino, Firenze, Roma, 1883, fol. Here a plan is given with all the bronze heads and statues in their original places. These works now adorn the Naples Museum.

Concerning the coin, *vid.* Donaldson, op. c. No. 57. Still another Roman coin, with a similar type, but not of Augustus, is represented in *Descriptions Historiques des Monnaies Frappées sous l'Empire Romain communément appellées*

Médailles Impériales, par Henry Cohen, Paris, 1880, ii. ed. p. 94.

P. 652. [1243]) L. Preller, *Römische Mythologie*, ii. ed. Berlin, 1865, S. 774, 784, 788–790, Anm. 1.

[1243a]) Cohen, op. c. pp. 80, 82.

P. 655. [1244]) Jordan, "De Larum imaginibus," *Ann. d. Inst.* 1862, pp. 300–309; 1863, pp. 121–134; 1882, pp. 70–73, Tav. d. agg. M, N. One such figure is seen borne in the religious procession, from Augustus' *Ara Pacis*, Fig. 277 of our illustrations.

[1245]) Lanciani, "Notes from Rome," *Athenæum*, June 30 and July 28, 1883.

P. 656. [1246]) *Vid.* Charles C. Perkins, *Tuscan Sculptors, their Lives, Works, and Times*, 1864, vol. i. p. xxvii.

[1247]) Friedländer, op. c. Bd. iii. p. 198.

[1248]) Friedländer, op. c. S. 224, Anhang ii.

P. 657. [1249]) Matz und Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke in Rom*, 3 vols. The Venus Genetrix type is noticed, Nos. 711–716. The Louvre replica is engraved, Clarac, *Musée du Sculpture*, pl. 339, No. 1449: *vid.* also Kekulé, *Arch. Epig. Mitt. aus Oest.* iii. S. 2.

[1250]) Benndorf und Schoene, *Die Antiken Bildwerke des Lateranischen Museums*, Leipzig, 1867, S. 91.

[1251]) *Vid.* Dütschke, *Antike Bildwerke Nord Italiens*, Bd. 1–3, No. 548. Michaelis, *Arch. Zeit.* 1880, S. 13.

P. 658. [1252]) Plin., xxxiv. 52. Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* Bd. i. S. 536.

P. 659. [1253]) Paus., vi. 4. 5; 12. 9; and x. 34. 8. Th. Homolle, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* v. p. 390. Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 366.

[1254]) Homolle, op. c. pl. xii. This statue is unfortunately still exposed to the elements, and yet shows signs of color in some parts.

[1255]) Paus., i. 2. 5; vi. 4, 5.

[1256]) Julius, "Die Reste des Denkmals des Eubulides," *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* vii. S. 81, Taf. v. Milchhöfer, *Die Museen Athens*, S. 12.

[1257]) *Vid.* Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, Nos. 2214, 2215; and Rayet, *Mon. de l'Art Antiq.* T. iii. pl. 2.

P. 660. [1258]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 38. Stark, *Arch. Zeit.* 1866, S. 249. Prof. v. Duhn writes me: "By the same Apollonios, without doubt, was executed the bronze Amazon coming from the same site as the Doryphoros head, and a pendant to the Doryphoros."

P. 661. [1259]) Schreiber, *Die Antiken Bildwerke der Villa Ludovisi*, S. 135.

[1260]) Weiszäcker, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 262.

P. 662. [1260a]) Overbeck, *Gesch. d. Griech. Plastik*, iii. ed. Bd. ii. There is another marble vase by Sosibios in Naples. The graceful water-horn discovered almost intact, in 1872, on the Esquiline, should not be forgotten. On it was once the name of an Athenian master ("of Athens" alone remaining); and about the mouth are beautiful representations in relief of excited Mænads. Its standard is also of exquisite shape; and, altogether, it must have formed a beautiful decoration for the Roman water-works at the so-called Trophies of Marius, where it was found: *vid. Bulletino della Commissione Arch. Communale*, Roma.

P. 662. [1261]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 39.

[1262]) Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* i. S. 595.

[1263]) This very secondary group of sculptors, and the models they drew upon, have been most ably and fully treated by Kekulé, *Die Gruppe des Menelaos*, 1870; "Statua Pompeiana di Apollino," *Ann. d. Inst.* 1865, p. 56; and Flasch, "Vorbilder einer Römischen Kunstschule," *Arch. Zeit.* 1878, S. 119, and accompanying plates.

P. 663. [1264]) Conze, etc., *Archaeologische Untersuchungen auf Samothrake*, Bd. ii. S. 23, 24, Taf. viii.

[1265]) Head, *A Guide to the Gold and Silver Coins*, etc., pl. 41. 5, 8, etc.

[1266]) Matz und Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke in Rom*, Bd. i. No. 179.

P. 665. [1267]) This was proved by Waldstein, *conf.* Note 498. There is reason to believe that the head from Ventnor came originally from Greece.

[1268]) Schreiber, *Die Antik. Bild. d. Villa Ludovisi*, S. 89, gives all the names and literature concerning this much-disputed group.

P. 666. [1269]) Conze, *Zeitschrift für Oest. Gymnasien*, 1870, S. 870; and *Sitz. Ber. d. Kön. Wiener Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Cl. 1872, S. 329, and 1875, S. 617.

[1270]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxv. 155, 156; xxxvi. 33.

[1271]) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 45–47. Suetonius, *Nero*, 31. Herodian, i. 15. 9 (ed. Bekker).

P. 668. [1272]) This figure is well illustrated by Rayet, *Mon. de l'Art Antiq.* iii. pl. 5, 6. An inscription discovered in Delos, 1882, may throw new light upon this master (*vid.* "Παρνασσός," July–Aug. 1882, p. 648), and allow us to place Agasias back nearer the time of Pergamon's glory than has hitherto been done.

P. 669. [1273]) Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, Nos. 2287–2289.

P. 671. [1274]) Bernouilli, *Römische Iconographie.*

[1275]) Von Duhn, "Ueber einige Bas-reliefs und ein Römisches Bau-werk der ersten Kaiserzeit," *Miscellanea Capitolina*, pp. 11–16; and *Ann. d. Inst.* 1881, pp. 302–342, Tav. d. agg. V, W.; and *Mon. d. Inst.* vol. xi. Tav. 34–36.

P. 675. [1276]) U. Köhler, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1863, p. 432.

P. 676. [1277]) Horace, *Odes*, iv. 5, 15.

[1278]) Philippi, "Ueber Römische Triumphal Reliefs," *Abhand. d. Kön. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Cl. Bd. vi. S. 247.

P. 677. [1279]) Philippi, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1875, p. 42. *Mon. d. Inst.* x. Tav. 21.

[1279a]) Bartoli et Bellori, *Arcus Triumphalis.*

P. 678. [1280]) *Mon. d. Inst.* x. Tav. 40, 41.

P. 680. [1281]) Fröhner, *La Colonne Trajane*, p. 43. Eutropius, viii. 2.

[1282]) An attempt at reconstruction of these elaborate structures was made by Canina, *L'Architectura Antica*, Roma, 1844, Sect. 3, pl. 84, 89, 90, 91.

P. 682. [1283]) Cohen, *Médailles*, etc., Nos. 62, 73, 180, 396–398, 500, 501.

P. 684. [1284]) Victory writes "Dacica," on one coin: *vid.* Cohen, op. c. No. 38.

[1285]) Conze, *Arch. Zeit.* Jahrgang 25, S. 107.

P. 686. [1286]) Dütschke, *Antike Bildwerke Nord-Italiens*, Bd. iv. S. 137.

[1287]) Jahn, *Sitz. Ber. d. Kön. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.* 1861, S. 122.

[1288]) Levezow, *Ueber den Antinous dargestellt in den Kunstdenkmälern des Alterthums*, Berlin, 1808.

P. 689. [1288a]) The reliefs of Aurelius freeing prisoners and being received by Roma, are from an arch which stood on the Forum near the Clivus Capitolinus. The two reliefs from the arch on the Corso are on the floor of the first staircase in the Conservatori palace. A third relief is in the court of the Palazzo Torlonia. For the full account of these monuments, *vid.* Matz und Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke*, Bd. iii.

P. 690. [1289]) Matz, *Arch. Zeit.* 1872, S. 11. v. Duhn, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* ii. S. 132. The German Archæological Institute has very extensive preparations made for the publication of all these sarcophagi, which is to be done under the direction of Prof. Robert of the Berlin University. The general character of subjects on them will be found in the index to Matz und Duhn, *Ant. Bildwerke*, Bd. ii. Very many have already appeared in the *Annali*, *Monumenti*, and *Arch. Zeit.* of the German Archæological Institute.

P. 694. [1290]) Hettner, "Zur Cultur von Germania und Gallia Belgica," *West-Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst*, Trier, 1883, S. 1–26. For other Gallo-Belgian monuments, *vid.* Hettner, *Picks' Monatschrift* vii. 3, and *Rhein. Museum für Philologie*, xxxvi. S. 436. *Conf.* W. Thompson Watkin, *Roman Lancashire*, and the various works of Charles Roach Smith, for Britain. The peculiar phases of sculpture in Gaul are noticed principally in the *Revue Archéologique* and *Gazette Archéologique.*

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WESTERN ASIA.

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SCULPTURE IN

Age of Monuments.	Berlin: Die Königliche Museen.	Boston: Museum of Fine Arts.	Cairo: Boolak Museum.
Assyrian Sculpture, Period I.: to about 885 B.C.			
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(*b*) Rule of Sargon II., 711–705 B.C. Khorsabad, the ancient Hisir-Sargon, the centre of interest.	*Colossal figure from decoration of wall near gateway, probably Izdhubar*, 93.		
(*c*) From time of Sennacherib, 705 B.C., to fall of Assyrian Empire, 607 B.C. Principal kings Sennacherib and Assur-bani-pal. Koyunjik, or ancient Nineveh, the main centre of interest.		*Dying lioness from palace of Assur-bani-pal*, 100; *Assur-bani-pal pouring out libation over lions*, 100, 102; *Horses and riders from lion-hunt*, 96.	
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Early Art in Asia Minor. Principal monuments, rock-sculptures at Boghaz Keui, Euyuk, Karabel, etc. Probably from the 14th century B.C., and later; supposed work of the Hittites.	*Processions in rock-sculptures at Boghaz Keui*, 127; Gold-ware from Hissarlik, 150.		

WESTERN ASIA — *Continued.*

London: British Museum.	New York: Historical Rooms (H.R.), Metropolitan Museum (M.M.).	Paris: Louvre.	Rome: Capitoline Museum (C.), Museo Kircheriano (K.), Vatican (V.).
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EARLIEST ART ON GREEK

AGE OF MONUMENTS.	ATHENS: Acropolis (A), Hagia Triada (H. T.), Polytechnicon (P.), National Museum (N.), Thesëion (T.), Varvakion (V.).	WASHINGTON: Corcoran Gallery of Art.	BERLIN: Olympia Ausstellung (O. A.), Die Königliche Museen.	BOSTON: Museum of Fine Arts.
EARLIEST ART ON GREEK SOIL, from pre-Homeric times to about 600 B. C. The islands of the Ægean and the coasts of Asia Minor the centres of activity. Main characteristics, a combination of different elements and a predominating decorative tendency; but a greater naturalism than formed the conventional and schematic art of the Orient and of Egypt, from which much was indirectly borrowed.	Contents of Mykene tombs, 147, 150 (P.); contents of Spata tombs, 151, 152 (P.); contents of Menidi tomb, 144, 151 (P.); contents of tomb near the Heraion, 144 (P.); contents of Nauplia tombs, 144 (P.); Dipylon vases, 148 (V.); vases with geometric decoration, 148 (V.); swords found in Mykene tombs, 152 (P.).		Island stones, 147; fragments of Treasury of Atreus, 143; *Orchomenos ceiling*, 152; redware vases, 159; *Mykene lion gate*, 141, 154. Fragments of bronze tripods, 167; crude bronze figures of worshippers, 166; bronze griffins from Olympia, 168, 171; painted tablets to Poseidon, 162; gold leaves from Corinth, 171.	*Lion gate of Mykene*, 141, 154.

AGE OF ARCHAIC

AGE OF ARCHAIC GREEK SCULPTURE, from about 600 B. C. to about 450 B. C. (1) Beginnings of archaic sculpture (from 600 to 500 B. C.). Development of working in marble. The coasts of Asia Minor and the islands of the Ægean the main centres. Sculptors' names preserved: Rhoicos, Theodoros, Bathycles, Endoios, Archermos and his sons, Smilis and Alxenor, Dipoinos, and Skyllis.	Apollo, from Thera, 193 (N.); Apollo, from Orchomenos, 212 (N.); nude male statues, 191 (N.); Spata sphinx, 215 (N.); archaic female statuettes, 190 (A.); figures with Diptychon, 215 (A.); seated Athena, 214 (A.); colossal helmeted Athena head, 214 (A.); relief of disk-bearer, 216 (V.); Lyseas' tombstone, 218 (T.); Aristion's tombstone, 217 (T.); Abdera relief, 274 (N.); Alxenor's relief, 193 (N.); funeral repast, 205 (V.); archaic clay tablet with *prothesis*, 491.		Naxos Apollo, in bronze, 191, 251; *draped figures from Acropolis*, 190; vase with painting of bronze-caster's shop, 198; Cista, with goat-bearing figures, 202; *Melian head*, 208; bronze statuette with short jacket, 208; bronze Aphrodite from Kythera, 209; *Megara pediment*, 211, 360 (O. A.).	*Frieze of so-called Harpy monument*, 185; *Assos reliefs*, 182, 636; *Apollo, from Thera*, 193; *Apollo from Orchomenos*, 212; *tombstone by Alxenor*, 193; *Aristion's tombstone*, 217; *Athena statue*, 214; *Spartan reliefs*, 205; *Metopes, from Selinus*, 220.
(2) ADVANCED ARCHAIC GREEK SCULPTURE, from about 500 B.C., to about 450 B.C., age of the Persian War. Athens rises to importance. Sculptors connected with Athens: Critios and Nesiotes, Myron, and Calamis, and Pheidias as a youth. Principal names in Argos and Sikyon, Ageladas and Canachos; in Ægina, Onatas and Callon. Paionios from Mende, and Alcamenes from Lemnos, work in Olympia, probably as young men.	Key-bearing priestess, (Cleiduchos), 252, 273 (V.); Relief with Tyrant-Slayers, 286; Lady mounting chariot, 288, Note 518 (A.); Altar with Hermes, 288, 290; Nude boy discovered on Acropolis, 289 (A.); Vase with Marsyas relief, 291 (N.).	*Boy extracting thorn*, 323, 612; *Discobolos after Myron*, 295; *Discobolos about to hurl disk*, 296.	So-called Melos terracottas, 235, 272; Dodona bronze, 248; *Ægina tombstone*, 248; *Phormis' head*, 255 (O. A.); *Olympia East Pediment and Grüttner's restoration*, 262 (O. A.); *Olympia West Pediment and Gruttner's restoration*, 266, 332 (O. A.); *Olympia Metopes*, 256 (O. A.); Vase with painting of centaur conflict, 272; *Lions' heads from Olympia*, 256 (O. A.); Pæstum canephoros, 279.	*Figures from east and west pediments of Olympia*, 262, 266, 332; *Olympia Metopes*, 256; *Lions' heads*, 256; *So-called Apollo on omphalos*, 663; *Lady stepping into chariot*, 288, Note 518. *Statues from the pediments of Ægina Temple*, 239, 263, 360; *So-called Melos terracottas*, 235, 272; *Boy extracting thorn*, 323, 612; *So-called Penelope*, 235; *Discobolos after Myron*, 295; *Discobolos preparing to hurl disk*, 296.

SOIL AND IN ETRURIA.

FLORENCE: Uffizi (U.), Loggia dei Lanzi (L.).	LONDON: British Museum.	MUNICH: Glyptothek and Antiquarium.	NAPLES: National Museum.	PARIS: Louvre, École des Beaux Arts (E. B. A.).	ROME: Villa Albani (A.), Villa Borghese (B.), Capitoline Mus. (C.), Villa Ludovisi (L.), Lateran Mus. (Lat.), Torlonia Mus. (T.), Vatican (V.).
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GREEK SCULPTURE.

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AGE OF PERFECTED GREEK SCULPTURE,

AGE OF MONUMENTS.	ATHENS: Acropolis (A.), Hagia Triada (H. T.), Polytechnicon (P.), National Museum (N.), Theseion (T.), Varvakion (V.).	WASHINGTON: Corcoran Gallery of Art.	BERLIN: Olympia Ausstellung (O. A.), Die Königliche Museen.	BOSTON: Museum of Fine Arts.
PERFECTED GREEK SCULPTURE, from about 450 B.C. to about 400 B.C. Golden period of art. The great masters whose prime fell in this time were Pheidias, Alcamenes, and Agoracritos, in Athens; Polycleitos in Argos, and Paionios from Mende, who worked for Olympia.	Athena Parthenos, 309 (N.); Metopes of Parthenon, 330 (A.); Frieze of Parthenon gods, 337 (A.); Vase-bearers from Parthenon frieze, 342 (A.); Goats from frieze of Parthenon, 341 (A.); Horsemen in frieze of Parthenon, 345 (A.). Olive-tree from pediment of Parthenon, 356 (A.); Parts of pedimental figures in Parthenon, 351, 357, 359 (A.); Metopes of Theseus Temple, 365; Friezes of Theseus Temple, 366; Erechtheion maidens, 369 (A.); Erechtheion frieze, 368 (A.); Athena Nike Temple frieze, 372 (A.); Athena Nike Temple balustrade, 374 (A.); Votive relief to Asclepios, 378; Tomb stele of Parthenon age, 382 (N.); Votive relief to Nymphs and Pan, 378 (A.); Relief of treasury accounts, 381 (A.).	Picture by Sanford R. Gifford of the ruins of the Parthenon; *Frieze of the Parthenon*, 333–349; *A few of the pedimental figures from the Parthenon*, 349–364; *Bust of Pericles, probably after Cresilas*, 324.	Pergamon colossus of Athena Parthenos, 310, 313, 593; Aphrodite head, probably traceable to Alcamenes, 320, 370; Amazon, 390.	*Athena Parthenos*, 309; *Frieze of Parthenon*, 334; *A few of the pedimental figures of the Parthenon*, 349–364; *A few of the metopes of Parthenon*, 330; *Frieze of Apollo Temple at Phigaleia*, 398, 417. *Parts of balustrade of Athena Nike Temple*, 374; *Amazon Mattei*, 300; *Tombstone called the Amazon*, 496; *Diadumenos Farnese*, 388; *Paionios' Nike*, 271, 402, 559.

AGE OF SCOPAS,

AGE OF SCOPAS, PRAXITELES, AND LYSIPPOS, from about 400 B.C. to about 323 B.C. The masters of note in Athens were Kephisodotos, Scopas, Praxiteles, Silanion, etc. In Sikyon, Lysippos flourished. Athenian masters employed extensively outside of Attica.	Dexileos' tomb, 496 (H. T.); Hegeso's tomb, 499 (H.T.); Tombstone of hunter, 496 (N.); Tombstone of Damasistrate, 497 (N.); Siren from tomb, 494; Tombstone of Polyxene, 498 (N.); Tombstone of Amenocleia, 499 (N.); Tombstone with mother and infant, 498 (N.); Funereal repast, 504 (N.); Hermes from Andros, 530 (N.); Votive relief to Asclepios, 506 (A.); Vignette on statute of state, 507 (A.); Cairos relief, 511; Tomb monument in shape of lekythos, 505 (N.); Plaster moulds, 519 (V.).	*Hermes and babe Dionysos*, 437–446; *Faun after Praxiteles*, 448; *Apollo Sauroctonos*, 445, 453; *Eros centocelle*, 450; *Silenos tending the babe Dionysos*, 445, 658; *Sophocles*, 489; *Niobe's daughter*, 476; *Colossal head from Melos*, 530; *Apoxyomenos*, 516; *Alexander head*, 515.	Niobe's daughter restored as Psyche, 478; Siren tombstone, 495, 499; Tanagra statuettes, 525; Mirror decoration with Eros and Psyche, 529; Philoctetes relief, 529; Vase with Hypnos and Thanatos, 536, Note 1068; Tanagra statuettes, 525.	*Eirene and Plutos*, 433; *Hermes and babe Dionysos*, 437–446; *Apollo Sauroctonos*, 445, 453; *Silenos and babe Dionysos*, 445, 658; *Faun of Praxiteles*, 448; *Hermes from Andros*, 529; *Sophocles*, 489; *Marriage of Poseidon and Amphitrite*, 459; *Statues from Mausoleum*, 473; *Reliefs from Mausoleum*, 468; *Niobe and daughter*, 479; *Niobe's daughter of Vatican*, 478; *Dexileos' tomb monument*, 496; *Attic stele*, 496; *Seated Ares*, 460; *Apoxyomenos*, 516; Tanagra statuettes, 525.

OR OF PHEIDIAS AND OF POLYCLEITOS.

FLORENCE: Uffizi (U.) Loggia dei Lanzi (L.).	LONDON: British Museum.	MUNICH: Glyptothek and Antiquarium.	NAPLES: National Museum.	PARIS: Louvre, École des Beaux Arts (E. B. A.).	ROME: Villa Albani (A.), Villa Borghese (B.), Capitoline Mus. (C.), Villa Ludovisi (L.), Lateran Mus. (Lat.), Torlonia Mus. (T.), Vatican (V.).
Doryphoros after Polycleitos, 385; Idolino, 388.	Shield of Athena Parthenos, 312; Metopes from Parthenon, 330; Originals and *casts* of frieze of Parthenon, 334–349; Statues from east pediment of Parthenon, 350; Statues from west pediment of Parthenon, 356; *Frieze of Theseus Temple*, 365. One Caryatid from Erechtheion, 369; Part of Athena Nike frieze, 372; Diadumenos Farnese, 388; Diadumenos Vaison, 388; Part of Agoracritos' Nemesis, 318, Note 603; Bust of Pericles, 324; Frieze of Apollo Temple at Phigaleia, 398, 417; Part of Statue of Apollo from Phigaleia, 398; Metopes of temple at Phigaleia, 398; So-called Nereid monument, 408, 409; Pajafa's tomb, 408; Mārāhi tomb, 410; *Tlos tomb*, 410; Girgenti relief, 423.	Bust of Pericles after Cresilas, 324; Relief, imitating a part of the balustrade of the Athena Nike Temple, 377.	Doryphoros after Polycleitos, 385; Hera head, colossal, perhaps after Polycleitos, 392.	Metope of Parthenon, 330; Slab from frieze of Parthenon, 339, 235; Statue of Athena called Minerva Medici, 315 (E. B. A.); Aphrodite with apple, perhaps after Alcamenes, 320, 370. Treasury relief, 381, 507.	Relief of Bœotian stone, 402 (V.); Tombstone called the Amazon, 496 (A.); Aphrodite with apple, probably after Alcamenes, 320, 370 (B.); Relief, imitation of balustrade Nikes, 377 (V.); Amazon Mattei, 300 (V.); Amazon, 323 (C.); Doryphoros after Polycleitos, 385 (V.).

PRAXITELES, AND LYSIPPOS.

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THE HELLEN-

AGE OF MONUMENTS.	ATHENS: Acropolis (A.), Hagia Triada (H.T.), Polytechnicon (P.), National Museum (N.), Theseion (T.), Varvakion (V.).	WASHINGTON: Corcoran Gallery of Art.	BERLIN: Olympia Ausstellung (O. A.), Die Königliche Museen.	BOSTON: Museum of Fine Arts.
THE HELLENISTIC AGE, from about 323 B.C. to about 133 B.C. Prominence of Pergamon and of Rhodes. In Athens, sons of Praxiteles flourished at the opening of this age; and in Sikyon, the scholars of Lysippos. The names of a few sculptors from Asia Minor preserved are from the third century B.C., — Stratonicos, Antigonos, Pyromachos, Isogonos; and from the second century B.C., Apollonios and Tauriscos of Tralles. From Rhodes, the names of Chares, from the early part of the second century; and of Agesandros, Athenodoros and Polydoros, probably of about 100 B.C., — are preserved.	Demosthenes' head, 547; Votive reliefs to Pan and Nymphs, 549 (A.); Votive reliefs to Kybele, 549; Tower of Winds, 551.	*The Dying Galatian of the Capitol*, 545, 566; *Boy with goose*, 612; *Praying boy*, 552; *Aphrodite from Melos*, 370, 442, 545, 596–600; *Bust of Menelaos from Hadrian's Villa*, 617; *Wrestlers*, 613; *Homer*, 629; *Sleeping Ariadne*, 617; *Venus Callipygos*, 617; *Crouching Aphrodite*, 617; *Demosthenes*, 547; *Socrates*, 629; *Apollo Belvedere*, 353, 621; *Artemis (Diana of Versailles)*, 627; *Laocoön*, 602.	Praying boy, 552; Kybele reliefs, 549; Bronze drapery from Kyzicos, Note 1117; Great frieze from altar at Pergamon, 573–591, 606, 625; Small frieze from great altar at Pergamon, 591; Statues from great altar at Pergamon, 592; Statuettes from Stoa of Attalos II., 592; Trophy reliefs from Stoa of Attalos II., 593; Reproductions of frieze from Pergamon, 593; Satyr from Pergamon, 614; Pergamon statue with pose like that of Aphrodite of Melos, 598; Pergamon copy of Athena Parthenos, 593; Marsyas, 617.	*Praying boy*, 552; *Statue of Demosthenes*, 546; *Demosthenes' head*, 547; *Crouching Venus*, 617; *Boy with goose*, 612; *Dying Galatian*, 545, 566; *Attalid statuettes*, 570; *Aphrodite of Melos*, 370, 442, 545, 596–600; *Barberini Faun*, 616; *Artemis of Versailles*, 627; *Apollo Belvedere*, 353, 621; *Menander*, 546; *Laocoön*, 602, 361.

SCULPTURE UNDER ROMAN DOMINION,

GRÆCO-ROMAN MONUMENTS, OR SCULPTURE UNDER ROMAN DOMINION, from about 150 B.C. to about 312 A.D. In Athens, a renaissance of art about 150 B.C. Sculptures removed to Rome. Portraiture emphasized. Reigns of Augustus, Trajan, and Hadrian, especially productive. Final decline of artistic power under the later Roman emperors, and signal fall by Constantine's time.	Monuments by Eubulides, 659; Portraits of Roman emperors Hadrian, Claudius, Marcus Aurelius, 652 (N.); Sarcophagi, 690 (N.)	*Bust of Julius Cæsar*, 671; *Venus di Medici*, 657; *Otricoli Zeus*, 305; *Belvedere Torso*, 361, 659; *Borghese warrior, called also gladiator*, 667; *Bust of barbarian from Trajan's forum*, 681; *So-called Germanicus*, 660; *So-called Polyhymnia*, 530; *Caryatid*, 660; *Antinous*, 687; *Portraits of late emperors, Antoninus Pius, Commodus, Marcus Aurelius*, 687; *Caracalla*, 693.	Nude figure of type of Stephanos athlete, 662; Portrait of Caracalla, 693.	*Bust of Cicero*, 671; *Venus di Medici*, 657; *Apotheosis of Homer*, 669; *Statue of Augustus*, 674; *Relief from Arch of Titus*, 677; *Reliefs from Trajan's Column*, 682; *Antinous' head*, 687; *Busts of Roman emperors*, 652; *Etruscan orator*, 643.

ISTIC AGE.

FLORENCE: Uffizi, Loggia dei Lanzi (L.).	LONDON: British Museum.	MUNICH: Glyptothek and Antiquarium.	NAPLES: National Museum.	PARIS: Louvre École des Beaux Arts (E. B. A.).	ROME: Villa Albani (A.), Villa Borghese (B.), Capitoline Mus. (C.), Villa Ludovisi (L.), Lateran Mus. (Lat), Torlonia Mus. (T.), Vatican (V.).
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